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INDO-ARYAN LEXICOGRAPHY (S. M. Katre)

The present decade in Oriental Studies, and particularly in Indology, is witnessing an increasing activity in the field of Lexicography. The object of the present paper is to pass under review some of the most important contributions to Indo-Aryan Lexicography that have appeared within the last ten years or so. If we are under the impression that the days of the Petersburg Lexicon are over the appearance of these new dictionaries in an allied field belies that impression. Lexicographical activity there has always been, but on the scale moderated to practical purposes and subordinated to classroom activity. Of truly scholarly aids on comprehensive lines there was not much to speak of until the appearance of these new publications. If I were not to limit myself to the Indo-Aryan field the scope of this essay would widen to cover the whole of Dravidian and Muṇḍa and the Austro-Asiatic field, which is not desirable in justice to the works mentioned below. The great *Tamil Lexicon* of Madras or the *Mundāri Encyclopaedia* require detailed reviews by themselves, and it is not desirable that these different issues should be mixed up in the same paper.

At the peak of these lexicographical activities comes Prof. R. L. TURNER's unique work on the Nepali language¹—unique on two counts at least—firstly because of adopting phonetic Devanāgarī Orthography and secondly on account of the comparative etymological notes on each Nepali word with reference to Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages. This last feature is above all the first scientific attempt at a comprehensive etymology

1. *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* by Ralph Lilley Turner, M.C., M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London, with Indexes of all words quoted from other Indo-Aryan Languages compiled by Dorothy Rivers Turner, M.A.—London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1931.—pp. xxiv, 1-654, 655-932, 933-935.

of New Indo-Aryan, a worthy successor to Sir GEORGE GRIERSON's monumental *Linguistic Survey of India*. The result of 16 years of deep study not only of Nepali, but of the whole modern Indo-Aryan field also, with a linguistic approach which is as critical as it is severe and judicious, has naturally paved the way for a general scientific outline of the Modern Indo-Aryan etymology.

Nepali is an interesting language of an interesting people. It offers to the Linguist many peculiarities for study, and despite the small amount of literature available, is sufficiently developed for literary culture. In undertaking a study of this language for lexical purposes, Prof. TURNER has done great service firstly to Nepal itself and secondly to Indo-Aryan in general. The traditions of the Gūrkhās is so well known as to make them liked in parts of India. And Prof. TURNER had one of the closest associations with them during the last Great War, resulting in the collection of a vast body of words which now forms the main part of the Dictionary. It is surprising that without having been able to visit Nepal Prof. TURNER has eminently succeeded in presenting to us the most comprehensive work on this language. This is but an index to the energy, perseverance and scholarship of the Lexicographer.

As an etymological dictionary of Indo-Aryan we see here the first general fascicle of what is yet to come from Prof. TURNER's unrivalled knowledge of Modern Indo-Aryan—A Companion *Etymological Dictionary of Modern Indo-Aryan* as a crowning volume to the *Linguistic Survey of India*. The progress of this great work of necessity must be slow, but all those who are interested in the scientific study of languages are expected to be waiting for the publication of this work.

The entries are given first in Devanāgarī followed by transcription in Roman and the semantic contents. Lastly at the end of each article there is an etymological disquisition of the word, with comparison from cognate or allied languages. Though some of these etymologies may have to be revised in the light of Prof. TURNER's further research, the general accuracy and the worthiness of the work as a whole is something which should be a wonder. This work alone is sufficient to mark out Prof. TURNER as one of the most learned and competent Linguists of Indo-Aryan.

Not the least interesting part of this great work is the final one containing the indexes of all words quoted from other Indo-Aryan languages, compiled by Mrs. TURNER. Covering over 5000 entries in Sanskrit and about the same number for each of the principal Indo-Aryan languages, and occupying just under half the number of pages of the Dictionary proper itself, we have an apparatus for use in the scientific study of these allied Indo-Aryan speeches. We miss in the general body of abbreviations some names which find a place in these indexes, cf. Tuḷu.

In the etymological equations we miss some of the Western dialects such as Koṅkaṇī, while equally small dialects from the NW. side have been given due place. This is probably due to the absence of standard works of reference to these missing languages. Unless a study of these missing links proceeds along lines similar to that of Marāṭhī by Jules BLOCH and Bengali by Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI or Panjabi by Banarsidas JAIN, some of the intricate problems of Indo-Aryan Linguistics will remain unsolved. It is expected that Prof. TURNER's *magnum opus* which is yet to come will cover every possible field.

For scholars in India interested in Indo-Aryan Linguistics this Dictionary is of capital importance. Written in English, it will be intelligible to the University Students and scholars not acquainted with other European Languages. Of course, the general theory of Indo-Aryan developments may be gathered from various books published in India, but a general account like that of Jules BLOCH's *L'Indo-Aryen du Vēda aux temps modernes*, being slightly outside the pale of students in India, it is necessary to have a new work in this field, written by an authority like Prof. TURNER, to cover the entire field in all its details and ramifications. This is perhaps the best occasion to remind the learned Professor that India is still waiting for his work on this subject.

Turning in a different direction we notice a work¹ which is appearing in fascicules at indifferent intervals of two or three years or even one year, which, when completed, will easily be

1. *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, begun by V. Trenckner, revised, continued and edited by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, published by the Royal Danish Academy, Copenhagen; Vol. I, Parts I, II, III, IV, V, VI, II—1924-26, 1929, 1131, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935.

called the greatest work in the field of Pāli Studies. The TRENCKNER was justly renowned for his ripe scholarship, intellect and untired perseverance. His first-hand acquaintance with some of the principal branches of Oriental Linguistics qualified him for the magnificent task of working at a detailed critical dictionary of Pāli on scientific lines, which he commenced somewhere in 1870. But unfortunately he was unable to finish the work which he had so ably begun. The burden of its continuation has now fallen on worthy shoulders. The history of Pāli Lexicography in Europe has been one full of tragedies and half-done projects. The plan of an international dictionary first mooted by the Professor RHYS DAVIDS was unfortunately given the death-blow by the Great War and utterly disheartened the founder of the Pāli Text Society. It was later with the assistance of a younger scholar and "by the exertion of incredible energy"¹ that the Society's first Pāli Lexicon was brought out between the four or five odd years (1911-15) of the last decade. In the meantime the present editors of the Critical Pāli Dictionary were busy with the material left by TRENCKNER; not only that, they prepared themselves for the critical editions of *Dhātupāṭhas* and *Saddanīti*,² and by adding to TRENCKNER's material from the *editio princeps* of many Pāli Texts published from time to time.

From the very history of PTS. Pali-English Dictionary it will be apparent that the object of its editors was to supply a temporary need, and this fact they emphasised by repeatedly calling their work as a Provisional Dictionary. This defect is now rectified in the appearance of the Critical Dictionary; here we have a work which has been in regular progress since 1870, not hurried by provisional needs nor marred by philological studies from the Indo-European field so unnecessary to Pāli studies which in fact is related to Middle Indo-Aryan, but devoted to scientific work with the raw material in all its completeness. Every entry is critically evaluated with reference to not only the PTS. editions, but also Singhalese and Burmese as well as Sanskrit.

1. CPD. I-i. p. X.

2. *The Pāli Dhātupāṭha and the Dhātumañjūṣā*, edited with introduction by Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, Copenhagen, 1921, p. 6.—The *Saddanīti* of Aggavaṃsa was subsequently published by Helmer Smith in 3 volumes during 1928-30.

editions and original Mss. Moreover all *nomina propria* are included in the list. Again words beginning with the privative -a (n) have a separate entry. Native Grammatical works are frequently quoted in the case of the roots or root formations; senses not noticed by these Grammarians are pointed out. The meanings are given scientifically according to their semantic development. Etymology with respect to Sanskrit and where necessary other Middle Indo-Aryan languages, is briefly indicated. One of the chief characteristics is the use of metrical tests in dealing with the orthography of words. In every sense the Dictionary bespeaks of that critical approach which has always marked the work of these two learned editors. The second members of compounds are also given a separate entry (where these do not occur independently) to indicate the first members of which they form the second part. This is done also in the case of those words which have an independent existence. Thus at a glance we can know how many words there are of which a given word is the final member in a compound group.

It would perhaps be useful if a similar treatment of verbs is indicated under the main root, with regard to the prepositions with which it is joined in the whole field to Pāli studies. This would increase the value of the Dictionary in the same way as in the case of these second members of compounds mentioned above. From the point of Morphology and Semantics and perhaps even syntax, this cross reference under the pure root would be of inestimable value.

The more one uses this work the more is one charmed with it; it is like wandering in a well-kept garden and admiring not only the wonderful flowers and fruits, but also the neatness and orderliness in the arrangement of the different items. The eye is not tired and the brain receives an electric thrill and there is a very satisfying intellectual feast. It would not be wise to compare this work with its predecessors without being able to prevent comment which might cause ill-feeling. Great though the efforts have been in the previous works and great the result also, we have hesitation to say that when this magnificent work is completed, they will pale into insignificance in comparison. It is all the more regrettable in this sense that the fascicules are not appearing in a more regular succession and offering us more matter in each.

Evidently the editors believe in the principle of more perfect than more speed, and there are none better in the field of studies to reach this almost ideal but unattainable goal. H. SMITH has done work in other fields too, including Singhalese, with DINES ANDERSEN as his friend, philosopher, guide and laborator, intends giving us a perfect lexicon.

The Royal Danish Academy has shown a remarkable foresightedness in financing this venture, and the printers have to be proud of their artistic work, for they have risen on occasion to produce a work which is as beautiful in external appearance as it is in its scholarly content. The errors are few that one wonders sometimes; I may point out just a few to show how carefully the whole work is done and how neatly produced: Part i, p. VII, line 31, read "title" for "titel"; p. 53, line 50 read "solicitation" for "sollicitation". Such examples are so rare as to be negligible. One would have wished the editors had introduced the system followed by Prof. T. G. to divide the two columns on each page with two lines instead of one, and give the line number for every 5 lines or so with a space enclosed by these for all future reference to the lines; this would help for instance in making use of the corrections and additions to Parts 5-6, given on page 3 of the cover to fascicles with some facility. It is perhaps not too late to introduce this system in the subsequent fasciculi; the Editors have done much for facilitating Pāli studies by the methods they have pursued in this work that they can add yet another facility for their readers.

The first fasciculus of this great work appeared (in 1904) to commemorate the centenary of the birth of TRENCKNER (February 26, 1824). It is a fitting monument not only to the scholarship of TRENCKNER, but also to that of his admirer and present Editors. And within that "lower criticism" they have eminently succeeded. This is a proper occasion to wish them speedy success in their monumental venture, and to express our desire to see the volumes coming out in rapid succession. The work of 10 years (so far as the published fasciculi are concerned) covers only a part of the first vowel *a*-, the last entry on

being *abbhu(m)*. In the Pāli Text Society's Dictionary the whole of this letter occupies only 92 pages. Moreover, for this published part the Editors have already collected over 500 additions and corrections (to be exact, for parts i-v. only, i. e. for the first 234 pages), an indication to the possible extent of the completed and definitive edition. We can easily compare this work with Boehtlingk and Roth's *Petersburg Lexicon* of the Sanskrit Language, but on a wider and more scientific scale, for the Editors have taken advantage of the progress in scientific lexicography as a whole. Just as the Petersburg Lexicon became the source of inspiration for many important works in the field (e. g. Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*), it is hoped that this *Critical Pāli Dictionary* will also be a perennial source of inspiration to scholars working in that field for everwidening researches.

From time immemorial Ceylon has been culturally a part of India. It is here that Pāli Buddhism found a lasting abode, and gave Ceylon not only its religion and culture, but also its language. From early times the relationship commercially and culturally between Ceylon and South India has naturally given a substratum of Dravidian words to the national language of Ceylon, but at its core and in its genius it retains its Indo-Aryan characteristics. Unlike in India the language of Ceylon has had a continuous tradition, and its inscriptions from the 2nd century before Christ give us an idea of its development for over two milleniums. It is therefore of interest to scholars engaged in Linguistics as well as Eastern studies that there is at last an authoritative, comprehensive and critical Dictionary of this language with exact references.¹ As in the case of CPD discussed above this also is appearing in the form of fasciculi, and in its general get-up, method of work and presentation, it follows the model set by the Copenhagen Editors.

There is here, besides, an attempt to give etymologies on the words. Where these words are already dealt with in TURNER'S

1. *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, compiled under the direction of Professor Wilhelm Geiger (and for the second part: Professor Helmer Smith also), by Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, Editor-in-Chief, Vol. I, parts 1 and 2, The Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch, Colombo, 1935-36;—pp. iv, 30; 31-78.

Nepali Dictionary, an indication is given to the Nepali where all the cognates and the full etymology are to be found.

From the point of Lexicography this work has entailed mendsous labour. Not only early works had to be published critical editions (cf. *Dhampiyā Aṭṭvā-Gaṭapadaya*, a work of X century, edited by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka), but forms had to be collected from various spoken dialects.

Considering the extent of the material the progress of printing has not been slow. One part for one year brings entries from *a-1* to *aṅgura* (covering only 78 pages of the dictionary proper itself). The unique characteristic of this work is in the use of the Roman Transliteration not only for the main entry (where the Sinhalese script is also used as is Devanāgarī in TURNER's work on Nepali) but also for quotations from texts used to illustrate the particular sense.

In the words of the Editors : "The PLAN of the Dictionary is simple and easy to follow. Single words are given in thick type and compounds in light type. Every head-word is given in Sinhalese characters followed by its transliteration in Roman letters, while illustrative passages are given in italics." (p. 1). Thus the Editors have done a great service not only to people who can read the Sinhalese characters, but also to scholars not acquainted with this script but yet interested in the language.

The history of this venture is briefly as follows. In 1881 the Director of Education Sir Charles BRUCE had made reference to a scientifically compiled dictionary as the greatest need felt in Ceylon. This idea was first mooted by Dr Reinhold ROST in a letter to the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S. and this idea took root there after a detailed discussion. But the first outburst of energy stopped with the production of a "Specimen Vocabulary". After a lapse of 40 years or so, the subject was again brought to the forefront by the late Vāsala Mudaliyar A. M. GUNASEKARAN in the year 1923. The R. A. Society with characteristic generosity appointed a committee to consider the question, whose report was submitted in 1925; the Society decided to undertake the project in 1926 and an editorial board was appointed with Sir JAYATILAKA as the Editor-in-Chief (Honorary). On an appeal the Government generously offered Rs. 35000 as an annual grant under certain

conditions to the R. A. S. (C. B.), since reduced to half on account of financial depression. In 1927 the office of the Dictionary was opened, and the work has been proceeding continuously ever since. It is also a fortunate event which has brought in Professor GEIGER as the Director of the Editorial Board three decades after the publication of his "*Etymologie der Singhalesischen*" in 1897. Another event is the inclusion of Professor Helmer SMITH as Co-Director (part 2); we have already made the acquaintance of Prof. SMITH in connection with the *Critical Pali Dictionary*. His scholarship in the field of Pāli and Sinhalese has elicited the following admiring appreciation of Jules BLOCH, Master of Indo-Aryan studies: "Et tout d'abord à M. Helmer Smith. Peut-être un chercheur aussi exigeant, un critique aussi sévère du détail ... il y a abondamment collaboré: et ceci, pas seulement en revisant avec un soin particulier tout ce qui concerne le pali et le singhalais, langue dont il a une connaissance unique (*L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 22). Thus it is expected that with the collaboration of these two eminent scholars Sir JAYATILAKA will find himself in a position to complete this monumental work—a herculean labour of love on his part indeed.

The Times of Ceylon Press has finished the printing of the various diacritical and complicated type with a rare artistry; the general get-up, the beautiful paper and print, and the ease with which one can wade through the different articles, all combine to make the two parts an irresistible attraction to the scholar.

That this Dictionary will form a sort of a complementary part of the Critical Pāli Dictionary so far as Pāli studies are concerned will be easily apparent to those who care to use both these works. Thus the word *aggavāladhi* occurring in the *Māha-Bodhi-Vamsa* (p. 47, line 8) mentioned as the origin of Sinhalese *ak-vala* the end or tip of a tail, is found missing in CPD. In connection with this word the Editors might have pointed out some cognates in Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī. For instance we have in Mar. *āgoḷ*, *āgvaḷ* a braid of hair, Koṅkaṇī; s. gs. *āggaḷu*, nx. *āgvaḷ*, sv. *āgoḷ*, *aggola* a tress of hair¹, showing the *ur*-form for these two as Sk. **agra-vala*. cf. Sk. *valāgra*-tip of the tail; the order of words in compounds being rather indeterminate in MI-A. the form **agra-valaḥ* is the re-

1. See *Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī*, p. 62, s. v. *āgvaḷ*.

constructed form from MI-A *agga-vala*-. Although we regret the difficulty of the Editors to give more attention to this part of their heavy responsibility within the Sinhalese field it would add immensely to the value of these philological notes if they are made more comprehensive; for in this way alone the actual relation of Sinhalese with other Modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars be determined.

As an immediate result of this magnificent work we are promised a new scientific Grammar of Sinhalese by Professor GEIGER, a revised enlarged English edition of his Sinhalese Etymology also be soon published. The value of these two for a scientific understanding of Sinhalese will be inestimable, based as they be on the material sifted and presented to us in definitive form in this great Dictionary. Besides these activities the Dictionary Managing Committee is also issuing a Sinhalese edition of a dictionary for the use of Sinhalese scholars working through the national medium. Thus with one stroke the work on the dictionary has resulted in scholarly activity in the direction of bringing out critical editions of all Sinhalese classics, collections of folk-songs and literature enriching the vocabulary from various sources and in the writing of the first all comprehensive linguistic grammar of the language.¹

Before we take leave of this work we must wish all success to the Managing Committee in the completion of their responsible task and the speedy appearance of the fascicules in regular succession. One wishes in such cases that the whole work be published in whole volumes instead of in parts; but perhaps it is better to have the parts early than to wait indefinitely for complete volumes.

This brings us to the last part of our task and one of the happiest also. Sanskrit has wielded such a great influence in the field of modern culture that in many directions it has opened up new sciences. Among such one of the most important is that of Comparative Philology or Linguistics; before the discovery of Sanskrit by Europe all philology was a movement in the dark but with the impetus that Sk. gave to all philological studies and particularly with the advent of the Junggrammatiker in Germany

1. Notwithstanding Prof. Geiger's excellent work: *Literatur der Sprache der Singhalesen* (in Buehler's *Grundriss*), 1900.

the science of Comparative Philology was born, a science which could claim its place along with other sciences with its laws, etc. Linguistics having established a relationship between some of the chief classical languages of Europe, Persia and India, the concordances observed between the members of this Indo-European family of languages enabled scholars to determine the correct etymology of words of any one of these languages. The work of earlier scholars in the direction of Etymological Dictionaries on this comparative basis dealt with the *ur*-Indo-European to which all the words of the different languages were then related, cf. FICK: *Vergleichendes Woerterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*. This was followed later by comparative etymological dictionaries of individual members of this family, but unfortunately Sanskrit did not play a great rôle in this. The LEUMANN brothers had prepared for their dissertation in 1892 an outline etymology of Sanskrit, but in its published form the presscopy was ready in 1897 and the work was actually published in 1907¹. Before this C.C. UHLENBECK actually published his small work without bibliographical indications on an etymological dictionary of Sanskrit in an abridged form². A third attempt in this direction was made by the Italian scholar Ermenegildo LA TERZA, but with no better success³. A fourth attempt, representing the lifework of the late Prof. K. F. JOHANSSON of Upsala, has formed the pivot of some personal discussion between scholars for the publication of this posthumous work. We are not in a position to judge the value of this work since it is remaining only in Ms. form, and that too in an unfinished form. The late Prof. J. CHARPENTIER was supposed to edit and complete the work for publication, but so far nothing has come out of it. It is precisely in this connection that the controversy between Prof. Walther WUEST of Munich and the late Prof. CHARPENTIER arose, clouding the scholarly issue of an

1. *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache*, Lieferung I: Einleitung und *a* bis *jū*, Leipzig 1907.

2. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Woerterbuch der Altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898-99.

3. *Primo Saggio di un lessico etimologico dell' Antico Indiano stato degli studie lessicografici e comparativi in Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia-lingua-antichita*, vols. 8-13, pp. 139-46; 109-21, 265-76; 247-56; 275-83; 205-17; 41-62 respectively; 1924-29. From *a* to *āp* only.

edition of an etymological dictionary on comparative lines of Sanskrit.

While these attempts were either halfhearted or premature, other sister languages were receiving better attention from Indo-Europeanists; thus we have WALDE'S *Lateinisches, etymologisches Woerterbuch* (2nd edition in 1910), Boisacq's *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue greque* (1916) etc. To the eternal shame of Sanskrit which had really given the first solid shape to the science of Linguistics in Europe, Latin and Greek had their comparative etymological dictionaries much earlier and in a more completed form. The above four attempts were tentative ones only without giving any definite shape to these studies.

This need was felt by Professor Walther WUEST of Munich. Having had his training from Prof. Wilhelm GEIGER and inspired by the work of Prof. Hannes OERTEL, WUEST set before himself the object of working at a comprehensive comparative etymological dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan, and thoroughly prepared himself for this task by his many smaller and greater publications such as the *Stilgeschichte und Chronologie des Rgveda* or *Indisches* and particularly by the thorough study of individual words in the Rgveda, especially the *hapax legomena*. As a preliminary to this he prepared an up-to-date bibliography of all works bearing on the subject and evolved a complicated and yet very effective system of indexing. Each science has its methods of work, and WUEST evolved his workshop rules after a great deal of thinking. For this he has done signal service to his fellow workers, for in the complicated work of this nature running from year to year (it is how many years God alone knows), it is very essential that each fact must be within easy reach of the editor.

As a result of infinite labour and enduring perseverance Professor WUEST has at last brought out the first fascicule of his Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan.¹ The Vorrede (Introduction) covers the first 124 pages, the list of abbreviations the next eight pages (126-33) and the bibliography the next 12 pages. Of the actual dictionary we have only 12 pages, dealing with 3 complete articles and part of the fourth, viz. *a* as the base

1. *Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Woerterbuch des Alt-Indoarischen (Alt-indischen)* von Walther Wuest, Lieferung 1-3 (Teilbogen und Bogen 1-13), Heidelberg 1935.—Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.

of the 3rd personal pronoun, *a* as the verbal augment in the Imperfect etc., *a(n)* as the privative particle and *a* as an interjection. The bibliographical indications are of the most exhaustive type.

On page 2 of the cover the Publisher announces that the entire work will be ready in 3 volumes of about 1000-1100 pages each, and that the entire matter is so far ready that he assures us of a regular appearance of each fascicule. If this statement envisages the full possibilities of this great work, then the shame of not having had sufficient attendance bestowed upon it from the comparative etymological view will be wiped away for ever. In this sense the name of WUEST will have to be inscribed in immortal letters as the champion of Old Indo-Aryan in the West.

The Introduction deals at great length with the object and ideals of WUEST and the comparison of his work with that of his predecessors. With painful detail the Prof. plods on; much of the controversial points might have been easily omitted with advantage to the work as a whole; in that case more of the dictionary proper would have been printed in the first fascicule itself. But it is his method which we admire most. He is thorough-going in all his activities, and even here he does not spare himself or the others who have come into contact with him with unfavourable results. But controversies apart, to the student of Linguistics a study of this Introduction will not be without its value as a peep into the work-shop and its methods in the Linguistic laboratory perfected by WUEST. A similar observation holds good for his essay : *Wortkundliche Beitræge* (pp. 86-112), illustrating the method he intends adopting for all his entries in the Dictionary. Besides all this he is so full of ideas on the work that has yet to be done and for students these will be of the very greatest value. Every major work of this type will of necessity have some problems awaiting solution by a special study, and if these problems are properly formulated, students will have a good guide for the work that remains to be done.

Like the two works mentioned and described elsewhere in this paper, WUEST's work will also appear in fascicules; this first fascicule contains 3 Lieferungen of 4 forms each at the subscription price of 3 RM. each for a Lieferung. When this work will see its completion is very difficult to foretell at the present moment. It

is almost 2 years since the appearance of this fascicule. If we assume an interval of 2 years for each fascicule of this type (containing about 200 pages) the time required will be about 30 years for the whole work to be in print. Even at this rate we shall have a speedier publication than that for LA TERZA's work compared by WUEST as 360 years (p. 18).

We have no hesitation in saying that when completed the work will be the most comprehensive and the most accurate in any classical I-E. language. It has been divided by WUEST into three parts of which the first is the Introduction and abbreviations, bibliography, etc.; the second is the major part, the comparative dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan; the last will include a system of direct and reverse indexes comprising all possible concepts in Linguistics as well as referring to all cognate or other languages martialled by the editor in the course of his dictionary proper, that it is possible to regard this part from the pure linguist's point of view as perhaps the most useful and important.

It is then with the greatest pleasure that we extend to WUEST our hearty good wishes for the speedy publication of this *magnum opus*, which will make all other works of a similar nature in the I-E. field pale into insignificance by its magnitude, sureness and critical approach. Though as yet we do not have sufficient material in the first fascicule to judge what is WUEST's actual contribution to the subject he is dealing with, we cannot hesitate in accepting the fact that he is fully competent to deal with the subject, more perhaps than any other scholar in Europe today. Every lover of the Sanskrit heritage to India will find this a constant source of inspiration as well as of information.

ON THE DATE OF THE ALAMKĀRA-SECTION OF THE AGNI-PURĀṆA

(S. K. De)

In *IHQ*, x, no. 4 (1934), p. 767f, Dr. V. Raghavan, as a rejoinder to Dr. P. C. Lahiri's article (*IHQ*, ix, no. 2), has raised the question of the date of the Alamkāra-section of the *Agni-purāṇa*. As Dr. Lahiri is doubtless capable of fighting his own battle, it is not my intention to intervene in the controversy; but since both Dr. Lahiri and Dr. Raghavan have honoured me by referring to my opinion on the point, the one accepting my view and the other disputing it, it is necessary to make my point of view clear, especially as Dr. Raghavan does not seem to have fully appreciated my position.

I must say at the outset that the question is not free from any difficulty, and I therefore welcome the re-examination of the question by Dr. Raghavan. Dr. Raghavan does not dispute the upper limit, proposed by me, of the date of this section of the *Purāṇa*, viz., that its extensive borrowings clearly show that it must have been compiled sometime after Daṇḍin's work was recognised as authoritative. It is with regard to the lower limit that he does not agree with me, and proposes a post-Bhoja date for this complication. His main argument, apart from details, is that it has definitely borrowed from Bhoja's works. He brings forward some evidence to show similarity of treatment, ideas and terminology between the Alamkāra-topics of the *Purāṇa* and those of Bhoja. He maintains that since the *Purāṇa* is a compilation, while Bhoja's work is original, the probability is the compiler of the *Purāṇa* borrowed from Bhoja, and not *vice versa*.

It is difficult to dogmatise on the question of borrowing; but Dr. Raghavan appears to think that I have expressed the opinion that Bhoja borrows or plagiarises from the *Purāṇa*. I have never done so. What I have suggested is that both the *Purāṇa* and Bhoja follow a tradition of opinion which stands apart from that of the orthodox Kashmirian writers. This tradition might not have been systematic, but it can hardly be disputed that it is distinctive in both. It is possible that both might have borrowed from the same (to us, unknown) source. Both the *Purāṇa* and

Bhoja have borrowed a great deal directly from Bharata Daṇḍin; opinions and theories which are common to both might have likewise borrowed from a common source representing the distinctive tradition which both of them follow. The similarity of their ideas, wording and treatment, which is emphasised by Dr. Raghavan, is an argument as much in favour of their mutual borrowing as of their following a common source tradition.

But Dr. Raghavan thinks that the Purāṇa section on Alākāra is a hopelessly loose compilation, and the probability is that it borrows from the more systematic work of Bhoja. No one doubts that the Alākāra-section of the Purāṇa is a compilation, but what Dr. Raghavan ignores or would not admit is that Bhoja's work is also more or less, a compilation; and this fact takes away a great deal from the force of his argument. As I have already expressed my views on this point in *JRAS*, 1923, p. 537f, as well as in *Sanskrit Poetics* (ii, p. 254f), I may be pardoned for refraining from repetition; but there can be hardly any doubt that Bhoja's minor and ambitiously cyclopaedic treatises are not such original works as Dr. Raghavan would have us believe, but that they are essentially of the same eclectic and uncritical character (even if a little more systematic) as the loosely joined and eclectic tome compiled by the cyclopaedic *Agni-purāṇa*. Bhoja does not hesitate to appropriate extensively lines, phrases and verses, definitions and illustrations, bodily from the works of his predecessors. He makes a good use of Daṇḍin's work, from which he takes no less than one hundred and sixty passages, while six of the Kārikās of the *Dhvanyāloka* are literally plagiarised. All the traits are also found in the *Agni-purāṇa* compilation, which is briefer but no more eclectic than Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābhāṣya*. If Bhoja's works possess an interest and importance from having a novel and somewhat orthodox standpoint, which forms a peculiar line of speculation different in many respects from the accepted views of the various established schools, they have a characteristic in common with the Alākāra-section of the Purāṇa. Even the theory of Rasa and prominence given to Śṛṅgāra, which is considered to be a unique trait of Bhoja's works, are found in the Purāṇa in a somewhat undeveloped form. Bhoja's work is undoubtedly more elaborate; and if he is more systematic

probability is that he developed the same line of speculation further. If the Purāṇa-compiler copied from Bhoja as Dr. Raghavan presumes to the contrary, it is indeed too strange that he should present as undeveloped and unsystematic what was already developed and systematic in his presumed source.

The following facts, therefore, are clear from a comparison of the works of Bhoja and the Purāṇa-section on Alamkāra:

1. Both are compilations.
2. As compilations both are eclectic, but not very well assorted and critical.
3. But both follow a peculiar line of speculation which is distinctive and unorthodox.
4. Bhoja is more systematic and elaborate, and the common and distinctive topics are found in Bhoja in a more developed form. These considerations led me to believe that there was no question here of mutual borrowing but that both were drawing from a common source, and that the more elaborate and systematic Bhoja was probably a later writer. It would hardly make any difference if the Agni-purāṇa section is proved to be later than Bhoja; but as the present evidence is at best uncertain the question must still be left open.

I must confess that I have not studied, as Dr. Raghavan appears to have done, the entire *S'ṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, a part of which only is available to me and that most of my conclusions are based chiefly upon my study of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-haraṇa*. I shall be glad if Dr. Raghavan can bring forward some independent proofs to support his contention, and finally settle the vexed question of the date of the Alamkāra-section of the Agni-purāṇa.

A PUZZLE IN THE ŚABARABHĀṢYA

(Dr. Saileswar Sen)

The following passage which occurs in the *S'abarabhāṣya* *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* I. i. 5 has puzzled a number of scholars both in India and in Europe:—*Na cā'rtha vyapadeśam antareṇa rūpo' palambhanam. Tasmān na vyapadeśyā buddhiḥ avyapadeśa nā' pratyakṣam. Tasmād apratyakṣā buddhiḥ* (Benares, pp. 7-8).

Whilst Mahesha Chandra Nyayaratna who is of the opinion that the third sentence is incorrect suggests the reading *deśyam ca na pratyakṣam* (*Bib. Ind. Ed.*, p. 10); Jacobi according to whom the second as well as the third sentence requires emendation prefers to read *tasmān nā'vyapadeśyā buddhiḥ, avyapadeśyā nāma pratyakṣam* (*JAOS* xxxi, p. 20.)

Mahesha Chandra Nyayaratna's reading is accepted by those who translate the passage thus (*Indian Logic in the Indian Schools*, pp. 95-96):—"Nor can we apprehend the precise character ... of the thought without designating the *thing* (which is the object of the thought ...). Therefore thought cannot be designated ...; and what cannot be designated is not the object of perception. Therefore thought is not the object of perception". It may be noted that Mahesha Chandra Nyayaratna's reading is supported also from Ganganath Jha's translation (*Ganga Oriental Series* LXVI, p. 14).

Keith's interpretation of the *Mīmāṃsaka* viewpoint which is contained in the passage is in consonance with Jacobi's reading. " Ideas," says Keith (*The Karmamīmāṃsā*, p. 45), " are essentially connected with names, while perception is essentially immediate knowledge, in which naming is not involved." And

As against Jacobi's reading, Randle remarks that the passage is "questionable from the point of view of textual criticism and contains a meaning inconsistent both with the present passage and with the parallel passage in Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* " which contains an explanation of the *avyapadeśya* nature of *pratyakṣa* as defined in *Nyāyasūtra* I. i. 4. According to Jacobi and Keith, *pratyakṣa* used in the *S'abarabhāṣya* passage denotes a kind of cognition

it differs from *buddhi* as used in the same passage, in being immediate and non-ideational. This interpretation is, however, wrong. Whilst by *buddhi* Śābara means cognition of any kind whatsoever; by *pratyakṣa* an object that is immediately apprehended by a cognition, and not a cognition that immediately apprehends an object. Randle is, therefore, right in saying: that there is no inconsistency between Śābara's proposition (as emended by Mahesha Chandra Nyayaratna) *avyapadeśyam na pratyakṣam* and Gautama's *avyapadeśyam pratyakṣam* where *pratyakṣa* is used in the sense of immediate cognition.

Whilst associating myself with Randle's criticism of Jacobi, I, however, venture to think that the passage requires: no emendation whatsoever. The proposition that is finally established in the passage is that cognition is unperceivable; and the rationale of it will be best understood if we proceed regressively from the conclusion to the premises.

Cognition is unperceivable, because it is not indescribable from the description of the object.

It is not indescribable from..., because it is indescribable save from the description of the object.

It is indescribable save from..., because it is uncognizable save from the description of the object (of which it is the cognition).

There would be no inconsistency between the second and the third sentence, if the second be construed as *tasmād arthavyapadeśam antareṇa na vyapadeśyā buddhiḥ*; and the third as *arthavyapadeśād anantaram avyapadeśyam ca yan na, tad apratyakṣam*. Accordingly the passage may be translated thus:— And the cognition of the specific nature of a cognition is not [possible] save from the description of the thing. Therefore cognition is indescribable [save from the description of the thing]. That which is, however, not indescribable [from the description of the thing] is unperceivable. Therefore cognition is unperceivable.

ARE THE GAUḌAPĀDA KĀRIKĀS ŚRUTI? A REJOINDER*

(B. N. Krishnamurti Śarmā)

In Vol. I nos. 1 and 2 of this Journal, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah criticised my views respecting the status of the Kārikās said to form part of the *Āgama Prakaraṇa* of Gauḍapāda. The following is my reply to him.

At the outset Dr. Iah refers patronisingly to a conclusion reached by him in the *I.A.* for Oct. 33, that there was no such thing as a *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* at the time of Śaṅkara. This stands exploded by the fact of Sureśvara citing the *Mān. Upaniṣad* in his *Vārtika* on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.¹

I.

My quotations from the *Vc.*, *Nr. Up.* commentary *Vsnb.*, were addressed to such as recognise them as the genuine works of Ś. Modern scholars, even if they won't recognise them as the genuine works of Ś., must allow them a certain amount of value in determining the issue before us. For, it is really too much to dismiss them all as the effusions of "pseudo-Śaṅkara" as does Dr V. We have also the spectacle of a great many masters of Advaitavedānta like Advaitānanda, Sāyaṇa, Mādhava, G. Appayya Dikṣita, following Madhva and sharing his belief in the authenticity of the kārikās of the first Prakaraṇa. And among the predecessors and contemporaries of M. holding similar views, attention has been drawn to Sv., R. and Ā. The critic has not faced these witnesses squarely.

II.

He has advanced some arguments to disprove the genuineness of the *Vsnb.* etc. as works of Śaṅkara. They are good so far as they go; but I would leave it an open question. The different levels of thought and expression betrayed in the works (attributed to) of Ś., are no doubt interesting; but no

* The following abbreviations have been used :—Ā. Ānandagiri; M. Āgama Prakaraṇa; G. Gauḍapāda; Ś. Śaṅkara; R. Rāmānuja; M. Madhva; Dr. V. Venkatasubbiah; Vc. *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*; Vsnb. *Viṣṇusahasranāmāṇi* of Śaṅkara; Nr. Up. *Nṛsiṃhatāpani Up.*; Mān. *Māṇḍūkya*; Yg. *Yogasūtra*; NP. *Nārada Parivrajaka (Up.)*; Sv. Sureśvara.

1. See Vol. I No. 2 of this Journal p. 29.

conclusions can be drawn from them until ampler proofs are forthcoming. Even a "master-mind" is not made in a day; nor does it function always at 'top-level' or exhibit the same profundity of thought and grace of expression throughout. A comparison *passim* of the *Gītābhāṣya* and the c. on the *Sūtras* by Ś. would be eno' to convince one of the truth of this observation.² The former is undoubtedly "commonplace" and does often recall Bhoja's caustic comment on glossators:—

स्पष्टार्थेऽपि विस्तृतिं विदधति व्यर्थैः समासादिकैः ।

अस्थानेऽनुपयोगिभिश्च बहुभिर्जल्यैर्भ्रमं तन्वते

श्रोतृणामिति वस्तुविप्लवकृतः सर्वेऽपि टीकाकृतः । (Vṛtti on Yoga Sūtras.)

Yet it is admitted to be a genuine work of Ś. both by Dr. V. and Prof. Winternitz. What can this mean if not that style is after all a very misleading and vagarious criterion of authorship? Even Homer nods. If the critic has been able to discover flaws in the *Vsnb* etc., another may say that the Ādi-Ś. himself was not any the less "elastic" in his views of what is to be meant by a 'mantra'. For, in his c. on *Gītā* ii, 19, he calls the passage य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारम् also, a *ṛk*² side by side with न जायते म्रियते वा (*Kaṭha* 1, 2, 18)³. But only the second half is identical in the *Kaṭha* (1, 2, 18) and *Gītā* (ii, 19cd), the first half being entirely different in both. Another instance of 'elasticity' in Ś. has been pointed out by me on an earlier occasion.⁴ As for inferiority of expression, mention may be made of the use of the feminine form 'छागा' by both Ś. and Vācaspati under B. S. i, 4, 8, "which tho' not incorrect", is (yet) "decidedly inferior to" छागी⁵ Sv. confounds Jaimini and

1. See my paper on Śaṅkara's Authorship of the *Gītābhāṣya* Annals B.O.R.I. Vol. xiv, 1-2, (1933).

2. इत्येतस्यार्थस्य साक्षिभूते ऋचावानिनाय भगवान्—(ii, 19) कथमविक्रिय आत्मेति—द्वितीयो मन्त्रः—'न जायते...' (2, 20).

3. There is discrepancy here too. *Gītā* ii, 20 ab is found only in a slightly different form in *Kaṭha*. None of the two verses of the *Gītā* are thus actual quotations from the *Kaṭha*. R. is more careful than either Ś or M. He says nothing about ii, 19-20 being quotations from the *śruti*.

4. *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 34 f. n. 1.

5. अजा छागी शुभछागवस्तछागलका अजे (*Amarakośa* ii, 9, 76) Ś. has of course been defended by later commentators. See *Brahmavidyābharāṇa* p. 388 (Kumbakonam).

Bādarāyaṇa and ascribes to the former the first two sūtras of the latter, in his *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*.¹ He is also guilty of using Pāṇinian forms.² Are we to set up a plurality of Ś-s and Śr-s in these cases? The great Advaitic commentator Śrīdhara Svāmī is 'oblivious' of the correct (?) meaning of लुक् प्रवोचम् (R. V, i, 13) which he renders as कः प्रवोचत् instead of as "अतिशीघ्रं प्रवोचत्" as rightly (?) interpreted by Sāyaṇa and the modern scholars. All this must show that arguments from language, style and thought have their obvious limitations.

Dr. V. argues that the use of the word श्लोक instead of the rightful "मन्त्र" by the *Nr. Up.* commentator, only against my theory and proves that "he too thought that the Śr-s were the work of a human author." (P.8, f. n. 3). But he forgets that in that case, these ślokaś could have no place in the text of the *Mān.* as required by that commentator. The fact is that Dr. V. has not understood the drift of the commentary.

As for the use of the term श्लोक "instead of the rightful मन्त्र", we may explain it as an instance of speaking in the words of the original. If Dr. V. has "not so far come across any passage in the writing of human authors in which the word श्लोक is used to denote metrical śruti passages" (P. 8, f. n. 3) it only proves that there are limits even to his studies. Ś. under B. 4, 15, uses the word श्लोक to denote a metrical śruti passage.

1. यत्तु जैमिनीयं वचनमुद्धाटयसि, तदपि तद्विवक्षापरिज्ञानादेवोच्यते । किं त्वं गणम् ? यतो न जैमिनेरयमभिप्रायः—'आम्नायः सर्व एव क्रियार्थ' इति । यदि ह्यभिप्रायोऽभविष्यत्—“अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा, ॥ जन्माद्यस्य यतः” इत्येवमादि ब्रह्मस्वरूपमात्रयाथात्म्यप्रकाशनपरं गम्भीरन्यायसंहन्धं सर्ववेदान्तार्थमीमांसनं श्रीमच्छ्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूत्रविध्यत् ; असूत्रयच्च ॥

(By Skt. and Prākṛt Series, 38, P. 52) Many explanations have been given for this curious mistake ; but none has been convincing.

2. एष संसारपन्था व्याख्यातः (P. 29); 3, 35, i, 14; ईक्षाण p. 663 *Varaṇasī Brhadvārtika*; मत्पन्थानम् P. 136 v. 453.

3. Under *Bhāgavata* ii, 7, 40.

4. I don't grant this.

5. तदप्येष श्लोको भवति ('Taitt. Up.) इति तस्मिन्नेव प्रकृतेऽर्थे प्रमाणमिमुदाहरन्ति—'असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत्' इति ॥

Sv. on two occasions in his *Bṛhadvārtika* :—

इत्येतस्मान्नयाद्राजा श्लोकशुश्रूपयेरितः ।

प्रादात्सहस्रमेवासौ शुश्रूपालिङ्गवित्तये ॥ iv, 4, 537.

अक्षणेव यतः पूर्वं न्याख्यातो देवतागणः ।

श्रोत्रादिकरणार्थोऽयं श्लोकस्तस्मादुदाहृतः ॥ ii, 2, 25.

III.

Why should आगममात्रम् used by Ś. be interpreted only as a scriptural statement? Why should it not be applied to the utterances of a reliable person like G.—asks the critic. The answer is that the views of a mortal however eminent, are not by themselves sufficient to establish a metaphysical truth.¹ The Doctor himself unconsciously admits as much when he says that “ Ś. had to cite here a śruti passage as authority for the statement that there is no dualism.” [Italics mine]. (P. 13). What is taught by scripture is admitted with implicit belief. Reason also may afterwards be made to augment or clarify the thesis so established. Such is the tradition of Vedāntic Dialectics.² The presence moreover of Upa-
niṣadic texts like एकमेवाद्वितीयम्; प्रपञ्चोपशमः, in both the sets of passages re-cited by the Doctor, must also show him that the term आगम ought, in fairness, to apply to them also, in which case, the contention falls to the ground that आगम here means nothing more than an authoritative proposition of G. The paraphrasing of प्रतिज्ञामात्रेण by आगममात्रेण is also another indication that what has throughout been meant was an आगमरूपप्रतिज्ञा, a proposition laid down in the words of the śruti. The reference to तर्क immediately afterwards, also shows that the partnership is between Reason and Revelation: तर्क and आगम (*Manu*, xii, 105-6) and not between Reason and the words of a man in the street.

1. नागमगम्येऽर्थे केवलेन तर्केण प्रत्यवस्थातव्यम् । यस्मान्निरागमाः पुरुषो-
त्तमप्रेक्षामात्रनिबन्धनास्तर्काः अप्रातिष्ठिता भवन्ति; उत्प्रेक्षायाः निरङ्कुशत्वात् । तथाहि
कैश्चिदभियुक्तैः यत्नेनोत्प्रेक्षितास्तर्काः अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैराभास्यमाना दृश्यन्ते—
Śaṅkara, B. S. B. 2, 1. II.

2. सत्सु तु वेदान्तवाक्येषु तदर्थग्रहणदाढ्यं अनुमानमाप वेदान्तवाक्याविरोधि-
स्य प्रमाणं भवन्न निवार्यते—op. cit 1. 1. 2.

IV.

As for the *Vsnb.*, I cannot follow the reasoning that because a writer has made a few mistakes of fact and textual interpretation, *whatever* he says must, forever, remain suspect. Under such circumstances none can pass the ordeal. The critic, more than anything else, is needlessly confusing the question of the statement of belief by a writer, with its truth. The author of the *Vsnb.* said that certain of the disputed *kārikās* are *śruti*. He was right or wrong in having done so. That is a different matter altogether. To dismiss inconvenient Ś-s as "bogus" is not easy. But even a mistake needs explanation.

V.

As for the antiquity of the three kinds of लक्षणाः *laxṇāḥ* etc., it may interest Dr. V. and the Compiler of the *Nyāyabīja* to hear that they are as old as the *Samkṣepaśārīraka* (1. 15) *Sarvajñātma*—10 th century—and that allusion to them in the *Nyāyabīja* is perfectly understandable even as a work of Ś.

VI.

Where the entire *adhikaraṇa* in B. S. ii, 1, 33, turns upon the question of Creation and its purpose, I fail to see any "disingenuous" in connecting the आसकामश्रुति mentioned by Ś with Creation. Even granting that it need not necessarily be connected with the act of creation, Dr. Iah would be no nearer his aim from identifying it with a G. K. For, even according to his own showing, the आसकामश्रुति must be one which describes the act of Creation as an *Āpta-kāma*. But in Advaitic metaphysics the Supreme Brahman (*Nirguṇa*) is neither really आसकाम nor does create. It is the Lower Brahman, *Īśvara* or *Parameśvara*. Ś. advisedly calls Him, that is actually responsible for creation. It is certainly *not* this Lower Brahman that is called an *Āpta*, in *Bṛh. Up.* iv, 4, 6 summoned to his aid by Dr. Iah. On the contrary, *that* text applies the term *Āptakāma* to the Individual soul on the eve of release. It is only by a metaphysical *force* that Ś. secures its application to the Supreme Brahman. But that is neither here nor there. While Ś. himself has specified the full text he has in view, we have the indirect approval of Advaitānanda and Appayya Dīkṣita to equate it with G. K. where Creator-God is given by the context.

VII.

It is only a special pleading, not any convincing explanation that we have from Dr. V. as to why Śv. has been so particularly careful *not* to make use of such terms of eulogy as वेदान्तोक्ति, आगमशासनम् in referring to the kārīkās from the undisputed portion of G.'s work. He tells us that "stanza 744 ac of Sv. is paralleled by Yg. Up. 72 ac. and by certain statements in the NP etc., and that therefore, it cannot be surely asserted that the reference in Sv. is necessarily to a G. K., answering to the passage cited by Sv. But our knowledge of the fact that Sv. was acquainted with the Mān. Up. and the Kārīkās of G., coupled with the absence of proof that he was similarly acquainted with such patently "late" Ups, as the Yg., NP. etc., should, I think, be enough to render the latter identification more acceptable.

No doubt, Sv. is not quoting the exact words of the śruti but is only referring to its purport in *Bṛhadvārtika* 5, 1, 81. But this neither warrants the generalisation that *he must always be so doing*, nor proves yet that he has never once made a verbatim quotation from the śruti with the words आगमशासनं or the like.

Until a law is made that Sv. *must do as is done by the S'āthyāyani* and other (late) Upaniṣads, Dr. Iah's laborious extracts from them can only be dismissed as irrelevant to the issue before us. Had he really wanted to find out what Sv. meant to indicate by such epithets as वेदानुशासनम्, वेदान्तोक्ति, आगमशासनम्, and so on, Dr. V. must have gone to the *Bṛhadvārtika* itself and not to the *S'āthyāyani N. P. etc.*, collected all those passages which appear to be quotations from the Śruti, examined them and *then* have declared that *in all such cases, Sv. is not quoting the exact words of the śruti*", but is merely referring to their purport, or that the references in such cases are *not to any particular text of the śruti*, but to the teachings of the Advaita-vedānta" (P. 16). Instead of this, he has taken the path of pseudo-research, quoting from irrelevant sources and making use of spurious arguments. I wish, before closing, to draw attention to the fact that Sv. *has made* a number of quotations from the *S'ruti* under such titles as श्रुतिशासनम्, आगमशासनम्, आगमोक्ति, आगमिकं वचः । A majority of these are *actual* Śruti texts, while one or two are arthānuvādas. But in no case is there any

room for doubt that *only* śrutis, express or implied, are by these epithets, and not merely the teachings of individual teachers of the Advaitavedānta:—

- | | | | |
|---|-------|------|------|
| १. मुक्तेर्विभ्यत इत्यादि तथाच श्रुतिशासनम् | 1. 4. | 14 | ac |
| २. यतो वाचो निवर्तन्त इति च श्रुतिशासनम् | 1. 4. | 518 | one |
| ३. नह्यन्योऽतोऽस्ति द्रष्टेति— | 1. 4. | 117 | me |
| ४. विज्ञातारमरे केन विजानीयादिति श्रुतेः | 1. 4. | 1393 | wer |
| ५. यत्र वान्यदित्यादि तथा च श्रुतिशासनम् | 1. 4. | 1560 | vor |
| ६. ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वमिति साक्षादात्मनायशासनम्
[विद्या विनयसंपन्न इति च स्मृतिशासनम्] | 1. 4. | 1691 | on |
| ७. नाविरतो दुश्चरितादिति चागमिकं वचः | 1. 4. | 1791 | ro |
| ८. ब्रह्मैवैवद्विषयः प्रत्यग्याथात्म्यवित्तये
नालं विरोधात्पुरुषः “ पराञ्चौ ” त्यागमोक्षिततः | 1. 6. | 500 | la |
| ९. यः पृथिव्यामिति तथा नेति नेती ति चागमः | 2. 1. | 445 | n |
| १०. शञ्चद्वै रेतस इति तथाच श्रुतिशासनम् | 2. 3. | 71 | 5.00 |
| ११. एतदालंबनं श्रेष्ठमिति च श्रुतिशासनम् | 4. 4. | 997 | G. |
| १२. स्वतस्तस्य च संप्रातेर्विनाप्यागमशासनात् ।
एकधैवानुविज्ञेयमिति च श्रुतिशासनम् ॥ | 5. 1. | 81 | nat |

And *Bṛhadvārtika*, i, 29, 30; ii, 4, 7; i, 4, 802; and verse 288; p. 165, V. 562; p. 85, V. 275; and ii, 3, 137. There is thus enough justification to hold that the passages from the chapter of G. quoted in the *Bṛhadvārtika* under such titles as “आगमशासनं” etc. were certainly meant to be from the śruti.

VIII.

Touching Ā. the glossator on the *Bṛhadvārtika*, Dr. V. P. P. that “ not even he has said that the passage cited is from Ā. P. ” (P. 18). How could he when Ā. has already made clear that he looks upon it as a Śruti ?

I take my stand on Ā.’s plain statement that the śloka is explanatory of the *Mān. Up.* : माण्डूक्योपनिषदथाविष्करणपराः श्लोकाः “ received ” by G. from Nārāyaṇa, which simply means that the opinion of Ā, they were *not* the compositions of G. There is no guess but what follows from the actual words of Ā. There is nothing “ obscure or unintelligible ” about him. Elsewhere the critic does *not* believe that Ā. is right ” when he says विश्वो हि स्थूलभुङ्गन्तियं (G. K. I, 3) quoted by Sv. is a śruti. (i. P.

We really have nothing to do with the beliefs and disbeliefs of the Dr. interesting as they might be. The question is one of textual facts. In the light of Ā's introductory statement, his subsequent one आचार्यैर्माण्डूक्योपनिषदं पठित्वा तद्वाख्यानलोकावतरणम्... can only mean that it is these very ślokas received from Nārāyaṇa that were incorporated by G. into his work with the words: अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति. Of course, it would follow that in Ā's opinion, the words: अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति were G.'s. There can be no doubt however, that he did regard the विवरण-ślokas themselves as 'quotations' made by G. from Nārāyaṇa. The two other passages cited from his gloss on st. 10 and 19, also admit of the same explanation. There is nothing subversive of the Upaniṣadic theory in the phrase: तद्विवरणरूपान् श्लोकान् used by Ā. That they were looked upon as "quotations" is plain from Ā's comment on G. K. 1, 4:—उदाहृतश्लोकयोर्व्याख्यानापेक्षां वारयति, उक्तेति ॥ which has naturally escaped the Dr's. eyes!

It would be impossible to deny that Ā. has cited G. K. I. 16 as a śruti, in his gloss on the *Sambandha-vārtika*. Dr. V. chuckles at the thought of Ā's "citation of *Gītā* xiii, 19. immediately after G. K. 1, 16 and of *Manu* 1, 5, before Śvet. Up." (ii. p.3).—Circumstances which to him indicate that Ā. had no idea of the order in which the quotations from the Śrutis and Smṛtis had to be given, nor any "thoughts of the priority of Śruti over Smṛti but has merely cited passages from both as they came to his mind" (11. P. 3.). A little thought would have shown him that far from having no idea of the order of texts, Ā. had for a very good reason quoted texts from the Śrutis and Smṛtis alternately, in four groups, so as to illustrate four points that he seeks to stress in the order:—¹

	S'ruti	Smṛti
1. अविद्यानादित्वम्	(a) अनादिमायया सुप्तः (G K. i. 16)	(b) प्रकृति पुरुषं चैव (Gītā)
2. तदनिर्वचनीयत्वम्	(a) नासदासीन्नो सदासीत् (R. V.)	(b) आसीदिदं तमोभूतम् (Manu i, 5)

1. Cf. अविद्यानादित्वानिर्वचनीयत्वबन्धकत्वज्ञानापोद्यत्वादीनां ' अनादिमायया सुप्तः ' ।इत्यादि श्रुतिस्मृतिभिरेव सिद्धेः, न तान्यविद्यायाः कल्प्यत्वेऽपि कल्प्यातीति भावः ॥ (A. on *Bṛhadvārtika*)

३. तस्याः बंधकत्वम् (a) मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यात् (b) माया होया स
(*S'vet Up.*) (*Mbh.*)
४. तस्याः विद्यापोद्यत्वम् (a) भूयश्चान्ते विश्वमाया- (b) मायामेतां तत्त
निवृत्तिः (*S'vet.*) (*Gītā*)

There is thus no fear of our having to "declare the G. to be Śruti, were one follow" my reasoning. On the contrary we may have to recognise the *Gauḍapāda-Kārikās*, as a *Smṛti*, allow ourselves to be guided by Dr. V.'s line of reasoning!

IX.

When one is referring to the opposition of G. K. i, 18-19 Kārikās, to the dogmas of Advaitism, it is irrelevant to say that M's explanation of the Kārikās in Chap. I, is also forced and natural. In the latter case the difficulty is unavoidable as the work is not a composition of M. but Śruti, in the interpretation of which every philosopher has his own difficulties. But in the case of Advaitin, it is certainly avoidable (i. e. assuming the authority of G.) in that it has been entirely self-created. That makes the difference between M. and G.

X.

I need not go on repeating the fact that the *Mān.* as it was known to Sv. and ergo to Ś. Dr. V. agrees that "the अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति are not newly added by a later commentator but must be regarded as forming part of the *Mān.* itself." (P. 10) It must follow from this that G. was not the author of the first Prakaraṇa at all. It is quite possible that Dr. Iah convinced both Ś. and Sv. to have perpetuated the error first committed by Śānta rakṣita (750 A. D.). What I fail to see in that is the special propriety of flamboyantly levelling a charge against Madhva alone. I still repeat my view that the circumstance is really suspicious when Ś. does not even once mention the name of G. anywhere in his c. not even where the context requires where there is every chance and necessity for him to do so as the headlines : अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति occurring four times! reference to the परमगुरु at the end is not enough as it may be an acknowledgment of G. as the 'compiler' of the *Āśāstra* as it stands. (See Dr. V. ii, P. 10-11) without comment

1. Cf. पूर्वचदत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति (Cf. G.K. C. 1. 24.)

is to the necessity of attributing the words : अत्रैते श्लोका भवन्ति and the Kārikās following them to him. The words employed by Ś. do not differ from those used by him to introduce Scriptural quotations in his comm. on other Ups. :—

तत्तस्मिन्नेवाथे प्राणमयात्मविषये एव, श्लोको भवति; तदप्येव श्लोको भवति एवं च तत्; तदेतस्मिन्नप्यर्थे एव श्लोको भवति—'असन्नेव स भवति' ॥ (Taittirīya U. p. Bhāṣya)

As for tradition, it does not seem to have prevented Vācaspati Miśra from mentioning Śaṅkara by name, in his *Bhāmati* introd. verse).

Parallelisms from Caraka and Vātsyāyana are not relevant to our purpose. To be sure, there are parallels also in the well-known Ups. of ślokas being introduced in the words of the original. Why should the later ones be preferred to the earlier parallels ?

XI.

I still think that some of the Kārikās *qua* Kārikās, are out of tune with the dogmas of the Advaita Vedānta. The critic has said nothing to meet the difficulties raised by Dvaitins. One's allegiance apart, it is clear from Ś's comment on G. K. 1, 17, तस्मान्न कश्चित् प्रपञ्चः प्रवृत्तो निवृत्तो वा अस्तीत्यभिप्रायः that he is prepared to face the situation boldly and accept the result of the विपर्यय-व्यवसान made by the Dvaitins : न निवर्तते तस्मान्नास्ति प्रपञ्चः । There is no question of World-disappearance, for the very simple reason that it has never been there :—

वन्ध्यापुत्रो न तत्त्वेन मायया वापि जायते (G. K. iii, 28).

सतो ह्युत्पत्तिः प्रलयो वा स्यात्, नासतः शशविषाणदेः (C. on III, 32).

It would be more difficult to interpret the propositions : तस्मात्स्वरूपा सृष्टिः and मायास्वरूपा सृष्टिः realistically than to differentiate them effectively from the Advaitic view of Creation. No Realist would feel flattered by the description of Creation as " resembling ' a Dream or a Magical show. The view on the other hand, bears a strong family resemblance to those of the Mādhyamika Buddhists :—

यथा माया यथा स्वप्नः गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।

तथोत्पादः तथा स्थानं तथा भङ्ग उदाहृतः ॥

and of Advaitins :—

स्वप्नमाये यथा दृष्टे गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।

तथा विश्वमिदं दृष्टं वेदान्तेषु विचक्षणैः ॥ (G. K. II, 31).

वितथैः सदृशाः सन्तोऽवितथा इव लक्षिताः (G. K. II, 6).

अतो मन्यामहे—तेषां (i. e. जाग्रद्दृश्यानां) अप्यसत्त्वं स्वप्न-
(Śaṅkara *ibid*) ननु, जाग्रद्वस्तुनो न स्वप्नवद्वस्तुत्वम् । सत्यमेवम-
स्यात्—¹ (C. on IV. 38).

असज्जागरिते दृष्टा स्वप्ने पश्यति तन्मयः (G. K. IV. 39).

So too, in the case of मायासरूपा सृष्टिः :—

जन्म मायोपमं तेषां, साच माया न विद्यते (G. K. iv, 58).

There is thus no point in the objection that creation in the Advaitic view is माया but not मायासरूप. The addition of the सरूप would not make the world real any more than the presence of such suffixes as वत्, सदृश, सरूप, यथा, उपम etc. in the phrase cited above. G. K. i. 9 cd, is however anxious to put creation as almost the second nature of God: देवस्यैव स्वभावो ज्ञेयः say that there can be no motive behind such spontaneous creation which can hardly be lowered to the rank of a random illusion. नहि रज्ज्वादीनामविद्यास्वभावव्यतिरेकेण सर्पाद्याभासत्वे कारणं शक्यं (Śaṅkara on G. K. i, 9 cd.) The rift in the analogy is that सर्पाविभास may be due to अविद्यास्वभाव the creative activity of God is due to देवस्वभाव not देवाविद्यास्वभाव !

I am glad Dr. Iah has seen his way to admit frankly that Advaitin writers like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Appayya Dīkṣita, Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇa, Advaitānanda etc. "belong to the same class as Madhva" (ii. P. 12). Had he examined the evidence more closely by me a little more dispassionately he would have admitted that Sureśvara, Ānandagiri, Vimuktātman and Rāmānuja also "belong to the same class as Madhva." There is thus no rhyme or reason in the charge against Madhva.

In conclusion, I should like particularly to repeat my remarks in the last two paragraphs of my Rejoinder to Mr. V. Subrahmanyam Sarma, in Vol. i. no. 2. P. 38, of this Journal. I think that it must dawn upon Dr. V. if only he would keep clear of irrelevant issues, such as the true and original status of the Kārikās during Pre-Śāṅkarite times.

1. Cf. ज्योतिष्टोमादिश्रुतिबोधितानुष्ठातृनिष्ठासिद्धिः स्वप्नश्रुतिबोधितानुष्ठातृनिष्ठासिद्धिः—Appayya Dīkṣita *Siddhāntaleṣa Saṅgraha*.
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IDENTIFICATION OF RAṄGA JYOTIRVID,
THE AUTHOR OF VICĀRASUDHĀKARA,
A MEDICAL TREATISE COMPOSED
IN A.D. 1765,
BY ORDER OF RAGHUNĀTHRAO PESHWA

(By P. K. Gode)

In my note¹ on the "*Date of Vicārasudhākara* of Raṅga Jyotirvid" I pointed out that this treatise on Piles was composed in A. D. 1765 by order of Raghunathrao Peshwa. The author was a resident of Junnar in the Poona district. He mentions the following physicians of the Peshwa period in his treatise:—

1. Bagāji Vaidya, resident of Junnarapura
2. Balavantrāya Vaidya
3. Bābā Bhiṣagvaryā
4. Jaya Śaṅkara

He also refers to the surgical operation of piles, a method current among the Yavana or English physicians residing on the sea-coast.

When I wrote my note on this work I was not able to identify the author of the treatise viz. Raṅga Jyotirvid. Rao Bahadur G. S. Gardesai, the Editor of the Peshwa Daftar, who was consulted by me in the matter of this identification suggested that I should write to some member of the Joshi family of Junnar. I acted on his suggestion but without any direct acquaintance with the person concerned I could get neither information nor any response.

Recently in the *Chandrachud Daftar*² published by the Bhaṭṭa Itihasa Sam. Mandal, Poona, I came across the following references to a person called RANGA JOSI Junnarkar:—

Pp. 3-10—Here a partition-deed of the members of the Chandrachud family is reproduced. It is dated *Saka 1701* Vikāri māsa Samvatsara, Pauṣa Śudda 10, which corresponds to Monday, 7th January, A. D. 1780.

1. Vide *Annals*, Vol. XII, pp. 287-289.

2. Bha. Iti. Sam. Mandal Series No. 22. Edited by D. V. Apte, *Saka* 842 (A. D. 1920) Poona.

This document contains the signatures of witnesses, which the following is found :—

“*RANGA JOSI Shahar Junnar*” in Devanāgarī char

In the 3rd line of this partition-deed from commenced “*RANGA JOSI Junnarkar*” is also mentioned.

Pp. 90-91—Here we find reproduced a letter of “*RANGA JOSI Junnarkar*” dated June 16, 1765 addressed to Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud, who later died in A.D. 1773.

This letter is written in Marathi (Devanāgarī character) and is addressed to Gangoba Tatya, who was then near Pooné, Delhi.¹ The letter refers to the Karnatak expedition of the Peshwa mentions Dādāsaheb or Raghunāthrao Peshwa and implores the addressee to free his son from the serious financial difficulties in which he was then involved. This letter also hints the help of Holkar by the English near the river Jamna.

I now propose to identify Raṅga Jyotirvid, the author of the work *Vicārasudhākara* with Raṅga Josi of the *Chandrabhaga Daftar*. The points of identification as revealed by documents on both the sides may now be compared as under:—

Raṅga Jyotirvid	Raṅga Josi
1. He is called <i>Raṅga Jyotirvid</i> or <i>Raṅganātha Jyotirvid</i>	1. He is called <i>Ranga Josi</i>
2. He calls himself “ <i>gaṇita-vaidyaka-sāstra-viśārada</i> ” (proficient in Astronomy & Medicine)	2. <i>Josī = Jyotirvid</i>
3. He wrote his treatise in A.D. 1765.	3. He wrote his letter in 1765 and signed as a witness in the deed in A.D. 1780.
4. He wrote by order of Raghunāthrao Peshwa	4. He mentions Dādāsaheb Raghunathrao Peshwa.
5. He calls himself a resident of Junnar (<i>Junnara-pura-sthita</i>)	5. He signs as “ <i>Raṅga Shahar Junnar</i> ” and is a resident of “ <i>Junnarkar</i> ”
6. The only Ms. of <i>Vicāra-sudhākara</i> comes from the Viśrāmbag Collection of the Peshwas.	6. Documents re. Raṅga Josi come from the <i>Chandrabhaga Daftar</i> found at Nimbgaon, 12 miles from Poona.

1. Mr. Apte in his footnote on p. 91 reproduces an extract of Gangoba's own letter dated *Caitra suddha 9, Śaka 1687 (A. D. 1765)*. This extract the whereabouts of Gangoba in June 1765 are perfectly clear.

The details regarding the indentification of *Raṅga Jyotiroid* with *Ranga Joṣi* are so convincing that they need no further search for facts to prove them.

It would, however, be interesting to identify some names of physicians mentioned in the *Vicārasudhākara*, viz. *Bagājī Vaidya*, *Salvantrāya Vaidya*, *Bābā Bhiṣagvarya* and *Jaya S'aṅkara*.

"*Bābā Bhiṣagvarya*" mentioned by *Raṅga Jyotirvid* on folio 20 of the Ms of *Vicārasudhākara* (No. 307 of Viś. I in the Govt. Mss. Library) can be identified with the celebrated "*Bābā Vaidya*" of the Peshwa period. I shall here record the following dated references to this physician from contemporary records :—

(1) Mr V. V. Khare presented before the Second *Sammelan* of the *Bharata Iti. Sams. Mandal*, Poona, 1914, eight original letters of *Madhavrao Peshwa*. Letter No. 5 (in the 27 letters exhibited by Mr. Khare on the occasion) is written by *Sadashivrao Bhau* and his wife, *Pārvatibāi*. This letter contains an endorsement by "*Bābā Vaidya*" in three lines, on the reverse as recorded in the proceedings of this *Sammelan* on p. 280. This letter we are informed was written by the Peshwa on the eve of his departure for the battle of *Paniput* (1760).

(2) In a letter dated 1st November 1766 from *Moro Ballal Gopalrao Patvardhan*, the writer makes the following reference "*Bābā Vaidya*" :—

"*Bābā Vaidya* will start for *Miraj* within 5/6 days. Our guard of five or six soldiers will escort him there, hence please send some soldiers from that place to replace these soldiers."

The above contemporary references to *Baba Vaidya* clearly prove him to be a court physician of the Peshwa in and about A.D. 1766. As *Raṅga Jyotirvid* mentions *Bābā* as *BHIṢAGVARYA* or pre-eminent physician in 1765 A.D. I have no doubt that he is identical with *Baba Vaidya* at the court of *Madhavrao Peshwa* proved by documentary references almost contemporaneous with the author of the *Vicārasudhākara*, the treatise on *Piles* composed 1765.

1. Khare; *Āitihāsik Lekha Saṅgraha*, Letter No. 626, p. 1107.
P. O. II. i. 3

The identification of other physicians whose opinions have been mentioned by Rāṅga Jyotirvid or Joshī of Junnar must be further inquiry and search in contemporary Peshwa records.

Since this paper was sent to the press I have been able to trace in the Peshwa Daftar selections the following reference to Bābā Vaidya and *Balvantrāy Vaidya* :—

P. D. Selection No 32-Letter No 141 dated 8-3-1761—Peshwa asks Nana Fadnis to make inquiries about *सुविचयवनप्राश* at Baba Vaidya's house and then send these to him.

Letter No 152 dated 19-3-1769—This letter refers to *Balvantrāy Vaidya*, who was preparing some medicinal oil for the Peshwa. I have no doubt that this *Balvantrāy Vaidya* is identical with his namesake mentioned by Rāṅga Jyotirvid in his *Vicārasudhākara*.

MORIZ WINTERNITZ

In Memoriam

(O. Stein)

Though age and serious illness had weakened the physical constitution, the sudden death of Prof. Moriz Winternitz which occurred on the night of the 8th of January, 1937, was a heavy blow not only to his family, but also to the community of Indologists in which he occupied a place like that of a father. In 1934 he retired from his academical chair after a splendid service of 35 years. After that, although he never enjoyed perfect health, yet his literary activities and critical acumen never flagged. He planned ever new papers or books; few editors of Journals or Commemorative Volumes asked in vain for his collaboration; and besides his active interest in questions of humanity, he did not lose sight of his *magnum opus*, the third volume of the English version of "A History of Indian Literature," the progress and completion of which was his cherished aim. In him India has lost one of the most competent interpreters of her ancient literary heritage, sincere admirer of her great men, in modern times and one who wished her a glorious future. All those who met him will never forget his gentle and imposing personality as a man; and those who ever applied for his advice or help will thankfully remember the readiness with which he complied with their requests.

Moriz Winternitz belonged by his birth to the pre-war Austria where he was born in the year 1863, in Horn, a small town of Lower Austria. Even in his childhood he showed signs of extraordinary intellectual capacities, for in his father's home he learned the art of reading and writing Hebrew even before he entered the elementary school. In 1880 he entered the University of Wien (Vienna), where he in his first terms studied Comparative Philology, Classics, Philosophy, Ethnology and Indology (the last two under the "linguistical ethnologist" Friedrich Mueller); he was not yet decided as to the turn his future studies would take. In 1881 George Bühler returned from India after a splendid career of 17 years in education as well as in

research and was appointed Professor of Indology in Vienna University. Winternitz became one of his most promising students since 1881. But that did not prevent the student from following his interest in Semitic languages, or Cuneiform inscriptions, Avesta, philosophy or ethnology. It may be interesting to mention that the late Professor Eugen Hultzsch was in these years the "Privatdozent", the tutor of Winternitz who introduced him to Pāli and Pañcatantra. At the early age of about 22 years he took his degree of Ph. D. in 1886.

The subject of his thesis was "Ancient Indian Mantra Ritual according to Āpastamba, compared with the Mantra customs of the Indo-European peoples" and was printed in an enlarged form in the "Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften" (Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences) Wien, Philos.-hist. Cl. 40, 1892. To-day, when the *Kalpa* is familiar to every student, when the texts of *S'ruti* and *Gr̥hyasūtras* are accessible not only in handy editions, but in one or more translations, and when there exists even a monograph work on the *Ritual Literatur* by the late Prof. Hillebrandt, the thesis by Winternitz may not appear as something fresh and original. But it will be readily admitted that in the last decades of the 19th century the comparative study of Indo-European religion and customs was in its infancy, and only hopes were entertained of a reconstruction of the common, at least the facts in religious life; these scholars had to work on Mss., to edit the texts first, and so did Winternitz in 1887. The first edition of the "*Āpastambīya Gr̥hyasūtra* with Extracts from Commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanārya" (Vienna) may be considered as the *first critical edition* of that not easily intelligible text, as in 1885 only an edition in Grantha characters was printed at Tanjore to which the value of a modern Manuscript is attributed but not more. An addition to that Sūtra is the *trapāṭha*, published again by the late scholar in the *Annalen der Oxoniensia*, ten years later (1897) under the title "The *trapāṭha* or Prayer Book of the Āpastambins". These three publications, forming one unit, proved the interest which Winternitz took in the domestic ritual of ancient India, on a comparative basis not only confined to the family of Indo-European peoples, but

extended to other cultures from an ethnological point of view; and, last but not the least, they showed the place which he assigned to the woman in *religion* and *morals*, the two trends which the scholar Winternitz never ceased to follow in his life. His mode of working was objective,—a solid ground-work of texts, comparing them with each other, critical inquiry, stating the facts, and drawing careful conclusions, *sine ira et studio*.

These three publications were not the only work done by him during this period; ¹.

Thus apart from reviews and lectures, the paper "Der Sarpabali, ein altindischer Schlangenkult" (Mitteil d. Anthropol. Ges. Wien, 18, 1888, issued also separately) touched not only a religious and folklorist theme which he still in his last years of life planned to revise, but brought him into contact with the Epic to which he when the future was ready to devote a good deal of time and work. And his "Notes on Śrāddhas and Ancestral worship among the Indo-European Nations"², show once more his tendency to combine Indology and research with Indo-European religion which was his favourite theme before he was urged to Literary History where he was destined to achieve greatness.

Shortly after, an honourable invitation came to Winternitz. F. M. Müller asked Prof. Bühler to send him one of his pupils to assist him in the second edition of the *R̥gveda*. That Bühler's choice fell on Winternitz is based on objective and subjective qualities of the latter; his profound knowledge of Sanskrit, ancient religion, his acquaintance with

1. A detailed Bibliography was published on the occasion of the 70th birth-day of the now deceased Professor in Archiv Orient. VI, 1934, p. 275—to which additions will be made in one of the next issues of that Journal. Here only the more important pieces of his life's work will be mentioned.

2. Apart from the Preface in the edition of the *Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra* this paper was the first one, written in English. Therewith Winternitz and other pupils of Bühler followed their teacher's advice as the knowledge of German was very limited at that time among Indian scholars. As further instances may be quoted Kirste, Zachariae (*Quellenwerke der Altindischen Lexikographie*). The mastering of English enabled Winternitz to take up his stay in England with which he retained mental relations also after his return to the Continent. He was familiar with the life and literature of England and had friends there.

Indian Mss., his exactness and soundness of judgment the years 1888-92 Winternitz was Amanuensis of Müller at Oxford; his was the main work in verifying all the quotations in the first edition, adding many references to texts published since, collating and recollating several Mss. (see with Strong), removing old misprints, helping Müller in determining the adoption of new readings for the second edition of the *R̥gveda*;¹ the eulogistic words of Müller about Winternitz are not undeserved.

During his stay at Oxford till 1898 his interest in Indian studies took root; it must be stressed that Winternitz there acquainted himself with the original sources of his work on the domestic ritual on which he edited texts and compiled all the available *Gr̥hyasūtras*, as with the Veda where he became acquainted with the most important *R̥gveda* the intricacies which were familiar to him in his capacity as an editorial assistant of F. M. Müller, just so with the *Mahābhārata*. It is, however, interesting to note that already the young student, who published his first papers in 1884 and 1885, in the former year wrote a review of Holtzmann's "Grammatisches aus dem *Mahābhārata*," showing the results of his learning in Sanskrit Grammar. When he took up the *Mhbh.* in a bigger paper for the first time in 1885 (JRAS. p. 713-59) it is not to be astonished at that Winternitz from the ethnological point of view in discussing the custom of polyandry in India, as alleged in his "*Mahābhārata*" by the late Joseph Dahlmann. The following year, 1898, brought an important contribution to the critique of the *Mhbh.* in 1898 Winternitz laid stress on the Southern Mss. of the *Epic* (Ant. 27, p. 67ff.; 92ff.; 122ff.). To the same year belongs also "On the *Mhbh.*-Mss. in the Whish Collection of the RAS" (JRAS. p. 147ff.) and one on "Gaṇeśa in the *Maha.*" *ibid.* p. 380ff.). These papers are the output of his cataloguing work of Mss.

1. *Rig-Veda-Samhitā*, second edition, Vol. I, Preface p. LIV. The proof-sheets with corrections of this edition were kept by the late Professor Winternitz for use in his lectures and Seminar-Uebungen, where his students became acquainted also with Sāyaṇa's commentary. After his retirement he presented these proof-sheets to the Seminar fuer Indologie at the German University, Prague, where they are kept as all his lectures, in manuscript, numbering over fasciculi.

the Catalogues were published some year later. His activity in that period of ten years (1888-98) was not absorbed in this work only. Apart from that paper in the Vienna Academy of 1892, mentioned above, and the edition of the Mantrapāṭha in 1897, apart from reviews and lectures—he translated Müller's "Anthropological Religion" into German (1894, Leipzig), and one year after the same scholar's "Theosophy or Psychological Religion" (1895, Leipzig). But even that was not enough for his energy and zeal. In 1891 Winternitz became a tutor at the Oxford High School for Girls; in 1891-98 he was appointed Lecturer in German at the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Woman in Oxford; in the years 1892-98 he acted temporarily private tutor and Examiner in German and Sanskrit for the Indian Civil Service. One of his pupils was the well-known Japanese scholar J. Takakusu. In 1895 Winternitz was appointed librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford. It can be easily realised how these various fields of work broadened his mental horizon; only a wide-reaching intellect like his could spare also time for social and friendly intercourse with scholars like Joseph Wright, Müller's successor to the chair of Comparative Linguistics. In March 1899 Winternitz was appointed "Privatdozent" for Indo-Aryan Philology and general ethnology at the German University, Prag. These subjects were allotted to him by his professorship since 1902. The results of his work at Oxford appear now. In the first place must be mentioned his "Catalogue of South Indian Skt. Mss. (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the RAS of Great Britain and Ireland" issued in 1902 (London, Asiatic Society Monographs 2), as the preparation of that Catalogue laid, no doubt, the foundation to all his foregoing and future enterprise on Mhbh.—research. For, on account of his intimate knowledge of the South Indian Mss., esp. the Malayalam Ms. of the Sabhāparvan to the importance of which he had directed attention in his paper "Notes on the Mhbh.", he perceived the necessity of a critical edition of the Mhbh. In 1899 he submitted, for the first time, to the Indian Section of the XII International Congress of Orientalists at Rome "A Proposal for the Formation of a Skt. Epic. Text Society" (printed in the Congress-Bulletins No. 3, p. 46-49), a

plan which he had explained in a lecture, held at the Congress at Paris in 1897 printed for the public in *Ind. Ant.* 1901, p. 117ff. He re-interated the plan in a "Promemoria" the Academy of Sciences at Vienna (*Almanach* 1901, p. 206ff.), on the base of the "Promemoria" by Jacobi, Lüders, and Winternitz, the International Association of Academies at its session in London 1904 decided to enlist among its enterprises the Critical edition of the Mhbh.¹ Collections of Mhbh.-Mss. European Libraries and Classifications were prepared, when the war (1914-18) put an end not only to the Association itself but also to that planned Critical edition of the Mhbh. On the occasion of the 80th birth-day of that great scholar whose name was revered in India as much as in the West, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was founded; on the 18th of June 1918 Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar after whom the Institute has been named was in the chair when the decision was made to undertake a Critical edition of the Mhbh. In 1923 was published the *Virāṭaparvan* by the late N. B. Utgikar, and the editorship, is now in the hands of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar since 1924 under his editorship today the big volume of the first book of the Epic is in the hands of the students. It must have filled the ever modest Winternitz with pride when he saw the below work take this shape, as his first steps in 1897 had not met with great encouragement.

The list of papers in which Winternitz dealt with problems of the Mhbh. is long; from that paper on Gaṇeśa, mentioned above together with his previous contributions, he returned again to a question on principle, raised by the same scholar Josef Dahlman in his book "Genesis des Mhbh." In the paper under the same title (WZKM 14, 1900, 51-77) Winternitz refuses to accept the main thesis of Dahlman about one man's authorship of the Mhbh. In 1903 he deals with the *Sabhāparvan* in the Southern Recension (ibid. 17, p. 70-75), calls attention to details in the paper "The Mhbh. and the Drama" (JRAS 1903, p. 571) and in 1906 his paper "Bṛhaddevatā und Mhbh. (WZKM 20, 1-36) shows how he wanted to throw light on the Epic as well

1. A short historical review was published by Winternitz himself "Forschungen und Fortschritte" 8, 1932, p. 427f.

on certain chapters of Indian Literature from all sides. He wrote on the serpent-sacrifice of the Mhbh. (Prag, 1904, in the Publication : Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt, p. 63-80) also from religious and ethnological point of view. In the meantime he had written the encyclopaedic chapter on the Epics of India in his "Geschichte der indischen Litteratur," vol. I. When he came to India, his first visit on Indian soil he paid to the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona (cf. Annals of the Bh. O. Res. Inst. 4, p. 145-52), to ascertain the methods of work on the collation of Mss. and edition of the text ; he held classes with his pupils at Santiniketan to teach them the Western methods of textual criticism while collating Mhbh. Mss. ; and he reviewed the Virāṭaparvan (ABhI 5, 1924, p. 19-30), the first and the last issue of the Ādiparvan (Indolog. Prag. I, p. 58-68 ; ABhI 15, 1934, p. 159-75). He showed his never diminishing zeal for the Mhbh. till in the last days of his life when he discussed the Specimen of the 5th Parvan. But he was not interested in criticism only, he wanted to take an active part in the editorial work. He and his pupils had collected material for an edition of the Sabhāparvan which was always delayed due to other pressing work, mostly due to his English version of the "History of Indian Literature" ; and he planned a critical edition of the Nalopākhyāna too. No European scholar, it may be stated, has taken such a living interest in that great Epic of India as the late Prof. Winternitz.

During his stay at Oxford, Winternitz had prepared Indexes to the translation of the Vedāntasūtras by G. Thibaut in the SBE 34. 38, 48 ; and during all these years till its publication in 1910 he had worked out that voluminous Index of the whole set of the SBE. One who wants to ascertain the view of Winternitz on the research into the history of religions may read the pages of the "Introductory Note" (SBE 50, p. XIII f.). He called that General Index "a sort of Manual of the History of Eastern Religions" and it was printed under a similar title (A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religions). Finally, the "Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Bodleian Library vol. II", was begun during the period of his stay in England, but had to be continued and completed by A. B. Keith when Winternitz had left England.

With his settling down at Prag the third period in his life and work began: the History of Indian Literature. Although he

was mainly interested in the religious problems of ancient India yet the choice of the publishers of the collection "Die Litteraturen des Ostens" of Winternitz for the contribution dealing with Indian literature was a happy one. He was at home in the Veda, in the ritual, in the Epic, in religious and philosophical literature. Though the first volume which was published in two parts in 1905 and 1908 respectively, comprising the Vedic literature, Epics and Purāṇas, was intended for a wider public the soundness of judgment on the one side, and the completeness of materials on the other side made that volume already a first class hand-book for all students. With the second volume dealing with the Buddhist Literature (published in 1913) and the Jainist literature (in 1920) the changed plan became evident: the general reader had to give way to the specialist, though the copious extracts of important or interesting passages in translation made it attractive also to the former. His masterly work reached a climax in the third volume, where (in about 700 pages) the fine and scientific literature of India found a representative hardly to be surpassed; a bird's eye view on the vernacular literature of modern India completed that volume, published in 1922 (Leipzig). Nobody was more aware than the author himself of the deficiencies of his work. But it must be evident to anyone acquainted with the problems of Indian Literature that the idea of a Literary history of India cannot be measured by the congruent measures adopted with regard to the literary history of other peoples. There is no fixed chronology; from the earliest times the historian has to say the first word, before the student of style and aesthetics can be satisfied. The analysis of such compositions like the R̥gveda, Upaniṣads, the Epics, the Tīpīṣā is still in its infancy; it is easier to advance theories than to state facts, unbiased by dogmatism. That was the attitude of Winternitz : let us keep to facts. But the facts in Indian history of literature are so few that none can find fault with the historian when, to quote the most sad and known instances only, by the greatest masters like Kālidāsa, or even a Śaṅkara cannot be absolutely dated. The value of the work is enhanced by the completeness of materials embodied in the Notes, so that the reader hardly looks in vain for any author or his work and the literature upon them. The English translation, published by the University

sity of Calcutta, was a welcome occasion for Winternitz to bring the first volume (Calcutta 1927) to the same level as the others. In 1933 the second volume was issued, again with improvements on nearly every page; the treatment of Buddhist Skt. literature and the Jinist literature in the English translation represents a new edition. Only the beginning of the third volume was sent to the Press when the sudden death interrupted the continuation.

In these years in which Winternitz prepared his literary History he cleared the way by papers. As with the Epic so he did with Buddhism. In 1908 he published an anthology of Buddhism (in Berholet's Religionsgeschichtl. Lesebuch, p. 214-322) which was enlarged in 1929 ("Der aeltere Buddhismus nach Texten des Tipiṭaka in the same Collection, 2nd ed. No. 11) and in 1930 supplemented by a special book on Mahāyāna ("Der Mahāyāna-Buddhismus nach Sanskrit-und Prākṛittexten." No. 15). His researches into the Buddhist Skt. literature are embodied in two papers (WZKM 26, 1912, p. 237-52 and 27, 1913, p. 33-47) both under the title "Beitraege zur buddhistischen Sanskrit-literatur". Further, he having given such an admirable analysis of the Jātakas from their literary point of view in his "History" treated them in a paper in the "Ostasiatische Zeitschrift" also from a broader cultural point of view ("Die Jātaka in ihrer Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der indischen und ausser-indischen Literatur und Kunst"); he was the author of the article "Jātaka" in the ERE 7, 1914, p. 491-94. And in the same way one can observe how the preparation of the third volume of the "History" is foreshadowed by contributions to various Journals. A paper on "Dialog. Ākhyāna und Drama in der indischen Literatur" (WZKM 23, 1909, p. 102 ff.), a big review on the narrative literature of India with regard to Hertel's Pañcatantra (Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung 1910, col. 2693-2702; 2757-67), on the late Charpentier's "Paccekabuddhageschichten" (WZKM 24, 1910, p. 104 ff.) and his paper on the Tantrākhyāyikā ("Bemerkungen zum T." WZKM 25, 1911, p. 49-62) are ample proofs of his method of working, of his consciousness with which he studied every part of Indian literature.

Whenever there was a new problem of Indian literature Winternitz was among the first to discuss it and to "keep to

facts". The problem of "Bhāsa" was always alive for him when he first compared the episode of Draupadi's harsh handling by Duṣṣāsana in "Mhbh. II, 68, 41 ff. und Bhāsa's Dūtavākya" (Festschrift E. Kuhn, München 1916, p. 299-304); he took the "Kṛṣṇa-Dramen" (ZDMG 74, 1920, p. 118-144); in the Calcutta Review he gave in 1924 (Dec. p. 329-49) a survey of the problem with which he grappled in his third volume of "History" (p. 184 ff.). To Bhāsa he devoted his last papers which were sent to the Publishers few weeks before his death because he wanted to throw overboard unnecessary discussions in the English version of the 3rd volume of his "History". 1922 the German edition of that volume was published, but Winternitz was already at sea to India.

It is remarkable how he returned to his cherished themes soon as he could spare some time for them. No mention has been made as yet of his ethnological studies, though they go back to the years 1886 when he reviewed books, or to 1898, when he wrote "Witchcraft in Ancient India" (New World, Boston, and printed in Ind. Ant. 28, 1899, p. 71-83). In a paper on "Völkerkunde, Volkskunde and Philologie" (i. e. ethnology, folk-lore and philology; Globus 78, 1900, p. 345ff., 370 ff.) he draws the boundaries between these three subjects in which he worked himself. And further it must be remarked that Winternitz never lost sight of Indology even in his ethnological studies. When he deals with the myth of the deluge ("Die Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker", Mittheilungen der Anthropolog. Gesellschaft Wien 31, 1901, p. 305-33) one may suggest that he was inspired by the myth found on Indian soil, and he compared not less than 73 myths, classifying them and trying to find the natural forces behind the myth, quite in accordance with his attitude in matters of religion or literature. Religion formed the contents of a paper on Malayan popular beliefs ("Bemerkungen zur malaischen Volksreligion", WZKM 14, 1900, p. 243-264); he wrote for a wider circle on the idea of fate with Indians ("Das Schicksal im Glauben und Denken der Inder", Allgem. Zeitung, München, 1902, No. 102 f.). And one of his popular papers (ibid. 1903 x, No. 23, 246, 252 f., 258 f., 264) "Was wissen wir von den Indogermanen" does not indulge in theories on the home and culture of the "Indo-

European people", but, as unmistakably announced in the question-form of the title, Winternitz tries again to collect and state the facts, from which cautious conclusions could be drawn.

Since the beginnings of his scholarly life he had assigned in his studies a great place to the woman. That is to be seen already from his thesis, as mentioned above; to that purely scientific interest was added practical experience gained by him when he witnessed the fight of English women for their and their sisters' emancipation. He wanted to teach the women of his country the lesson he had learned in England. In 1899 he wrote on the academical studies of women in England in a newspaper. Winternitz was a man who fought for the women, publicly, in newspapers and in lectures; he was a leading brain in women's associations, and he never left the question of progress of women outside his interests. But from a psychological as well as scientific point of view it is interesting how Winternitz combined in his papers the ethnologist, the historian of religions, the Indologist with the friend of women's emancipation, all that united by his moral instinct. If the titles alone are quoted, the reader will get an insight into the inner connection, of that remarkable unity of personality. "Die Frau in der Voelkerkunde" (Oesterreich. Rundschau I, 1905, 621ff.), "Die Witwe im Veda" (WZKM 29, 1915, p. 172-203), and those papers in the Archiv for Frauenkunde und Eugenik (2, 1916; 3, 1917), published in 1920 as a book under the title "Die Frau in den indischen Religionen", the first part of which dealt with the woman in Brahmanism, a continuation of which he planned, but never published.

When he was the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the German University, Prag, he had the pleasure to welcome in 1921 in the big Aula the man in whom he saw a symbol of India, old and new, the poet Rabindranath Tagore. As Winternitz never confined his interests to the narrow—though so vast—field of ancient India, he had devoted to the poet a paper already in 1913 (in: Die Geisteswissenschaften I, p. 840ff.), designing the latter's picture as poet and philosopher of religions. His admiration for the poet was as great as his love for Indian wisdom. He gladly accepted the invitation to follow the poet to India and to act as the visiting professor at his Viśva Bhārati University at Śanti-

niketan. In 1922-1923 Prof. Winternitz lectured not only at but also at many Indian Universities, specially at Calcutta; his lectures, first printed in the Calcutta review, appeared later (1925) under the title "Some Problems of Indian Literature" dealing with the most vexed and interesting questions, e.g. Age of the Veda, the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra, Bhāsa etc. The years spent in India were filled with travels, personal meetings, also with a busy activity for the Mhbh.-work and other publications which he contributed from India to European Journals. He kept a diary, and it is a great pity that only one part of it has been printed, dealing with his stay in Shri Ganganagar where he partook in the ceremonies held on the occasion of erection of a temple of the great Jaina saint and scholar Vardhamāna Dharma Sūri ("Erinnerungen an Indian. Eine Woche bei Vardhamāna Jaina-Moenchen in Shivapuri," Zeitschrift f. Buddh. 7, 1924, 349-77). By his stay in India he got insight into the political struggles, but he admired most the moral side of the life. Already within the great war he had published a short paper "England, Russland und Indien-einst und jetzt" (Ostasiatische Monatsschrift f. d. Orient 42, 1916, p. 15-17). He returned with booklets over and over again to Tagore and Gandhi in whom he saw the apostles of modern India, of love, of humanity. But he made a wider public acquaintance also with the Ahimsā, Sarojinī Naidu, and the like. Besides these and smaller contributions to various Journals may be mentioned his publication of Gandhi "Mahatma Gandhi" (1930, in: Schriften d. Deutschen Gesellschaft f. sittl. Erziehung, No. 11), on Tagore ("Tagore," Heschel'sche Zeitschrift 8, 1931, 423-307), and in 1936 published a booklet of 52 pages on "Rab. Tagore, Religion und Weltanschauung des Dichters" (Prag) on the celebration of the 75th birth-day of the poet.

An event like the great war could not pass without impressing a man like Winternitz. From his conviction as an ethnologist and from his consciousness as a human being and from his fading moral instinct he condemned war as well as nationalism. But again the scholar Winternitz got the upper hand when he in 1917 wrote his pamphlet "Die Frau und der Krieg im Lichte der Völkerkunde" (Sammlung gemeinnütziger Vorträge No. 104).

69). And after the war all that had only slumbered in him awakened, namely his fight for humanity, which had to start with moral education in schools. Thus he was one of those few men who founded a "German Society for Ethical Education" in Prag, where he collected people around that idea of humanity, where he lectured, and in the Publications of which society he issued some of his papers on Gandhi and Tagore, mentioned already before in "Religion und Moral" (No. 2, 1922). One of his latest papers, published in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* (N. S. I, 1935) under the title "Unity of mankind" was again the fruit of his studies on subjects of ethnology; he wanted to publish a book on race, on which he had lectured long and had collected an enormous material on that vast subject, and made excerpts from books and papers, to leave them as they are.

This rich work was done besides his further research into Indian Literature. With his return from India he started to revise his "History" for the English translation. And again he contributed papers, dealing with various problems of that work to Journals. He was as well a contributor to Collections like the "Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart" where he wrote the entries on Buddhism, and in 1929 he edited in the "Indologica Pragensia" in collaboration with the writer of these lines. In the same year another Journal, the "Archiv Orientalni", of the Oriental Institute, began to be published in which he became a frequent contributor; he wrote on various subjects; one which occupied him much in connection with the preparation of the second volume of his "History" was the authenticity of the Pāli canon (See: *Arch. Or.* I, 1929, p. 235-46; *Studia Indo-Iranica*, Festsgabe Geiger, München 1931, p. 63 ff.; *Orientalist. Literaturzeitung* 1933, 665 ff.; *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* II, Part 1, 1936). In 1933 he was glad to see his second volume out.

The same year he celebrated his 70th birth-day. Many learned societies, among them Indian too, had honoured him before by conferring on him their honorary membership. His reputation as scholar was recognised by the Hardy prize, which he got in 1913. The services he had done to science found adequate expression of thankfulness and recognition by those who partook in the "Festschrift" dedicated to him (Leipzig 1923) and

in a big number of the "Archiv Orientalni": (VI. 1934), dedicated to him by the Institute.

Winternitz felt it his duty to lecture not only before students, but before a wider audience. Great is the number of University extension lectures; in many Associations he was ever ready lecturer; as he delivered lectures on the International Congress of Orientalists.

Although the work of this man was—so rich, yet he never forgot his teachers and friends to whom he devoted obituaries, biographies, etc.; he also never denied his help or advice to any who applied for it. He was a man whose hours of day were devoted to work, not only for himself, but also for others. Without self-mentality he had a deep feeling for the shortness of his fellow-men but also love for them. Indian students can tell how kind he was in personal contact. Like his work his gentle personality will be forgotten by his friends and pupils.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PRATIHĀRAS

(Dasharatha Sharma)

The origin of the Pratihāras forms one of the most controversial questions in the field of Indian History. Jackson, Bhandarkar and Smith regard them as Gūjars, a tribe believed to have poured into India along with Huns somewhere in the fifth or sixth century of the Christian Era. Mr. C. V. Vaidya thinks that they are pure Kṣatriyas. Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha adopts the *via media* by regarding some Pratihāras as Kṣatriyas and the others as Gūjars. To be more accurate, he regards the word as a mere professional title, and would not in the least feel surprised, if he were to find Pratihāras in all the four castes of India. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, the latest writer on the subject, tries to controvert altogether their Gurjara origin, and incidentally establishes the Brahman origin of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. The subject being of no mean importance for students of Indian History, we propose to deal *seriatim* with all these theories in this paper, and to see which of them stands best the chance of being accepted without doing any violence to reason as well as historical evidence.

Mr A. H. T. Jackson was perhaps the first writer to propound Jackson's theory of Gurjara descent. the theory of the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāras. Finding it mentioned in *Pampābhārata* that Cālukya Arikesarin's father defeated the *Gurjararāja* Mahīpāla, and inferring that this person could be none other than the Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla, he concluded that all the Pratihāras were Gūjars.¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar supported Jackson's view by referring to Rājor inscription of V. S. 1016 which states that Mahārajādhirāja Parameśvara Mathanadeva of the *Gurjara Pratihāra lineage*, residing at Rājyapura, granted to a temple the village Vyāghrapātaka with all its income, 'together with all the fields cultivated by the the Gurjaras.' The mention herein of Mathanadeva as a Gurjara-Pratihāra, i. e., a Gurjara of the Pratihāra family was regarded as evidence enough to prove that

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 465-9.

the Pratihāras of Kanauj too were Gūjars.¹ Subsequent writers on this side, with the solitary exception of Mr. J. C. Ghose, makes rather a droll attempt at proving their non-Kṣatriya origin on the grounds that Hariścandra was married to a *rājñī* (interpreted by him to mean widowed queen)² and that he had by sons who were drinkers of wine which in his opinion none of the Kṣatriyas of the period actually were, have just been content to reiterate the two arguments of Jackson and Bhandarkar noted above, and to begin with them their accounts of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj.

Jackson's theory hinges on the interpretation of the word 'Gurjararāja.' Does it actually mean 'a king of the Gurjara family' as proposed by him, or merely 'a king of the Gurjara country' as contended by some other writers? In my opinion it is the latter that is its normal meaning. The following example may be quoted in favour of this viewpoint :—

- (a) गदामतल्लिकां सोथ दैत्यमतल्लिकोऽमुचत्
अष्टाश्वगर्भिणीगर्भं गर्जन् गूर्जरभूपतौ ।

(Hemachandra's *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, v. 1 m.)

Here the word गूर्जरभूपति refers not to any Gurjara or Pratihāra ruler, but to the Caulūkyā king Mūlarāja I. He is called by this title merely because he is a king of Gujarat.

- (b) (i) संप्रत्यस्मरं तं गूर्जरेश्वरं राजर्षिम् ।
(ii) कस्यासौ न विदितो गूर्जरपतिश्चौलुक्यवंशजः
(iii) सर्वथा प्रतापक्षयोऽस्मत्स्वामिनः । प्रतापवृद्धिर्गूर्जरेश्वरस्य
(ix) स एष गूर्जरनरेश्वरोहम्

(*Moharājaparājaya*, pp. 16, 129, 132)

In the above extracts the words in bold type refer to the Caulūkyā ruler Kumārapāla.

(c) भो मतिशालिन्, साधु साधु त्वया लपितम् । मया गुरुप्राप्तेन ' गूर्जरराजः युष्माकं मारिततुरुकदेशमपि सकलं दास्यति । तद् युष्माकं

1. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 413-33.

2. That *rājñī* means nothing more than a *Kṣatriyā* will be clear from 5 of Bāuka's inscription. A reference to any standard Sanskrit Dictionary too will convince Mr. J. C. Ghosh of the same fact.

समरसमये न योद्धव्यमिति ” वचनैः तोषयित्वा भेदितः कुमारपालप्रतापसिंहप्रभृति-
गूर्जरमण्लेश्वरसमूहः

(*Hammīramadamardana*, P. 35)

Here the word गूर्जैरराज refers to the Caulūkyā ruler Bhīma

II. The *maṇḍaleśvaras* mentioned as Gūrjaras probably belong to various clans.

Such instances can easily be multiplied. But these will perhaps suffice to show that the words '*Gurjararāja*,' '*Gurjarabhūpati*' '*Gurjaranareśvara*,' and '*Gurjarapati*' could one and all be used for even non-Gurjaras if they were just kings of Gujerat. That the Pratihāras ruled Gurjaratrā before they went to Kanauj is now generally admitted. Uddyotana Sūri states that Vatsarāja ruled at Jalor in 778 A. D.,² and Jināsena makes him the king of the western quarter in A. D. 783.³ Hence, if we find the Pratihāras called '*Gurjareśvaras*' should not we, before rushing head-long to the conclusion that they were undoubtedly rulers belonging to the Gūjar caste pause for a moment and consider that here too, as in the case of the Chaulukyas the word might mean nothing more than a king of Gurjara country.

It might perhaps, however, be replied that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions use the word '*Gurjara*' for the Pratihāras. Hence the word '*Gurjareśvara*' obviously means a ruler belonging to the Gūjar caste. At first sight argument appears convincing. But its specious character is revealed, if we refer to inscriptions and literature for the right interpretation of the term, Gurjara. Vira Ballāla's Gadag inscription refers to a certain Gujara,⁴ As he cannot be either a Pratihāra or Gūjar but only a Caulūkyā ruler

1. Dr. D. C. Ganguly, however, thinks otherwise. For criticism of his view see our paper entitled '*Gurjara and Gurjareśvara*' to be published shortly in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

2. अपभ्रंशकाव्यत्रयी (G. O. S.) Introduction, p. 89. See also our paper 'the original home of the Pratihāras of Kanauj' to be published shortly in the ABORI.

3. शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तराम् ।
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूमृति नृपे वत्साधिराजे परां
सौराणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवर्ति ॥

4. E. I. Vol. VI, p. 96, verse 34.

of Anhilwād, the word 'Gurjara' here means the same thing as *Gurjararāja* i. e. a ruler of the Gurjara country. The Chinese inscription of Jaitrasimha of Mewar too mentions a 'Gurjar'. He is surely not a Pratihāra or Gurjar but the ruler of Gurjara the Caulūkyā Bhima II. At other times the word 'Gurjar' means merely an inhabitant of the Gurjara country. This is the sense in the text which Abhayatilakagaṇi, the learned commentator of the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, explained by saying 'गूर्जरदेशोद्भववृणां' of the Gurjaras, i. e. the people born in Gurjara country." Again, there are occasions when the word signifies nothing more than a person connected in some way or other with Gujarat. A good instance of this use is the word 'Gurjarabala' employed by the Jain scholar Hemachandra for the soldiers of the Caulukya army even though they were neither Gurjaras nor Pratihāras, nor even all of them Caulūkyas, as they are known to have hailed from such distant places as the Sālvadeśa, Anagiri, and Kotāraṇa." So we might reasonably conclude that it is after all not much sense in dubbing one a Gūjar on the ground that he has been called a Gurjara or Gurjararāja in some inscription, unless there be some other and independent testimony to prove the truth of such an assertion. The weakness of Jackson's theory lies in the fact that it has unhesitatingly accepted the words 'Gurjara' and 'Gurjararāja' as signifying a 'Gurjar' or 'a king of the Gūjars' without stopping to see whether it can bear some other and better interpretation more in consonance with the statements regarding their origin contained in their inscriptions.

As regards Bhandarkar's view, it must be admitted that he has some ground for regarding a certain set of the Pratihāras as Gūjars. King Mathanaga belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage, and he was granted a field, cultivated by the Gurjaras, though he was not at Rājore, most probably a place outside the boundaries of Gurjartrā. This King's being called a Gūjar does not, therefore, surprise us. But Dr. Bhandarkar clearly goes beyond his evidence.

1. G. H. Ojha, *Rājputānā kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, 156.
2. Commentary on VI. 7.
3. I have mislaid the reference. It is perhaps V. 31 or so.

when he dubs the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj too as Gujars. His only ground for doing so is obviously the common appellation Pratihāra borne by the dynasty of Rājore as well as Kanauj. But Pratihāra, it should have been noticed, is an occupational title. As the members of all the four castes could be appointed to this important post, there is obviously no reason as to why the surname should have been confined to only one class or clan. A parallel example for the non-restriction of such occupational titles to one caste can, I believe, be found in the use of surnames like Mehtā, Sarkār, Chaudhari, Majumdār, and Modī. Hence, as our knowledge that a certain Mehtā is a Brahman does not entitle us to assume that all the other Mehtās too are Brahmans, so should not our information about the caste of Mathandeva embolden us to assert that the Pratihāras of Kanauj too belonged to Mathanadeva's clan, unless we be first sure that there was and could be only one clan having the right to bear the surname Pratihāra. Bhandarkar and those of his view have apparently this confidence in full measure. But that it is hardly justified will be seen from the following extracts, culled from various sources :

- (.) श्रीमदुत्पलराजादिवंशे प्रामारभूभुजां ।
 अस्ति त्रैलोक्यविख्यातो धारावर्षौ महीपतिः ॥ २ ॥
 द्वाः स्थः तस्याभवत् पूर्वं वीरो वारढवंशजः ।
 नरपा [लस] मुद्भूतो हरिपाल इतिश्रुतः ॥ ३ ॥
 पुत्रस्तस्यास्ति विख्यातो भुवने लब्धविक्रमः ।
 श्रीमत्साहणपालाह्नः वैरिवर्गक्षयंकरः ॥ ४ ॥
 चारुस्तंभावलीयुक्तो रूपकैः विश्वतो महान् ।
 तेन श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य निर्ममे मंडपः शुभः ॥ ५ ॥
 चंद्रार्कौ भुवने यावद् यावदास्ते वसुंधरा ।
 कृतिः साहणपालस्य तावद् राजतु मंडपः ॥ ६ ॥

संवत् १२६४ वर्षे चैत्र शुदि १३ गुरौ । म० जालकप्रेरितेन स्वश्रेयोर्थे प्रती०
 (प्रतीहार) साहणपालेन देवश्रीवैद्यनाथस्य मंडपः कारितः etc.^१

In this extract we find a clear mention of the Pratihāras of the Bārāḍa clan. V. 3 speaks of a Pramāra ruler Dhārāvarṣa. He had *formerly* a Bārāḍa द्वाःस्थ named Haripāla. His son Sāhaṇa-

1. VI. probably verse 52 or 53.

2. The *Purātana*, p. 281.

pāla does not seem to have held this place. He called himself Pratihāra none the less, most assuredly because he felt himself entitled to the surname because of his father having once been actually a द्रास्थ or Pratihāra. Thus was laid the beginning of a new Pratihāra clan. If the descendants of some other Pratihāra too, belonging to such different clans as the Chāpotakatas, Talak etc., followed this very procedure, and there is no ground to assume that they did not at all do so, there is every probability that there existed in the eleventh century a number of Pratihāra clans which had nothing but their name in common with the ruling at Rājore.

- (b) विप्रः श्रीहरिचंद्राख्यः पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया ।
 ताभ्यान्तु ये सुता जाता प्रतीहारांश्च तान्विदुः ॥ ५ ॥
 बभूव रोहिल्लद्वयङ्को वेदशास्त्रार्थपारगः ।
 द्विजः श्रीहरिचंद्राख्यः प्रजापतिसमो गुरुः ॥ ६ ॥
 तेन श्रीहरिचंद्रेण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा ।
 द्वितीया क्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुलगुणान्विता ॥ ७ ॥
 प्रतीहारा द्विजाभूता ब्राह्मण्यां ये भवन् सुताः ।
 राज्ञी भद्रा च यान् सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः ॥ ८ ॥¹

Here again we find the mention of two non-Gūjar Pratihāra clans. The inscription recording the fact is 132 years earlier than that at Rājore, and hence no whit inferior to it as a historical record. The Brahman Pratihāras mentioned herein are found in the Jodhpur State. We might, therefore, be sure that the writer of the inscription invented no historical fiction, but merely recorded the facts as they were. Rejecting its testimony as mere trash, and calling Harichandra and his descendants Gūjars on more substantial grounds than their preconceived notions of the subject shows how even eminent historians can be led astray by their love of novelty and unreasoning partiality for theories they might have once enunciated.

- (c) श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोसौ मधवमदमुषो मेघनादस्य संख्ये
 सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेयः प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥
 तद्वंशे प्रतिहारकेतनभृति त्रैलोक्यरक्षास्पदे
 देवो नागभट्टः पुरातनमुनेर्मूर्तिर्बभूवाद्भुतम् ॥²

1. E. I. Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

2. Gwalior Bhoja prasasti, *Archaeological Survey of India*, 3-4, p. 1.

The above extract mentions a line of the *Raghuvaṃśin* Pratihāras. The inscription from which it is taken is about a century earlier than that at Rājore. Rājaśekhara, the court-poet of the Pratihāra rulers Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla, confirms its testimony by calling the former '*Raghurāmaṇi*,' and the latter *Raghuvaṃśamuktāmaṇi*.¹ The Haras inscription of the Chauhān ruler Vighraharāja II mentions a certain *Raghukulabhūchakravartī*.² The reference is obviously to some Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj, and even Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has to recognize it as such. That even a record of a partly hostile dynasty should regard the Imperial Pratihāras as Raghuvaṃśins is remarkable indeed. Further the Haras inscription, being incised in V. S. 1030, is almost contemporary with the Rajore inscription of V. S. 1016. Had the Imperial Pratihāras been regarded as Gūjaras in Mathanadeva's time the writer of the Haras inscription would not have, just fourteen years later, gone out of his way to mention them as scions of the Raghu family. That it explicitly calls them so, and the contemporary Rājore inscription does not contradict its statement by saying anything different,³ should have, I think, even before this administered a quietus to the arguments of those who are determined to make the Imperial Pratihāras Gujars merely on the ground that a member of some other dynasty, namely Mathanadeva, the feudatory ruler of Rājore, has been called a Gujara Pratihāra i. e. a Pratihāra of the Gurjara family.

The above extracts, and the Rājore inscription prove the existence of at least the following Pratihāra clans (1) the Gurjara Pratihāras of Rajore (2) the Raghuvaṃśin Pratihāras of Kanauj, (3) the Bāraḍa Pratihāra of Iḍar, (4) the Brahman Pratihāras of Mandore, (5) and the Kṣatriya Pratihāras of the same place. That many more clans like that might have existed can be easily inferred, for the word Pratihāra has, after all, got an occupational sense, and belongs to the same class of terms

1. *Bālabhārata*, I, 11, and the prologue of the drama.

2. V. 19.

3. The words of the inscription are :

परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीक्षितिपालदेवपादानुव्यातपरमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवानामभिप्रवर्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये संव-
त्सरशतेषु दशसु etc.

as Mehtā, Chaudhari, Majumdār etc., noted above. So there is obviously not much truth in Dr. Bhandarkar's theory that all Pratihāras are Gūjars.

We now pass on to the theory of Mr. C. V. Vaidya. He is just to the other extreme, and regards all Pratihāras as Kṣatriyas of one clan. That theory. That position is indefensible will be seen from what has been said in the last paragraph.

Dr. D. C. Ganguly contends strongly against the connection of the Pratihāras with the Gūjars. Dr. Ganguly's View. That his arguments regarding the Gurjar-Pratihāras of Rājore are rather weak has been shown elsewhere.¹

For the rest we can in some measure agree with his views. He recognizes the existence of three branches of Pratihāra dynasty one ruling in Malva and Kanauj, the second in Vallamāṇḍala, and the third in Gurjara. The third, he has only considerations identified with the Guhila kingdom of Chāpā. As regards the other two, he regards their rulers as descendants of a Brāhmaṇa. His view, as regards the origin of the Pratihāras of Vallamāṇḍala is testified as correct by the Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Bauka. But as regards the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj it has to be rejected as going against the testimony of the work of Rajaśekhara, the Gwalior Prāśasti of the Pratihāras and the inscription of the Chāhamāna ruler Vighraha II noticed above.

We have now only one theory more to consider. Our discussion of the views of the other writers on this subject has already led us to the following conclusions:—

- (i) That there were at least five or six Pratihāra clans.
- (ii) That these belonged to different castes.
- (iii) That the word *Pratihāra* is only an occupational title preserved by the descendants of the members of various castes and clans who originally held it.

These are exactly the views of Mahāmahopādhyāya P. Ganguly shankar Hirachand Ojha. His theory is thus the only one that accords, according to our findings, with historical evidence. It is non-biased reasoning, and can, for that reason, be accepted unreservedly by every student of history.

1. See our paper 'Dr. Ganguly on the Gurjaras and Gurjaratrā', published shortly in the *Indian Culture*.

2. See Dr. Ganguly's 'History of the Gurjara Country'. I. Part. Vol. X, pp. 613 ff.

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REVIEWS

The Child in Ancient India by Kamalabai Deshpande, Ph. D., Principal S. N. D. T. Women's College, Poona 4. New Stores, Booksellers and Publishers, Poona 4. Demi. pp. xv, 2. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a revised form of the Thesis submitted by the author for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the German University of Prague. Dr. Kamalabai Deshpande had the privilege of sitting at the feet of the world-renowned scholar, the late Professor Dr. M. Winternitz. The work is an important contribution to the history of Indian religion and social life.

The life of a Hindu is accompanied by religious rites right from his conception until after his death. These rites go under the name of *samskāras*. A *samskāra*, according to the author, is a socio-religious rite by the performance of which the life of a present Hindu or Brāhmaṇical Ārya is sanctified. Although etiological parallels to these rites can easily be traced in various ancient races, yet it seems that the ancient Aryans viewed the worldly life of a man from the point of view of the realisation of the Supreme. Hence, they regulated even this *pravṛttiprasaṅga* *samsārayātrā* and brought it under the hard and fast discipline of the *samskāras*. Whatever their original form might have been, it is clear that with the advancement of time these rites became more elaborate and assumed different shapes. The present work deals with nine of them, beginning with *Garbhādhāna* and ending with *Upanayana*. The treatment is mainly based on all the four printed *Gṛhyasūtras* with occasional references to the relevant parts of the *Dharmśāstras* and the Vedic texts. The method adopted in the study is thoroughly scientific. Each *samskāra* is chronologically traced in *Gṛhyasūtras* belonging to different schools and after a careful analysis and description, the author has not only interpreted its origin and its sociological significances, but the author has spared no pains in making her expositions exhaustive and clear and it "throws a considerable light on the mutual relation of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and the Vedic schools to which they belong."

She divides the *sūtras* into four groups :—

1. *R̥gveda-sūtras* viz., *Āśvalāyana S'āṅkhāyana* and *Kaus'i-taki*. It is considered to be the oldest group.
2. The first group of the black *Yajurveda-sūtras*, viz., *Baudh-āyana*, *Āpastamba*, *Hiraṇyakeśin*, *Bhāradvāja* and *Pāraskara*.
3. The second group of the Black *Yajurveda-sūtras*, viz., *Mānava*, *Kāṭhaka* and *Varāha*.
4. *Sāmaveda-sūtras*, viz. *Gobhila*, *Khādira* and *Jaimini*

Of the remaining two Vedas, namely, the White *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* the former is represented by *Pāraskara* only (which is included in no. 2 above) and the only representative of the latter is *Kauśika* (which is left out of consideration because it is more of a hand book of magic rites than a *Gr̥hyasūtra*).

The last chapter of the book is very interesting and deals with the exact time of beginning of the custom of child marriage in India. The author has discussed the question at length and after examining the internal and external evidences, has come to the conclusion that the custom must have arisen between the 7th and 11th centuries A. D.

At the end of the book we find an Appendix giving the *pratikas* of the *mantras* in the nine rites discussed in the book and their sources, a synopsis of the texts which describe the nine rites, a Bibliography of Reference Books, a Bibliography of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* and an Index. The only thing which is very badly wanting in this book is a list of abbreviations.

The book is very well done and we recommend it to every student of religion and sociology.

The Editor.

Brahmavidyā : The Adyar Library Bulletin. Edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon). Vol. I Part 1, Adyar, Madras. 17th of February, 1937. Demi. pp. 195. Annual Subscription Rs. 6/-.

We welcome this Quarterly. It was in 1901 that Col. Olcott, the President Founder of The Theosophical Society expressed a desire establishing a monthly Sanskrit Journal similar to the "Pandit" of Benares. For some reason or the other, as explained by the Editor, the idea had to be postponed until now. The

honour of starting it has fallen upon the worthy head of so eminent a scholar as Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. We congratulate the Theosophical Society for the choice, for it could not have hit upon a fitter person.

The Adyar Library is one of the biggest and the best equatorial libraries in the world. It is in the fitness of things that the Directors of the Library have launched the project of bringing into light the hidden treasures of Eastern Wisdom. As a result of its service to the cause of Spiritualism, the Journal will give a great impetus to humanistic studies. This Journal (or Bulletin as it is named) will be issued four times a year, on the 17th of February (in memory of Col. Olcott, President Founder of Theosophical Society), the 8th of May (in memory of Madame Blavatsky, co-Founder), the 1st of October (in memory of Annie Besant, the 2nd President of The Theosophical Society) and the 1st of December (in honour of Dr. G. S. Arundale, the present President of the Theosophical Society). The size of the Bulletin will be about twenty forms per issue, and between 40 and 80 forms for the whole year.

The First issue before us contains *Messages* from Dr. G. S. Arundale and Mr. C. Jinarajadasa; the Editorial *Ourselves*; *the Adyar Library was founded* by the Editor; *The name of (n)* by Prof. F. Otto Schrader; and *Notes on the Pramāṇasamuccaya of Dinnāga* by N. Aiyaswami Sastri. It has got three other publications, viz., *R̥gvedavyākhyā Mādhvakṛitā* and *Āśvamedha nagṛhyasūtra with Devasvāmibhāṣya* edited by the Editor of the Bulletin and *The Yoga Upaniṣads translated into English* by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Śāstrī and T. R. Srīnivās Ayyar. The Bulletin has notes about two mss. by the Editor and Dr. Raghavan and one Review. Printing, paper and the get-up is nothing to be desired.

We once more welcome this excellent Journal.

The Editor

The Karnāṭaka Historical Review. A Quarterly Journal devoted to Indian History, specially Karnāṭaka History. Edited by Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph. D. (London et Giessen), Professor of History and Politics, S. P. College, Poona. Published by

Secretary, Karnāṭaka Historical Research Society, Dharwar. Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2 Jan.-July, 1936; pp. 60. Annual Subscription Rs. 3.

It is with very great pleasure that we welcome the reappearance of this important Journal. For a long time the publication of the Review was irregular. But now having come in the able hands of Dr. Saletore, it will, we hope, appear regularly. The service which this Journal has been doing to the cause of Indology is not unknown to Scholars. In spite of many Historical periodicals, South Indian History has not received the attention at the hands of historians which it so very richly deserves. The Editor has very ably traced in his Notes the history of development of research in Vijayanagara kingdom. The following scholars who might be called the pioneers in the field deserve special mention :—Major Dixon, Dewan Sir C. Seshadri Iyer, Lewis Rice (who prepared the *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, published the *Coorg Inscriptions* and *Epigraphia Carnatica*), MM. Narasimhacharya, Dr. Sham Sastri, Sir Walter Eliot, Hope, Dr. M. H. Krishna and G. Yazdani of the Nizam Government. The part played by the Mysore and Hyderabad Durbar in giving impetus to the study is very commendable.

We have before us the first two numbers of volume 3. The volume contains the following articles: *Lakṣmaṇotsava—An important work on medicine*, by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma; *Local organisation in the Cālukyan Karnāṭaka*, by Dinkar Desai; *Date of Viśvalokaśa of S'ridharasena* by P. K. Gode, *The Karnāṭaka, Conquest of Cakroṭṭā* and a *Note on Jakkaṇācārya*, by the Editor and *Jakkaṇācārya—The forgotten Architect of India*, by A. Padma-abhan. Besides these articles, the volume contains Editorial Notes, Reviews of books, etc.

We wish the Journal a long and prospering career under the able editorship of Dr. Saletore.

—The Editor.

EDITORIAL NOTE

As we enter into the second year of our existence, it is our first duty to greet our customers and contributors who have kindly helped us in the continuance of our Journal. We most fervently the Almighty to bless them with every blessing, prolonged life and request them in return to continue the help and patronage as have been hitherto tendered to us.

As promised in our last issue No. 4 of Vol. I, we have been able to include Prof. O. Stein's article about life and work of the late lamented famous Indologist Moritz Winternitz, giving a glimpse of his activities in the field of Indology, who worked hard in wiping out many prejudices harboured by the so-called civilized world regarding ancient civilization and bringing home the sublime truths of the Aryan Religion. His help to India in unfolding India's treasures is incalculable and it would not be possible to make amends for it by writing a few lines in this Journal. The Editor is deeply grateful for all the help he gave him in teaching and methods while studying for the Ph. D. examination at his father's house in Prague.

We have been fortunate enough to have received till now enough material of sterling worth for publishing in our subsequent issues of the Poona Orientalist which we hope, will commend it to the scientific workers in Indology. We have a more ambitious plan than last year which we are sure will satisfy our patrons.

THE POONA ORIENTALIST

A quarterly journal devoted to Oriental studies

Vol. II]

JULY 1937

[No. 2

THE MISSING KĀRIKĀ IN THE SĀṆKHYASAPTATI

(S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri)

The search for a single Sāṅkhya-kārikā alleged to be now missing seems to have lost nothing of its fascination. It was started by the late Lokamānya Tilak, on a consideration of two factors—the existence of only 69 verses in the text of Gauḍapāda, while his own colophon refers to seventy āryās, and the existence of a rather extensive commentary discussing such alleged causes of the universe, as Īśvara and Kāla, while there is no verse original to which it could conceivably apply. It is now well-known that Tilak proposed to read a kārikā in the following terms, immediately after the 61st verse, in the commentary on which occurs the now apparently irrelevant discussion :

kāraṇam īśvaram eke bruvate kālam pare svabhāvam vā |
prajāḥ katham nirguṇato vyaktaḥ kālaḥ svabhāvaś ca ||

The verse was suggested in this form in the *Gītārāhasya* but subsequently in an article in the *Sanskrit Research* (a magazine now defunct) the first quarter was changed to "kāraṇam īśvaram ke puruṣam," presumably on the ground that the commentary both in the *Gauḍapāda-bhāṣya* and the *Māṭhara-ṛtti* mentions puruṣa as an alleged cause. Professor Har Dutt Sharma, not knowing this, suggested the identical change for the same reasons in an article contributed to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.¹ The present writer in both his editions of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* suggested that there was no need for postulating a lost kārikā, that the commentary under verse 61 is not so unintelligible at least in the Chinese version of it, and that the number, seventy, may be arrived at by a process of subtraction (from the seventy-two or seven-

1. V, iii, 421 et seq.

ty-three recognised by other commentators) rather than by a process of addition. Some of those arguments were noticed and refutation attempted by Prof. Har Dutt Sharma in his edition of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* with Gauḍapāda's *Bhāṣya*.¹ The present writer's conclusion based on a study of Paramārtha's version were published in an article on 'Māṭhara and Paramārtha'.² And now comes Mr. Ledrus with an entirely new suggestion as to the lost āryā.³ What he says has the merit of novelty, but suffers from the disadvantage of ignoring the suggestions of at least two workers in the field. Thus, he is aware of the suggestion, but brushes it aside with a light criticism, though the criticism had been made by the present writer⁴ and replied with some success by Prof. Har Dutta Sharma.⁵ And though he refers to Paramārtha he fails to see the significance of Paramārtha's omission of a verse⁶ that is reckoned in other texts. It seems therefore worth while to restate briefly the present writer's position while considering the suggestion of Mr. Ledrus.

I

At the commencement of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* are found three verses, the first and the third in anuṣṭup and the second in iambic. They are as follows :

1. Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1933.
2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1931.
3. *Indian Culture*, October, 1936.

4. See The *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, 1st edition, Madras University, 1931.

The criticism urged is that it is difficult to imagine three commentaries missing out the verse, but faithfully copying the commentary thereon. The answer of Prof. Har Dutt Sharma calls attention to the possibility of the text and commentary forming independent Mss., so that the theistic vandals who interfered with the text had no access to or ignored the commentary, and the copyists of the commentary might have been ignorant scribes who made no intrusion. This is not convincing; for we have yet to know by what process or fiat a complete erasure of the verse could have been effected in all the Mss. available in the country; if the erasure had been effected by such a thoughtful theist would he have forgotten the commentaries? Prof. Sharma's suggestion is plausible and deserves to be noticed instead of being ignored as by Mr. Ledrus.

5. P. 56, fn. of his Sanskrit text.
6. Verse 63 in the Indian texts.

sarvavidyāvidhātāram ādityastham sanātanam ।
 nato 'smi parayā bhaktyā kāpilam jyotir īśvaram ॥ (1)
 kapilāya namas tasmai yenā 'vidyodadhau jagati magne ।
 kāruṇyāt sāṅkhyamayī naur iha vihitā pratarāṇāya ॥ (2)
 namaskṛtya tu tam tasya vakṣye jñānasya kāraṇam ।
 hitāya sarva-śiṣyāṇām alpa-grantha-samuccayam ॥ (3)

Then comes what we now know as the first of the Sāṅkhyakārikās. The second of the three verses cited above occurs at the commencement of the *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* too, where 'naur iha' appears as 'naur iva'; and it is followed by this verse in āryā metre;

alpagrantham spaṣṭam pramāṇa-siddhānta-hetubhir yuktam ।
 śāstram śiṣya-hitāya samāsato 'ham pravakṣyāmi ॥

It will be seen that this verse expresses the same idea as that of verse 3 above mentioned, the metre alone being different. The Chinese commentary, which belongs probably to the same period and most likely derives from the same original, does not have any of these verses, but the ideas of verse 2 are found in the introduction, which speaks of Kapila experiencing great compassion 'seeing humanity plunged in blind darkness.' It is permissible, therefore, to suppose that the verse 'Kapilāya namaḥ' formed part of the original work of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa himself, instead of being a commentator's invocation. The supposition is strengthened by two other considerations: the author of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, following *śiṣṭācāra*, should have composed an invocation; the lack of an invocation is noticed by Vācaspati who tries to explain it away in his *Tattvakaumudī*.¹ Further, a commentator would be expected to offer obeisance if at all, to the author of the work commented on, instead of stopping short with a homage to the remote founder of the system; we find this, for instance, in Vācaspati who mentions in his second invocatory verse not only Kapila, but also Āsuri, Pāñcaśikha and Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. It is true that no reference to the

1. Thus says Mr. Ledrus, basing himself on the following words of Vācaspati: "Yadyapi duḥkham amaṅgalam, tathā 'pi tatparihārārthatvena tadapaghāto maṅgalam eye 'ti yuktam śāstrādaḥ tatkīrtanam iti." But surely this has nothing to do with offering an invocation. Should a śāstra begin with an inauspicious word like "misery"? And the answer is that as there is mention not merely of misery, but also of its extirpation (apaghāta) the commencement is certainly auspicious.

teachers following Kapila is found in the three early commentaries: Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha. This negative feature coupled with their agreement in essentials would suggest that they all derived from an original commentary by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa himself. In such a case, of course, there would be no reference to himself in an invocatory verse. One may, however, expect an introductory verse mentioning the composition of a commentary and this (according to Mr. Ledrus) is just what we have in the anuṣṭup verse "namaskṛtya tu tam" etc. The relative pronouns here necessarily refer to an antecedent in a preceding verse; what is more natural than to suppose it to be Kapila, mentioned in the second verse? Hence verses 2 and 3 should have been by the same hand; the former in āryā metre is an integral part of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, bringing the number to seventy, when reckoned along with the sixty-nine known to Gauḍapāda; the latter verse is part of the original commentary which was variously plagiarised by Vedāntins (as represented by Gauḍapāda), Bauddhas (as represented by Paramārtha) and Bhāgavatas (as represented by Māṭhara). The last-mentioned, as having most in common with the *Sāṅkhya*, tampered least with the commentary; hence we have even Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's introductory verse preserved; Māṭhara (in consonance with his general policy of supplementation) has added an introductory verse of his own, the first of the three cited above. Gauḍapāda (in consonance with his policy of plagiarism and mutilation) recast Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's introductory verse into a different form, in āryā metre, to make the commentary appear to be his own. From all these considerations it would seem clear that the verse 'Kapilāya namaḥ' etc. is the first *kārikā* of the *Sāṅkhyasaptati*.

II

It will be readily conceded that the argument of Mr. Ledrus is both ingenious and intriguing. The metre and sentiments of the verse in question are worthy of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. It is difficult to concede, however, that anything like a conclusive case has been made out.

(1) The need for an invocation has not been established. As noted earlier, what Vācaspati says about "maṅgalam" relates not to any invocation, but to the auspiciousness of the initiation.

word in the work. And the very fact of his attempting a justification would seem to show that in his time the clear tradition was that "duḥkatraya" etc. was the first verse of the work. Works are known which are begun and successfully finished without any invocation.¹

(2) The fact that two commentators agree in citing that verse is of little probative value, especially when, on other grounds, the conclusion is necessitated that they derive from a common source. The possibility of a common source is admitted by Mr. Ledrus himself. Whether the original commentator was Īśvara Kṛṣṇa or not, it is not unintelligible that an invocatory verse of that commentator was taken over by both Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara.

(3) The occurrence of words like 'blind darkness' in Paramārtha's introduction proves nothing, since corresponding words are found in Māṭhara's prose-introduction (upodghāta) too: "andhe tamasi majjaj jagad idam adrākṣīt." Whether the commentator was expanding here what was contained in his own verse or in the original author's verse cannot be decided without very much further evidence.

(4) It is not correct, therefore, to say that the invocation "Kapilāya namaḥ" etc., finds a place in all the "synoptic (sic) commentaries" prior to Vācaspati. Prof. Har Dutt Sharma has made out a very plausible case² for considering the *Jayamaṅgalā* as having preceded the *Tattvakaumudī*. This *Jayamaṅgalā* has only one invocatory verse:

adhigatatattvālokaṁ lokottaravādinam praṇamya munim |
kriyate saptatikāyāṣṭikā jayamaṅgalā:nāma ||

No one is mentioned by name; the reference to 'muni' would most appropriately relate to Kapila, as the term does not appear to have been applied to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and we do not even know if he was at any time an ascetic. If a commentary of that antiquity could omit all reference to the author of the *Kārikās*, it calls for no great effort of imagination to hold that both Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara composed (or made use of an extant and well-

1. Readers will be familiar with the discussion in the *Tarkadīpikā* as to the necessity for a maṅgala.

2. *IHQ*. V, iii, 421. et seq.

known) invocatory verse to Kapila and left Īśvara Kṛṣṇa the cold. The hypothesis that the invocation to Kapila should have come only from the author of the *Kārikās* seems hardly necessary.

(5) Scholars have maintained that the ultra-rational theistic (if not atheistic) system propounded in the *Kārikās* derives not directly from Kapila but through Pañcaśikha. The atheistic colouring is indeed what is supposed to be meant in the statement "tena ca bahudhā kṛtam tantram" in the seventeenth verse.¹ Whatever the merits of this conjecture, there can be no doubt that Īśvara Kṛṣṇa must have owed a considerable debt to Pañcaśikha's work. By reckoning in the āryā "Kapilāya namaḥ" and necessarily leaving out of reckoning the verses now numbered 70-72, the work will be deprived of all reference to the might of sāṅkhyatīrthas who succeeded Kapila.

(6) The verse beginning with "namaskṛtya tu tam" does not necessarily proceed from a commentator. Assuming that it comes from Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, it may well refer to the work itself, not to a commentary, since no word specifically denoting a commentary occurs in that verse. On the contrary, the word "vakṣyāmi" (in contrast with the "pravakṣyāmi" of Gauḍapāda) would seem to indicate the original in preference to the commentator. The hypothesis of a commentary by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa must stand therefore on other grounds than this anuṣṭup verse ascribed to him.

(7) The construction of that verse itself, with its "tasya jñānasya kāraṇam" (meaning "the cause of knowledge according to him") and the repetition of the obeisance (compared with "kapilāya namaḥ" and "namaskṛtya tu tam") is not such as to favour the view of its composition by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa.

(8) The need for an antecedent for the relative pronoun 'tam' and 'tasya' may be satisfied by a relation to the first verse which is also in anuṣṭup metre and expresses homage to the Lord that is Kapila. Incidentally it may be noted that "Īśvara Kṛṣṇa" at the end of that verse is probably a reference to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. The homage in the third verse (as at present arranged) would appropriately proceed in this case from the author of the *Kārikās*.

1. See Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, I. 221.

mentary to the author of the *Kārikās*. The metre would suggest grouping of verses 1 and 3 together, the intrusion of verse 2 being due to scribal error. The occurrence of that āryā in more than one commentary does not compel us to assume that Īśvara Kṛṣṇa composed it, as it may well have been taken over from what was the original for both *Māṭhara* and *Gauḍapāda*; in the alternative it may have been a well-known form of obeisance to Kapila which was bodily taken over by both commentators even because of being well-known at that time.

(9) If anything, Gauḍapāda's second verse "alpAGRANTHAM" etc. has a greater likelihood of being Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's composition, since it reads better. It is, however, in āryā metre and cannot be recognised as Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's by those who would make out that he composed no more and no less than seventy āryās. If certain āryās, in spite of being his composition, are to be treated as falling outside the main *Saptati*, there is nothing to prevent us from recognising some of the kārīkās, subsequent to the sixty-ninth in the reckoning of Gauḍapāda, and neglecting kārīkās like "Kapilāya namaḥ" even assuming the ascription of these to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa to be correct. The word "pravakṣyāmi" presents a difficulty, but it is not insuperable; it does not necessarily mean something other than "vakṣye"; even if it did, this āryā would square better with the hypothesis that Īśvara Kṛṣṇa wrote the original commentary too. It is both unwarranted and uncharitable to assume that Gauḍapāda wanted to pass off the commentary as his own and therefore deliberately tampered with Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's verse "namaskṛtya tu tam" etc.

(10) The suggestion that Māṭhara was more faithful because of being a Bhāgavata, and so on, merits no special consideration, since no evidence is adduced for it.

(11) The justification for Tilak's conjectural verse has not been adequately considered. As noted earlier, the one criticism urged by Mr. Ledrus was anticipated by the present writer and met in a way by Prof. Har Dutt Sharma.

(12) Some other points of criticism urged by the present writer have, however, to be repeated. What is now verse 61 states there is nothing which can be reckoned "sukumārataram more sukurāra)" than Prakṛti. The suggested verse discussing

Īśvara, Kāla etc. is said to follow on this. At the end of this discussion, however, both Māṭhara and Gauḍapāda hark back to the word "sukumārataram."¹ This would be unintelligible should another verse intervene. Prof. Sharma's reply is that some scribbler finding the discussion of Īśvara etc. under verse 61, and finding no occasion for it there, committed the officious blunder of trying to link up the commentary with verse 61. The hypothesis requires too many assumptions—that some one mischievously erased the verse about Īśvara etc., that some other or others failed to realise that the commentary related to the missing verse and that these same or others again interpolated passages to exhibit the commentary as relating to verse 61. Surely this must have much more justification than at present for such a mass of assumptions.² We have yet to get a single copy of *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* or *Māṭharavṛtti* which departs from the text as we have it. How are we to explain the uniformity in what are alleged to be acts of omission and commission? Is there any evidence of organised vandalism? The objection is not conclusive. But no more is the original position.

(13) The verses now numbered 56 to 62 form a continuous passage. The first states that creation is the work of Prakṛti; the second gives us the analogy of the secretion of milk in the cow for the sake of the calf; in the next verse we are told that Prakṛti performs functions for the release of puruṣa, just as, in the world, a woman undertakes action in order to be rid of desire; then comes the analogy of the danseuse who desists from dancing after having exhibited herself; in verse 60 the selflessness of Prakṛti is extolled by a comparison with a faithful woman-servant; verse 61 tells us that, after having been seen, Prakṛti no longer seeks to bind the puruṣa, since being sukumāratara, it no longer comes within the puruṣa's ken; therefore, says verse 62, puruṣa is of a certainty neither bound nor liberated, nor

1. Māṭhara says: "sukumārataram ity etad vākyaśeṣaḥ kṛtaḥ yaḥ sukumārataram pradhānam tasmād ucyate" etc.; and Gauḍapāda "ataḥ kṛteḥ sukumārataram subhogyataram na kiñcid Īśvarādi kāraṇamasti" ity matir bhavati."

2. The difficulty becomes all the greater when we see that quite a passage relating to verse 61 succeeds the discussion of Īśvara etc., in *Māṭharavṛtti*. This is the case in the Chinese commentary too.

he migrate. Why imagine that this entirely natural sequence was interrupted by a verse about God and time? Assuming that the sixty-second verse discussed these topics, what would be the propriety of "tasmāt (therefore)" in the succeeding verse about the puruṣa not being really bound or released?

(14) The discussion of Īśvara etc., in the commentary on verse 61, does not seem so inappropriate, on a consideration of Paramārtha's version. "Sukumāratva" has then been rendered as delicacy and treated as synonymous with being subtle. The *Jayamaṅgalā* (which, as said earlier, appears to be an old commentary) also renders the word as "sūkṣmataram itarat." Only the ultimate cause of the entire universe can claim to be subtler than all else. It is therefore open to an objector to say: "How is Prakṛti the subtlest? She is not the cause of the world, but Īśvara or puruṣa or kāla or svābhāva." An early commentary—which probably served as basis for Māṭhara, Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha—foresaw such an objection and attempted to meet it. The commentator's line of thought is fairly clear in Paramārtha, whereas there appears a jump in the versions of Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara. The author of the *Jayamaṅgalā* probably followed the older commentator in his interpretation of *sukumāratatva*, but discarded the subsequent discussion as irrelevant to, though deducible from, what is expressly found in the *Kārikās*. The evidence of the *Jayamaṅgalā* and of Paramārtha deserve greater consideration than they have received in this connection.

(15) Paramārtha's version of the *Saptati* is also important for its omission of what is now reckoned as verse 63. The omission was known to Tilak, who, however, following Takakusu, concluded that it must have been due to oversight since the idea of the verse is found even in the *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, III, 73. This consideration should have had no weight. The occurrence of certain ideas and expressions in the *Sūtra* can give at best a remote probability of their having occurred in the *Kārikās* too; where, however, a verse seems merely repetitive and out of place, and there is evidence of its omission in one text, the argument for its omission from other texts too gains strength. Verse 62 says that puruṣa is never bound, that Prakṛti alone binds itself through itself. Verse 64 says "From the repeated study of the truth thus (that the

puruṣa is never bound, etc.), there results the wisdom 'I do exist, naught is mine, I am not' which leaves no residue (to be known), is pure, being free from Ignorance, and is absolute. The word "evam" in verse 64 naturally relates to what is stated in verse 62, not to the content of verse 63, about Prāṇa binding itself through seven forms and releasing itself through one form. Further, verses 44 and 45, which recount the seven forms and the effects of each, have already indicated release from jñāna and bondage from the other seven; verse 63 restates this in a summary form: it is inconceivable that Kṛṣṇa would have resorted to idle repetition in a continuous work. Nothing can be lost by cutting out verse 63. It is true that all commentators (with the exclusion of Paramārtha) have commented on it; the commentary, however, amounts to more than a repetition of the text in other words. One may have guessed that, faced with a needless āryā, they yet did not care to ignore it and so gave it the honour of a few words of comment. It is not easy to explain how or when this verse was allowed to intrude; but the difficulties are not greater than in explaining how a verse came to be left out of all texts including the Chinese. The hypothesis of intrusion has at least the evidence of omission from the Chinese text.

(16) On the assumption that verse 63 is an intruder, the problem of reckoning seventy āryās is simplified. The usual admitted number is seventy-two. This gets reduced to seventy-one by the omission recommended. The last of these begins with the words "saptatyām kila," is, again on the evidence of Paramārtha, not the composition of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa; for we are told: "An intelligent man of this (school) has composed this verse." It is on the face of it probable that the assessment of *Saptati* in relation to the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* was made by a later student of both, than by the author of the former work. This leaves room for seventy verses beginning with "duḥkhatraya" and ending with "saṁkṣiptam āryamatinā saṁyag vijñāya siddhāntam"; the last verse would be in the nature of a colophon indicating authorship, the purpose (viz., condensation) and the fidelity of the work to the original teaching; and indebtedness to all teachers of note would also have been expressed in verses 68 and 69 (or 70 as at present reckoned). We shall thus have a brief epitome of the system indulging in no unnecessary discussions or repetitions. Is it not then a more worthy and profitable attempt to look for a superfluous than for a missing āryā?

1. That later writers composed āryās tacking them on to the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* is evident from the 73rd verse in the *Mātharavṛtti*.

SOME IMPORTANT DATES FROM THE KHARATARA GACCHA PAṬṬĀVALI COMPILED BY JINAPĀLA, ETC.

(Dasharatha Sharma)

Some time back I contributed a short paper to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* showing the importance of this *Paṭṭāvali* for historical purposes. On going through it once more I find the following additional extracts containing important dates:—

1. (a) ' संवत् १३१० वैशाख सुदि ११ श्रीजाबालिपुरे...पञ्चदश साधवः कृताः ... तस्मिन्नेव वैशाखे १३ स्वातिनक्षत्रे शनौ वारे श्रीमहावीरदेवविधिचैत्ये राजश्रीउदयसिंहदेवादिराजलोकसमागमे...नानाप्रतिमानां महामहोत्सवेन प्रतिष्ठापितं' । (p. 476)

(b) ' संवत् १३१४ माघसुदि कनकगिरि उपरिनिर्मापितप्रधानप्रासादो-
रिध्वजारोप श्रीउदयसिंहराजप्रमोदपूर्वकं निर्विघ्नं संजातम् । (p. 48)

The latest date hitherto discovered for Udayasimha, the Chāhamāna ruler of Jālor, is V. S. 1306.¹ The above extracts prove that he was reigning in both the V. S. years 1310 and 1314.

2. ' संवत् १३१६ श्रीजाबालिपुरे माघसुदि १४ धर्मसुंदरिगणिन्या वर्तनीपदं माहसुदि ३ पूर्णशेखरकनककलशयोः प्रव्रज्या माघ सुदि ६ सुवर्णगिरौ लोशांतिनाथप्रासादे स्वर्णकलशस्वर्णदण्डारोपणं पद्ममूलिगाभ्यां श्रीचाचिगदेवराज्ये कृतं' (p. 48 a)

The earliest inscription of Chāchigadeva, the son and successor of Udayasimha of Jālor, bears the date akṣaya-tṛtīyā of the month Vaiśākha of the (Vikrama) year 1319². Our extract gives a date more than two years earlier than this. Chāchigadeva must have, therefore, succeeded to the throne somewhere between this date, i. e. V. S. 1316 and V. S. 1314, the last date supplied by our manuscript for Udayasimha.

3. (a) सं. १३३५...फाल्गुण वदि श्रीसमरासिंहमहाराज रामराज्ये यासन्ननगरग्रामसमुदायमेलके समस्तब्राह्मणलोकजटाधरराजप्रधानक्षेत्रसिंहकर्ण-
जपुत्रप्रमुखराजलोक नागरिकलोकेशु मध्येभूय महोत्सवं कुर्वाणेषु ... बहूनां
तेमानां...प्रतिष्ठापितमहोत्सवः संजातः । (p. 52 b)

1. Bhandarkar—The Chāhamānas of Marwar, E. I., XI, p. 76.

2. Ibid.

(b) फाल्गुण सुदि ५...चकरहट्टी अंबिकायाश्च ध्वजारोपमहोत्सवः
राज्यधुराधरणधौरेयराजपुत्रश्रीअरसिंहसन्निध्यात् तीर्थप्रोत्सर्पणकारी
(p. 52 b)

These two extracts supply not merely V. S. 1335 as for Rāwal Samarasimha of Chitore but also give some additional information about him. The first of these extracts, for instance, tells us that Kṣetrasimha was Samarasimha's chief minister and Karnaśimha probably one of his sons or relatives. The second extract is equally important. It tells us about Rāṇasimha, most probably the father of the celebrated Rāṇa. He seems to have been in charge of affairs in Samarasimha's kingdom. The compound word सकलराज्यधुराधरणधौरेय clearly implies that all power in the kingdom really rested with this all-powerful kinsman of the Rāwal.

4. ' संवत् १३४२...ज्येष्ठकृष्णनवम्यां...बहूनां विंशानां महता श्रीसामंतसिंहविजयराज्ये... प्रतिष्ठामहामहोत्सवो विहितः । (p. 55 b)

The extract gives V. S. 1342 as a date for Sāmanta the Chāhamāna ruler of Jalor.

5. ' संवत् १३७१ ज्येष्ठ वदि दशम्यां सं. भोजराज ... देवसिंह सकलश्रीजाबालिपुरीयसमुदायकारितः... महामहोत्सवः श्रीपूज्यैः कृतः महोत्सवे... साध्वीनां च दीक्षा प्रदत्ता । ततो स्लेच्छकृतो भंगः । '

Mūta Nensi gives V. S. 1368 as the date of the capture of Jalore. Jinaprabhasūrī gives V. S. 1367 as the date of the capture of the temple of Sāuchor by Alauddin's army.² Taking this fact into consideration, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar regards this date as correct.³ But more authoritative than this is our *Pratibha* which being completed in V. S. 1393, and compiled from a very carefully kept, is an invaluable source of history of the fourteenth century of the Vikram era. It gives V. S. 1371 as the date of the capture of Jalor. The year is *Kārttikādi*.

We shall deal with the remaining important dates from the manuscript in a further instalment to be contributed in the future to this journal.

1. Ibid, p. 78.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

THE PURĀṆAS : THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE

(V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar)

Writing on the Purāṇas in the *Cambridge History of India*, Professor E. J. Rapson makes the following observation ;

' The historical character of these works is disguised by their setting. They have been made to conform with Indian ideas as to the origin and nature of the universe and its relation to a First Cause. The effect of this has been to remove the monarch, who is represented as reigning when the recital takes place and all his predecessors from the realm of history into the realm of legend and it has been found necessary to preserve the illusion throughout the subsequent narrative.'

(Vol. I. p. 303).

Students of Ancient India who have been specialising in this branch of literature are coming more and more to the conclusion that the Purāṇas represent an authentic historical chronicle. Purāṇa means old and a Purāṇa means an old story. In ancient Indian literature we often meet with the expressions Purāṇam, Itihāsa Purāṇam and Itihāsa Purāṇam. These may mean legendary or historical lore. The *Rāmāyaṇa* gives the hint that the term Purāṇa meant a prophecy made in ancient times. This means that though the Purāṇas were reduced to writing about the fifth century B. C. much of the material they treat of goes back to the remote antiquity. In fact the Vedic legends are reproduced in different form in these Purāṇas. There is a significant verse in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and repeated by the *Matsya Purāṇa* which says that the Purāṇa was first remembered by Brahmā and then came out the Vedas from the mouth of the Creator :

प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।

अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिस्सृताः ॥

Tradition is unanimous that the Vedas are the oldest literature and according to the orthodox point of view they are revealed texts. Either the Purāṇa puts forth an undue claim the statement has some truth in it. The Pandit will explain

1. पुराणे सुमहत्कार्यं भविष्यति मया श्रुतम् ।

दृष्टं मे तपसा चैव श्रुत्वा च विदितं मम ॥ IV. 62, 3 .

these apparent paradoxes as *kalpāntara viṣaya*. This means every *kalpa* there is new creation or recreation, and when it occurs, some of the oldest traditions get preserved in the *kalpa*, and hence the Vedas in some places seem to speak of events. And whatever tradition was narrated, it was in the *Purāṇa*.

The theory that holds the field is that originally there was a single *Purāṇa* and as traditions grew more and more, these had to be recorded in more than one book, so much so that the literature grew unwieldy. It was Vyāsa—literally compiler—who analysed this mass of literature and composed the eighteen *Purāṇas*. To distinguish them from the *Upapurāṇas* of the later times, these came to be called *Mahāpurāṇas* or the major *Purāṇas*. Rooted then in Vedic literature the *Purāṇa* has attained the status of being ranked the fifth Veda.

The attitude of western scholarship towards these *Purāṇas* deserves to be examined. Western scholars regard *Kṣatriya* literature as different from the Brahmanical literature. While the Vedic literature is said to be entirely Brahmanical, the Epics and *Purāṇas* are said to be *Kṣatriya* literature. This is based, among others, on two grounds. One is that the heroes and heroines of the legends and stories are all *Kṣatriyas* and therefore largely dealing with the *Kṣatriya* as such are to be reckoned as *Kṣatriya* literature. Or the *Purāṇas* are narrated by the *Sūta* who is looked upon, on inconclusive evidence, to be of *Kṣatriya* origin.

Let us examine these points. As regards the first point, excepting the *Vaṁśānucarita* portions which form one-fifth of the first book and that only of seven *Purāṇas*, the rest are descriptions of Manus, *Prajāpatis* and sages. If the *Purāṇas* refer to *Kṣatriyas*, the Vedas equally make a reference to them. On this account can we call the Vedas *Kṣatriya* literature? Very important and more relevant to the point at discussion is the fact that *Yayāti*, *Purūravas*, *Māndhātā*, *Śibi*, who are all *Kṣatriyas* of the first rank are said to be authors of hymns of the *Rgveda*. The *Purāṇas* themselves are called the fifth Veda and are distinctly of *Kṣatriya* character.

With regard to the second point the position of the *Purāṇas* has been much misunderstood. The term *Sūta* means

sage and *ayoniya*, a charioteer, a citizen of the Sūta or Anūpa country. There was the Sūta of the mixed caste. But the Sūta who is narrating the Purāṇas belonged, we have to assume, to the line of the mythical hero who sprang out of the sacrificial fire of the first king of the earth, Pṛthu. He was a venerable sage and an *ayoniya*. He was the first chronicler, and his chronicle was that of Pṛthu. It became the duty of the Sūtas to narrate chronicles of kings and sages in the sacrificial halls of Brahmins and sages. In those days when the system of Varṇāśrama Dharma was looked upon as a sacred institution, can we possibly conceive that a member of the Sūta caste gained admission first into the sacrificial hall the *sanctum sanctorum* and then was elevated to the rank of addressing sages and seers? He is universally addressed as Mēdhāvi and Mahābhāga. In fact among earlier writers it is Kauṭilya who makes a clear distinction between Sūta Paurāṇika and the Sūta of the mixed caste. Thus we have to conclude that there is no force in the statement of a Kṣatriya literature as separate from Brahmanical.¹

This digression apart, the extant Purāṇas can be roughly divided into three divisions: Mahāpurāṇas or major Purāṇas, the Upapurāṇas which are minor Purāṇas and Sthalapurāṇas or local Purāṇas. We are all quite familiar with the term Purāṇam Pañcalakṣaṇam.² These are the five characteristics of a Purāṇa: *sarga* or creation, *pratisarga* or periodical destruction of the world and its renewal, *vaṁśa* or genealogy of gods and sages, *manvantara* or genealogies of Manus, *vaṁśānucarita* or the history of the kings belonging to the solar dynasty and lunar dynasty. It must be remembered that all the Purāṇas do not conform to this rule. In fact there is conflicting tradition as to the characteristics of a Purāṇa. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* we are told that the pañcalakṣaṇas are applicable only to the Upapurāṇas, and not to the major Purāṇas. To the latter the *Brahmavaivarta* assigns other characteristics or *daśa-lakṣaṇa*. It is interesting that the *Bhāgavata*³ *Purāṇa* makes mention of the *daśa-lakṣaṇa* in two

1. See for details DIKSHITAR: 'The Purāṇas—a Study' IHQ, vol. VIII, pp. 757–60.

2. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वंतराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चेति लक्षणानां तु पञ्चकम् ॥

2. II. 10. 1 ; XII. 7. 8. ff.

places. One must aver that these rules are not strictly followed in these Purāṇas. The explanation is simple. The Purāṇas which now exist are not the old versions of Purāṇas. Much of the old version has been lost and to the preserved portions additions have been made from time to time. Hence the discrepancy. The major Purāṇas generally deal with cosmological and cosmogonical lore, besides genealogies of Manus, sages and kings. Viewed in this light the Pañcalakṣaṇas are more applicable to Mahā-Purāṇas. The Upapurāṇas have been tacked on to the Mahāpurāṇas. The very prefix *Upa* shows beyond doubt that it was a later addition. With regard to Sthalapurāṇas these are valuable in the study of place-names. They record local tradition tracing a town's history from its original foundation. It may be covered with a mythological veil here and there. And once it is lifted we get valuable information with regard to the origin and growth of some cities and towns.

In what way does the Purāṇa help us to reconstruct the history of ancient India? The Purāṇas are altogether an encyclopaedia of information and therefore very useful in writing the history of Indian culture and civilisation. By culture and civilisation we mean a history of Indian polity, of Indian society, a history of religion and philosophy, legal history, a history of arts, crafts, architecture and iconography.

With regard to Indian political and administrative institutions there are valuable chapters in several Purāṇas,¹ and special reference may be made to the many chapters furnished in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The elective and hereditary character of monarchy, king's rights and duties, the qualifications of councillors and ministers, systems of taxation and administration of justice are all described with a wealth of detail. Some Purāṇas like the *Agni Purāṇa* furnish details as to fortifications, rules of war, methods and weapons of war, diplomacy, etc. Thus a student of political institutions in ancient India will find ample material in these books.

In the same way a student of sociology will come across interesting details with regard to movements of peoples, their manners, and customs and their culture. The Purāṇas in general

1. See Dikshitar *The Polity of the Purāṇas in Ind. Review*, Vol XXXVI (1935) No. 6.

furnish very useful material as to the castes and tribes of ancient India, indigenous and foreign, and give us glimpses into their history. The origin and growth of the tribes, their locale and their relations to chief powers in the country are narrated. For example, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of the Kirātas on eastern boundary of the Jambūdvīpa and the Yavanas on the western boundary. In this connection very valuable work has been done by Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta. We have details with regard to castes, their origins and their duties. One can gather enough materials as to the conventions of the society, how they were observed to the very letter and spirit, and how their non-observance led to the degradation of persons. In a word, here we see how the society treated a man who followed the Śāstraic precepts and a man who deviated from what we may call the path of rectitude. We again meet with an account of the life actually led by the people, and how people were divided into a number of communities, how this division was ultimately made to rest on occupation and profession, and how this hereditary character enabled the ancient Indian to promote family spirit in all walks of life.

From the point of view of history of Indian religion and philosophy, the Purāṇas are infallible sources of information. In them we find the Sāṅkhya predominating. The Purāṇic concept of the Sāṅkhya will itself form the subject of a monograph if properly investigated. The sum and substance of these documents is to give up attachment, to cultivate detachment and aim at the identification with the Supreme Spirit to get riddance of all of the trammels of *saṃsāra*. How this could be effected by observance of Karma, Yoga and Bhakti is very elaborately treated. To cite one or two instances: The Pāśupata Yoga in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* is a form of prāṇāyāma no less and no more. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* again attaches importance to Yoga and Yogins. It recommends feeding of yogis and ascetics for śrāddha purposes, a practice that has fallen into disuse down the ages.¹

Again a student of Hindu law and legal institutions will find ample scope to write a legal history on the evidence of the Purāṇas. In fact many chapters in Purāṇas seem to be a reproduction of

1. See DIKSHITAR: 'Some Aspects of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*', pp. 20-28 (Madras University, 1933.)

the old Dharma Sūtras and Dharma Śāstras. The regulations with regard to varṇas, āśramas, administration of justice, do not conflict with the law laid down by the law-givers. We have details with regard to *Saṃskāras*, rituals including sacrifices, marriage and death. The Purāṇa may well be styled a Dharmaśāstra.

There is again valuable information with regard to arts and crafts. There are chapters devoted to music, for example, in *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa* which defy even discerning students of Hindu music. Reference to painting and dancing and other arts are not uncommon. There is material for study of crafts extant in ancient India. References to guilds and corporations are frequently met with.

In this connection we may refer to chapters where architecture and iconography figure largely. The origin of house building is furnished by the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and is supplemented by *Matsya*.¹ Temples and halls of stone and brick loom large in the Purāṇas so much so that the theory of Fergusson that India had only wooden building before Aśoka goes to the wall. Temples, images, and image worship. The making of these images, housing them, installing them at auspicious seasons cover portions of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and will be valued by a student of iconography. A critical study shows what deities were worshipped in Ancient India, which of them have been given up, and which continue to be worshipped to the present day. These and other things are all found scattered in the pages of the Purāṇas and is given to a student of Ancient India to critically study them and utilise them for a history of Ancient India.

A word may be said about the chronological system furnished by the Purāṇa. The section on the Manvantara furnishes a system of chronology which at first sight would seem to be arbitrary. The conception is that Time is a phase of the Supreme Spirit. With Brahmā waking or sleeping the Universe wakes or sleeps. Fourteen Manus are mentioned and the first is Svāyambhūta Manu. We are now in the epoch of Manu Vaivasvata, the son of the Sun. He was the originator of the Solar dynasty of kings while his daughter Ilā was the originator of the lunar line of kings.

1. See the chapter on Architecture in DIKSHITAR; *Matsya Purāṇa*; A Study. (Madras University).

2. C. H. I. Vol. I. p. 303.

The names of these kings in succession together with duration of their reign are furnished in the Vamśānucarita portion of the Purāṇas. The reigning line is brought in some cases to the Andhras and in some to the Guptas.

In the Purāṇas the concept of Yuga is fundamental,¹ yuga meaning a cycle. There is first a Yuga of five years, next a *kalpa* of 1000 yugas.² There is then a Manukāla of seventy-one catur-yugas. Caturyuga is divided into four unequal portions: Kṛta, Treta, Dvāpara and Kali in the proportion of 4: 3: 2: 1.. There is also mention of a historical Yuga, thirty of which go to complete a *kalpa*. The duration of the historical yuga is 2000 months. Another era used in the Purāṇas is the Nakṣatra yuga or stellar era. A particular star is reckoned a century. The starting point is taken from the star Jyeṣṭhā, literally the eldest. One hundred kings passed away in one complete stellar era of twenty-seven stars. This means twenty-seven centuries. This gives on an average twenty-seven years for a generation. Referring to the coronation of Nanda two intervals are given. The interval between the death of Parīkṣit (year of Mahābhārata war) and coronation of Nanda is 1015 according to one version and 1050 according to another. The interval between the coronation of Nanda and end of Andhra dynasty is 836 years. The Kali-abda is the oldest-current era. The year 5038 corresponds to A. D. 1937. Subtract, ing the stellar cycle of twenty-seven centuries for hundred kings 2338 is got. Subtracting again 1937 from 2338 we get 401 B. C., which is the date of accession of Nanda. According to V. A. Smith, Nanda was a powerful king in 415 B. C. If we proceed on this calculation the date of the Mahābhārata battle is to be fixed by adding 1015 to 401, i. e., B. C. 1415. According to the other version it is B. C. 1451. The explanation offered by Dr. Bose³ may or may not be accepted by scholars. But it is certain that he offers a working principle to the system of chronology propounded by the Purāṇas.

1. This subject is dealt at length by Dr. G. Bose in his *Purāṇapraveśa* in Bengali reviewed in the *Ind. J. of Statistics*. According to Dr. Bose one *Kalpa* is 5000 years and a manukāla is 355 years.

2. राजंश्चतुर्दशैतानि त्रिकालानुगतानि ते ।

प्रोक्तान्येभिर्मितः कल्पो युगसाहस्रपर्ययः ॥ Bhā. p. VIII. 13. 36

3. Op. Cit. *Ind. J. of Statistics*.

PĀTĀLA THE HINDU ANTIPODES

(Harilāl Rāngildās Mānkad)

In spite of the other theories put forward with plausible reasoning, the average Hindu has always believed the Pātālas to be existing on the other side of the Earth. Its place is practically taken for granted to be directly under the feet. This notion has the authority of the Epics and the Purāṇas to back it up. It is not only the vague or the general mention that is to be relied upon, but actual communications between these worlds are described in some details. We find that every important personage of Epic and Purāṇic time has had the pleasure of visiting these¹ delightful regions. Of course the mystery of their visit can only be satisfactorily gauged by the research of the modern communication in those times. There is, at any rate, frequent mention of very rapid journeys to and from the Pātālic region.

This region of the Pātāla is not a myth but we possess general and detailed information about its various geographical features—physical, economical, mineral, etc., including human behaviour. Generally the region as a whole is known as Pātāla or Rasātala, Nāgaloka or Mahātala, where resides the great Varuṇa, and which is divided into seven divisions. The names of the divisions become very conspicuous by the syllable 'Tala' at their ends. Generally accepted names are Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala, Pātāla.³ There are some variants and they are Nitala, Gabhastala, Vidhipātāla, Śarkarābhumi, Vijaya. The names of the seven regions and their respective rulers are given as follows:—Atala, subject to Mahā Maya; Vitala, ruled by a son of Śiva called Hāṭakeśvara; Sutala, ruled by Bali; Talātala, ruled by Maya; Mahātala, where reside the great serpents; Rasātala,

1. Śiva, Umā, 15; also other Purāṇas.

2. This presupposes very great possibilities of aerial travels in a distant age, restricted though they are to the Devas and the allied stock-tribes only. But the broken ends of that forgotten link still await the labours of diligent researchists for their hauling up in the service of truth.

3. Dowson's Hindu Classical Dictionary: Pātāla.

4. Ibid.

where the Daityas and the Dānavas dwell ; Pātāla, the lowermost in which Vāsuki reigns over the chief Nāgas or snake-gods.

The Pātālas are a part of the Hindu conception of the universe. This conception is embodied in comparing it to an allegorical collosus called the 'Virāṭa' or the 'Universe-Man'. Navel of this Virāṭa figure is the Bhurloka or the Earth. The parts of the trunk above the navel and upto the crest of the head represent the Lokas or the Spheres of the Space. While the Pātālas are represented by the parts of the legs reaching upto the under-surface of the feet. This aphoristic representation delineated by the Hindu tendency of putting things in a nutshell for ready reference was misunderstood to be true by later generations who had lost the key of deciphering its correct significance. This has created the present confusion and though the description naturally refers to the orographical surface of the Earth, it is mistaken to be referring to the successive subterranean strata. Evidently the description had been misunderstood by those who believed the Earth to be a flat disc during the intervening dark age of the Hindu civilization when outside intercourse was nil and even shunned by people acting upon the religious tenets forbidding seavoyages.

In their mythological sense the Pātālas are the abodes of the serpents and are reached by descending through a hole in the Earth's crust. But this is a pure myth and no one believes it seriously and is a physical absurdity. Yet, as will be seen further, two things are very prominent : 1. They are under the Earth ; and 2. They are situated one below the other in descending order and, as the names suggest, widening downwards. The former puts the Pātālas on the other side of the Earth and the latter gives them altitude and suggests their mountainous character. Again as Pātāla is also called Mahītala, Dharātala, Pṛthvītala, etc. it strengthens the first point and as it is called a Nāgaloka, from 'Naga' a mountain, it supports the second point.

The lexicons explain the word Pātāla as 'Adhobhūmi' meaning 'under-world'. This word is suggestive of the place of Pātāla assigned on the legs downwards on the Virāṭa. The Hindus have two orders of progressive calculations : the circular and the linear. In the circular order one always proceeds in the Pradakṣiṇa order i.e. one first goes to the south and so on. While

in the linear order one proceeds from east to west where east is first and west is last. On the Virāṭa Collosus the face represents the east or the sky space and the feet represent the west or the under-world. So the regions which are towards the feet of the Virāṭa are in reality on the west.¹ Now as the Hindu continents begin with Jambudvīpa on the east and end with Śākadvīpa on the west and as the Pātālas are said to be situated in the Śākadvīpa, the Pātālas are on the extreme west from the Jambudvīpa. They are on the other side of the Earth and called 'Adhobhita' because they are towards the feet of the Virāṭa. It is something like saying 'the north-pole is above and the south-pole is below' in a modern map. The reasoning in both the ancient and modern cases is perfectly similar.

Again as the Pātālas are represented on the Universe-Man's legs they might be supposed as existing in duplicate. As they might be taken as zonal areas on either side of the equator. Then the divisions are somewhat like this in both the northern and the southern hemispheres: 1. Equatorial hot belt; 2. Torrid; 3. Warm torrid; 4. Warm temperate; 5. Cool temperate; 6. Cool frigid; 7. Polar frigid. This identification would place the Pātālas in circular belts engirdling the Earth which does not tally with their place explained by the *Mahātala*, etc. But then they might represent the mountain zones which are identical with the geographical zones. The duplicate character will also be borne out by the two slopes of the mountains. We might, to represent both kinds of zones, take them to be extending along a mountain range on the one side of the Earth, which would of course mean the Rocky-Andes Cordillera. But there is no sanction of the Hindu Texts for the duplicate character of either sort. The Texts clearly mention them as only seven severally and individually. It is interesting to note that the different levels of mountains also are recognised in Sanskrit by the same names as the parts of the human legs—feet (Pāda), waist (Kaṭi) and hips (Nitamba). When all possibilities are thus eliminated the Pātālas can be given their natural place on the sloping terraces of a mountain range.

1. Vāmana 11, 41.—जम्बुद्वीपात्समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।
2. Bhāg. VIII, 11, 46 ; MBH. Udyoga, 120, 4f.

something like the Simla people talking about the Delhi people as residing downhill on the planes. In fact the word 'Pātāla' can almost be literally translated into English by the word 'Down' as seen in Marlboro Downs, South Downs, etc.

If broader view is taken of this latter sense the Pātāla may be taken to mean places situated in the mountain valleys at different altitudes. The sub-montaigne region of the Himalayas, similarly situated, is known by the name of 'Tarāi' in Nepāl and adjoining places. For Pātāla sometimes the word 'Bhūvivara' is used. This means 'an intervening space', which sense is markedly embodied in the word Tarāi. Etymologically Atala, Vitala, etc. indicate places having more and more habitable space, which condition exists on the mountain terraces. This latter idea is embodied in the word Pātāla, derived as 'Pāta' and 'Alam' meaning 'Enough fall'. This sense of the Pātālas as valley regions appears to be very likely, as, though the Hindu method of marking the continents was by the separating oceans, the countries were demarked by the dividing ranges of mountains. There is an interesting description based on this system, of the countries of the Jambudvīpa in the Varāhapurāṇa.¹ But the Bhāgavata² actually describes the location of Pātāla as 'Giridaryām' meaning 'in the mountain recess' and puts all other speculations at rest.

The foregoing discussion suggests that as the Pātālas are most probably situated on the Ghāts or terraces on the other side of the Earth, they should be allocated, legitimately, along the Pacific slopes of the northern Andes. Americas are really on the other side of the Earth for the Hindus, yet the accompanying³ map will clear the issues for taking the Andes as situated in the nether regions. The map shows the east on the top according to the Hindu system of cartography. It also shows the divisions of the Earth as known to the Purāṇas. They begin with the Jambudvīpa and end with the Kṣīrasāgara. It also shows the Śudhhoda, the Suvarṇabhūmi, and the Śeṣa, that is to say, the remaining islands

1. Varāha Chps. 75 ff.

2. Bhāg. V. 24, 23 :—यत्तद्भगवतानधिगतान्योपायेन याच्नाच्छलेनापहतस्वशरीरावशेषितलोकात्रयो वरुणपाशैश्च संप्रतिमुक्तो गिरिदर्या चापविद्ध इति होवाच ॥

3. Reproduced from my article of 'Saptadvīpā Pṛthivī': ABORI, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Pp. 226 ff.

of the Kṣīrasāgara. It may be remarked that this meaning Śeṣa is in accordance with the Hindu custom. When they have a great many things to be enumerated, they repeat the first and¹ refer the subsequent ones as 'Śeṣa' meaning 'Remainder'. So the Nāgas who dwelt in these hundreds of islands were naturally called Śeṣa-Nāgas which in later mythology became hardened into 'Śeṣa-serpent with thousand hoods'. Thus there are three different groups of Nāga tribe residing in the Mahātīr Pātāla of Vāsuki and the Śeṣa-islands of the Kṣīrasāgara or the Pacific.

But the identification of this region is differently interpreted also.² One view places them between the Hindukush and the Caspian Sea.³ Another view places them with islands beginning from Sumātrā and ending with New Zealand. The third view is to allot them to the Konkan in the Western Ghāts of India. And the fourth view⁵ identifies them with the Americas.

Analysis of these theories shows that the last view is partially correct inasmuch as it recognises the antipodal arrangement. It is defective inasmuch as it does not take into consideration the different levels of the Pātālas. The third view is also partially correct inasmuch as it recognises the descending order of the Pātālas but it is defective in not taking into consideration the antipodal character. The other two views are defective in the tests of antipodal and altitudinal arrangements.

The first and the third theories are, moreover, based on philological considerations and many names of the Nāgas and other tribes are successfully identified on linguistic authority. It is worth noting that these tribes can be found in more places than these two areas. For example, the third theory can be

1. Cf.:—अत्राद्यमहामांगल्यप्रदपौषमासे दशम्यां तिथौ चंद्रवासरे मकरस्थिते श्रीसूर्ये शेषेषु ग्रहेषु यथास्थानस्थितेषु.....

2. IHQ. Vol. I. 1, 3; Vol. 1—4;—'Rasātala or the under-world' Nando Lal De.

3. M. M. Yajnik's Map of the भूसंस्थानम्.

4. Prof. Rajwade's article as reproduced in the Introduction of X of the Gujarati Ahmedabad Edition.

5. Educational Review Vol. XXIX, 5, 7, 8;—'Ancient Hindu Geography' by Dhyana Chanda.

to the words like Bali etc. This is true because those tribes have always been migrating from place to place, mostly resorting to mountain fastness owing to the inroads of the conquering tribes. Under these circumstances purely philological argument becomes very deceptive. In fact we have already got two, or even three identifications based on the same reasons. Samples of these words are given below together with the words drawn from American names of places:—

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Marathi</i>	<i>American</i>
Rasā	Araxes	...	...
Surasā	...	...	Huaras
Tala	Tele	...	Tula, Tlan
Śākadvipa	Scythia	...	Zacatecan
Sumeru	Meros	...	Soma Paz
Atala	Atele	...	Atlin, Atlantic
Hātakesvara	Zarafshan	...	Huascar
Talātala	Tochares	...	Taltal, Atlatl Tochtli
Maya	Maga	...	Maya
Mahātala	Hactele	...	Huacatl, Acatl
Mahitala	...	...	Mexicatl
Sutala	Kidarities	...	Hootalinqua
Vāsuki	Usuvi	Vase, Bhāse	Wishoskan
Karkoṭaka	Karakasak	Kokte, Gokte	Cauca
Takṣaka	Takieak	Takhe, Tikhe	Texas, Tekax
Ugraka	Uigars	...	...
Uraga	...	...	Uruguay
Aśvatar	Asparian	...	Ashvanipi
Kāliya	Kara	Kāle	Kalpayan, Calima
Hiranyākṣa	Hyrcania	...	Huanacache
Garutmān	Garotman	...	Guatemala (Quauhtematlan) (Land of Eagle)
Sarpa	Sarwya	...	Serpa
Tāmra	Thamara	...	Trombetas
Bali	Bel	...	Balize
Yakṣa	Jaxartes	...	Yaqui, Yguaza

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Marathi</i>	<i>American</i>
Kinnara	Kimeraii	...	...
Kimpuruṣa	Chimborazo
Aśma	Asabama	...	Ancasmayu
Haihaya	Hui-he	...	Huahua
Kalaśa	Kolushan
Āryaka	...	Ādke	Arauco
Haridraka	...	Halde	Haidan
Kukuṇa	...	Konkan	Koukan
Tālakara	...	Tālekar	Talca
Āstika	Aztec
Kukura	...	Kokara	Cuicuirā
Halimac	Apurimac
Śala	Huila
Parṇa, Pūrṇa	Parana
Mahāhanu	Huahum
Eraka	Arica
Veṇī	Beni
Vīra (bhadra)	Vira, Vera
Arunika	Orinoco
Devaśāla	Teocalli
Pātāla	Patlene	...	Patolli
Vinatā	Ventana
Vinatāri	Ventuari
Gunakeśi	Guanaken
Gurubhāra	Gurupy
Vātāśi	Potosi
Pannagāśi	Panguapi
Nandini	Nandu
Ikṣvāku	Iguassou
Suparṇa	Suapure
Īśa	Ica
Kūtapākṣa	Cotopaxi
Amara	Aymara
Amṛta	Amorta
Sāgara	Yaguar
Uttuṅga	Tunguruagua
Nāga	Ruminagui

<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Marathi</i>	<i>American</i>
Yakṣasthāna	Yucatan
Śhree	Shyri
Kukuta	Cucuta
Goyāna	Guina
Kauravya	Kourou
Rāma	Rama
Varuna	Paru, Peru
Pātaṇa	Peten
Kuśana	Kushan
Chola	Chol
Takṣaśila	Tlaxcala
Mātāgāmi	Mattagami
Nahuṣa	Nahua

The American words are submitted for the resemblance only. Still it can be seen that the words show the possibility of locating Nāgaloka or the Pātāla in four different places viz. Turkistan in western Asia, Konkan in Western Ghāts, East India Islands, and the Americas. Thus mere linguistic words fail to arrive at a definite conclusion. Moreover the Asiatic words are believed to be the original of the Sanskrit names, but many words can be proved¹ philologically to have the Sanskrit as the parent word. This adds to the uncertainty of this sort of evidence. There is another unnatural feature in the thesis of the first view of Nando Lal De. Though he rightly puts the Pātālas in the Śākadvīpa yet as all its dvīpas are taken within the present Asiatic boundaries, he has no other go but to locate the Śākadvīpa somewhere near Caspian Sea relying on philology as he does. This he has been able to do very clearly and almost exhaustively. But he has ignored the two fundamental requisites of the Pātālic regions—the antipodal and mountainous character.

On the contrary the Hindu Dvīpas were real continents as we understand them to be at present and did actually tally with the modern land masses. I reproduce (please see the map) my identification of the Dvīpas etc. as given elsewhere.² They are

1. Vasundharā—a Gujarati Magazine, Vol. I, 1, 28 ff.
2. 'Saptadvīpā Pṛthivī' already referred to:—ABORI, Vol. XVIII, Part III, Pp. 226 ff.

in order : Jambu (Asia), Kṣāroda (Indian Ocean), Plakṣa (Minor-Enlarged), Ikṣurasoda (Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea), Śālmali (Africa), Suroda (Mediterranean), Krauñca (Europe), Ghṛtoda (Arctic), Krauñca (N. America), Dadhimandara (Atlantic), Śāka (S. America), Kṣīroda (Pacific), Puṣkara (Australia and Islands), Śuddhoda (Antarctic), Suvarṇabhūmi (Antarctic). With this classification of the Earth, the Pātālas get their natural place in the Śākadvīpa and hence in the modern South American Continent.

If we can collect the actual words as pronounced by the natives today, we may in most cases, come nearer to the original words. But as materials for such collations are almost non-existent, we rest satisfied by pointing out the possible philological similarity between the Hindu names and the present American names.

According to the Hindus¹ the eastern quarter is the birth place of human races. This is represented by China which is legitimately the most populous country even now. This appears quite natural as the cradle of human races must be the most populous owing to the multiplicity of population during all the milleniums. Naturally also their civilization was of the highest type. Thus the Devas, as the Tibetan Chinese might well be called,² were very much envied by the Manuṣyas, the Indians. The summum bonum of their civilization consisted in their refinement, taste, freedom of life, and facility of aerial travel in their Vimānas which seems almost restricted to them and the allied tribes Siddhas, Gandharvas, etc. These nations were classified under the groups called the Devas, etc., Manuṣyas, and Daityas, Nāgas, etc. As observed above the Devas might be the Mongolians, the Manuṣyas might be the Caucasians, and the third group might consist of the Blacks, Reds, and the like. Dawn of mythological history shows settlements of these races already distributed on the globe: the Nāgas, etc., in the Pātāla; the Manuṣyas in India and towards; and the Devas, etc., in the countries on the north of the Himālayas. The Purāṇas have preserved, since these times, the struggle for existence and superiority in the form of frequent

1. MBH. Udyoga, 108, 6.

2. Varāha Chps. 75 ff; Garga. 7, 47-48.

communications, migrations and warfare. In this connexion it is very significant that the whole of the Purāṇic history, that is not Indian, is exclusively devoted to the activities of the Devas (the Asiatic Mongols) and the Dānavas (the American Reds) pitted in eternal and vigourous opposition.¹ During the period of oblivion that followed the Dark Age even the existence of these activities was clean forgotten and the nations developed on independent lines on both sides of the mighty Kṣīrasāgara, the present Pacific Ocean. Nevertheless the old history of America based as it is on documents and other archeological finds shows many interesting vestiges reminiscent of the old connexion extending as late as the post-Epic period when the Epic heroes had hardened into religious images. For example, we get references to Rāma and Sitā and also Kṛṣṇa. As we know, Rāma was of solar dynasty and the Peruvians believed their Incas also of the solar race and² called their chief festival 'Rāma-Sitva'. In the Mona³ Excavations some images of Kṛṣṇa are found and it is shown that their sculpture is of Hindu artisans. Apart from these there is a river called⁴ Rama in Nicaragua at present. Again the services of Mayadānava to the Pāṇḍavas are well-known in the Mahābhārata and the Māyan civilization of Yucatan in America has also become now well-known. The date of this Hindu period of old America comes as far as the conquests of Pizarro and others in the 16th century. We go a step further back in this direction when we get a mention⁵ of Pleiades rising due east and considered to be the signal of the beginning of the Mexican calendar cycle of 52 years. According to astronomical calculations this heavenly phenomenon was happening about 2500 B. C. But even without this as the civilization of America was later than the Epics, as seen above, and as the Epics recognised the Pātālas as part of the Hindu geography, the date of the Hindu activities in the Pātālas shifts itself very much further back. But we are concerned here not with the exact date. We are concerned only with the remote antiquity of Hindu connexions with the American continents for the possibility of the Pātālas being there.

1. अमृतमंथन, देवासुरसंग्राम etc.
2. The Vedic Magazine, Sept. 30.
3. Ibid.
4. En. Br. (13th) XIX, 642.

It seems that the Pātālic region was first colonised by the Nāgas whereby it became known to the later immigrants and geographers by the name of Nāgaloka. And according to tradition these continental Nāgas seem to have migrated to the islands Kṣīrasāgara with the help of Garuḍa. The story is told in the beginning of the Mahābhārata¹ in the Āstika Parva. The whole episode is very interesting and very helpful in delineating the position of the Pātālas on the globe.

Before the birth of Garuḍa his mother Vinatā and her sister Kadru who was also her cowife and the mother of the Nāgas assembled in a place where they saw Uccaiśravas the divine horse fleeing by and differed as to the colour of the horse whether it was black or white. Both of them went after the horse and got it after crossing the great ocean, when Kadru with the help of her sons the Nāgas was able to prove deceitfully that the horse was black in the tale and Vinatā in accordance with the condition previously entered upon, became the slave of Kadru. In the meanwhile Garuḍa was born and leaving his father's place the Manuṣyaloka went to Nāgaloka where his mother was serving Kadru, and reached that place after crossing a big ocean. There he and his mother in obedience to the wish of Kadru, carried with them the Nāgas to an island which was formerly possessed by Rākṣasa. From here he was ordered to shift them to some more beautiful island. At this he asked his mother the reason of this sort of enslavement and inquired of the Nāgas the price of their freedom, who asked for Amṛta as ransom. So Garuḍa crossed the ocean, brought the Amṛta from the Devaloka, recrossed the ocean and gave it to the Nāgas and got his mother's freedom. Amṛta was of course stolen back by Indra as previously arranged before the Nāgas could partake of it. It is, here, worth noting that this scene is laid on the opposite shores of an ocean, and this is an important fact to be noted: on this shore are situated Manuṣyaloka and the Devaloka and on the opposite shore is situated the Nāgaloka by which evidently is meant the American continent.

This story, thus, determines the position of the Pātālas and the Nāgaloka. But in another story the Nāgaloka is itself

1. MBH, Ādi, Āstika.

2. MBH, Udyoga, 97 ff.

cribed in detail. Mātali the charioteer of Indra wanted to select a bridegroom for his daughter Guṇakeśī. He searched in vain for a suitable boy among the Devas, Gandharvas, etc. He wanted to try in the Nāgaloka. On way he was met by the great Nārada who was going on a visit to Varuṇa. Both, as usual, entered into the Earth and reached the Nāgaloka and there they saw Varuṇa the lord of waters. He gave them right royal welcome and they, with his permission, began to move in the Nāgaloka. Of course they first travelled the region of Varuṇa where the Devas had subdued the Rākṣasas and the Daityas, the original masters of the place. In this Loka a great fire is always burning, presumably a volcano. The place is well protected. Here the canopy of Varuṇa is dripping incessantly with water but being overcovered with darkness is not visible to the eyes. There are many wonders to be seen in this place but owing to want of time Nārada leads Mātali to the Pātala which is situated in the¹ midst of the Nāgaloka. Here the water-eating fire keeps on burning. The Devas have kept this fire under check lest it might swallow the oceans and all. This is an excellent description of an active volcano whose eruption has just subsided. Here the Devas have vaulted the surplus quantity of Amṛta after they had it to their heart's content. This excellent abode is called Pātāla because Moon, the symbol of water, rains (Pāta) plenty (Alam) of water like the moonstone. This is the place where Airāvata, the Indra's elephant, fills the clouds with water and Indra empties them in the form of rain: Here the Daityas, taken as prisoners of war by Indra, are undergoing their penal servitude. Here also is the egg which would send forth the all-consuming fire at the time of the world's final dissolution—again a description of a threatening volcano. As here also Mātali does not find a suitable husband for his daughter, Nārada takes him to Hiraṇyapura the residence of the Daityas and the Danavas. The city was planned by the great architect Mayadānava. The houses of this city are scientifically constructed in accordance with the rules of architecture. The place contains plenty of recreations. Here also Mātali does not find a proper

1. MBH, Udyoga, 99, 1 :—एतत्तु नागलोकस्य नामिस्थाने स्थितं पुरम् ।
पातालमिति विख्यातं दैत्यदानवसेवितम् ॥

husband. Nārada takes him 'in another direction of the earth the Garuḍaloka. The Garuḍas are said to be the enemies of Nāgas and are very swift goers and good carriers of burdens. From here Nārada goes to Rasātala, the abode of Surabhi, the divine cow. The skirts of this place are washed by the Kāśyapa sāgara. Nārada says, "There is an old saying that the residence in Nāgaloka, Svargaloka and its Vimāna is not as delightful as the residence in the Rasātala." The last place shown by Nārada Mātali is the Nāgaloka and its metropolis the Bhogavati. This place is guarded by Vāsuki and here resides the Śeṣa and all the big Nāgas. Here Mātali selects one Sumukha. Mātali takes the boy with him to Indra who blesses him with long life as he was threatened to be devoured by Garuḍa. After this Guṇakēśava married to Sumukha and they return to Nāgaloka. This description of the Pātālas is obviously of the regions as readjusted to the 'Devāsurasaṅgrāma' and its consequent occupation by the Devas.

This rather long citation is interesting in many ways for the subject under discussion. It places the Pātālas in a decidedly volcanic area. The narration places the region on the shores of the Kṣīrasāgara. The Nāgaloka is peopled by many tribes: Rākṣasas, Daityas, Dānavas, Garuḍas, Nāgas, etc. The Nāgas are considered worth the matrimonial connexions by the people of the Devaloka. These deductions very well fit in with the conditions prevailing in the north Andean tract of South America¹, which is preeminently volcanic, receives good rainfall, and is washed by the Pacific Ocean—say, from Bolivia to Mexico.

The order of the places in Nāgaloka may be noted. Pātāla is the centre and after reaching Hiraṇyapura the direction is changed and then the three other places are visited. It gives this order: Hiraṇyapura, —, Varuṇālaya, Pātāla, Garuḍaloka, Rasātala, Nāgaloka. Of course the seventh place is missing but it should be between Hiraṇyapura and Varuṇālaya and should represent the first of the other order.

The Mahābhārata says that the two above stories are recorded in accordance with the traditions handed down from different times. The Rāmāyana² also records one episode in which Rā-

1. Śiva-Umā. 15.

2. Uttara 20 ff.

the lord of Laṅkā, goes to the Pātālas to satisfy his passion for ravages.

After ravaging the Maṇuṣyaloka Rāvaṇa starts for the southern quarter in his newly-acquired Puṣpaka Vimāna for the purpose of conquering Rasātala. Nārada meets him in the way and tells him that the way he is going is not that of the Rasātala but would lead him to Yamapurī. Yet Rāvaṇa persists and attacks the Yamapurī itself and then directs his Vimāna towards the Rasātala and passes over the ocean. On the way he storms Bhogavatī of Vāsuki. Next he goes to Maṇimayī of Nivātakavaca but after some fighting makes friends with him on the intervention of Brahmā. Then he comes to Aśmanagara of Kāliya Daitya and subdues him. At last his 'aeroplane' reaches the abode of Varuṇa situated by the side of Kṣīrasāgara. After defeating the sons of Varuṇa he returned to Laṅkā by the way he came. This whirlwind campaign against the Pātālas resembles a modern aerial raid and terminates as suddenly. This description also refers to the places as readjusted after its occupation by the Devas.

The importance of the Rāvaṇa's hurricane raid lies in the direction of the route. Rāvaṇa first goes to the south to the Yamapurī and thence he proceeds to the Pātāla. There also he first reaches Bhogavatī of the Nāgas and the abode of Varuṇa comes last. This order is exactly the reverse of the route followed by Nārada and Mātali in the Mahābhārata. The episodes read together place the Bhogavatī of the Nāgas on the extreme south of the Pātālic region and the Varuṇa's place is northernmost reached by Rāvaṇa. Nārada has shown Mātali one more place Hiranyapura which forms the northern extremity of the Pātālas and whence he returns to visit other places 'in another direction of the earth'. Thus Hiranyapura and Bhogavatī form the northern and the southern extremities respectively of the Pātāla regions. This region in each case is reached by crossing a great ocean and lies along its shores as a long and narrow strip of land.

It is wellknown that Bali was made to retire to¹ Sutala by Vāmana. When the Devas and the Dānavas² churned the Kṣīrasāgara for the sake of Amṛta, Bali was naturally working with the Dānavas. After the emanation of Amṛta from the ocean

1. Bhāg. VIII, 23.

2. Bhāg. VII, 6 ff.

the Devas quaffed it off and there ensued a terrible and far fight between the rival parties on the margin of Kṣīrasāgara. When in the end Bali was stunned by a blow of a club, Nāga intervened and the fighting was suspended. At this time Bali was taken to the Astagiri² for treatment. Astagiri is in the Śākadvīpa and this latter is South America. After Bali's evacuation from Sūtala it was assigned to Varuṇa as already said. The story supplies very important information inasmuch as it gives places in one and the same locality existing side by side, Sūtala, Astagiri, hence Śākadvīpa, and Kṣīrasāgara. This reveals that the Pātālas were situated on the Kṣīrasāgara in the Śākadvīpa that is to say on the north Andean Pacific coast of South America. It may be noted that Varuṇaloka, Sūtala, Pātāla, Rasātala, Nāgaloka are each actually described by different authorities as situated on the Kṣīrasāgara. This clearly establishes that the whole of the Pātālic region was a maritime tract situated on the Kṣīrasāgara.

As already said the words denoting Pātālic regions are conspicuous by the syllable 'Tala' coming at the end of each of them. With reference to this it is of unusual interest that the syllable 'Tl' or 'Tal' or 'Tlan' is seen in the names of places situated on the entire Pacific coast of America from Alaska to Chile. The names are Hootalinqua in Alaska; Atlin and Taltal in the northwest Canada; Tuxtla and Popocatepetl in Mexico; Taltal, Talca, Talcahuā in Chile. In some cases this may be an accident and may even be of recent origin. But the fact remains that the existence of the syllable in the old Mexican names of the age does not seem to be an accident, because it is as conspicuous by the syllable used in a variety of ways, as the Pātālas. Here are some of the words; Mexicatl, Nahuatl, Aztlan, Coatlicatl, Teotl, Ayutla, Huistla, Tlaxcala, etc. etc. It should be noted that 'Tlan' means 'place' and the 'Tala' means 'sun'. Again this is a pure American source which shows the possibility of the Pātālas being situated somewhere in the vicinity of America whose both the Pacific and the Atlantic coasts possess places with 'Tl'.

1. Bhāg. VIII, 105.

2. Bhāg. VIII, 11, 46.

But there is a striking corroboration forthcoming from an unexpected quarter. Though it may appear strange but the word Atlantic possesses the very name of the first Pātālic region, the Atala. This word Atlantic is given to the ocean by the Europeans following a tradition that the island of Atlantic was situated there.

The Encyclopædia Britannica¹ gives the following information about it :—

"Atlantis, Atalantis, or Atlantica, a legendary island in the Atlantic Ocean, first mentioned by Plato in the Timæus. Plato describes how certain Egyptian priests in a conversation with Solon, represented the island as a country larger than Asia Minor and Lybia united, and situated just beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar). Beyond it lay an archipelago of lesser islands. According to the priests, Atlantis has been a powerful kingdom nine thousand years before the birth of Solon, and its armies had overrun the lands which bordered the Mediterranean. Athens had alone withstood them with success. Finally the sea had overpowered Atlantis, and thenceforward had become unnavigable owing to shoals which marked the spot..... Medieval writers for whom the tale was preserved by the Arabian geographers, believed it true, and were fortified in their belief by numerous traditions of islands in the western sea, which offered various points of resemblance to Atlantis... .. After the Renaissance, with its revival of interest in Platonic studies, numerous attempts were made to rationalize the myth of Atlantis. The island was variously identified with America, Scandanavia, the Canaries, and even with Palestine."

"Atlas in Greek mythology, the 'endurer'. Homer, in Odyssey (i. 52), speaks of him as 'one who knows the depths of the whole sea, and keeps the tall pillars which hold heaven and earth asunder'. In the first instance, he seems to have been a marine creature. The pillars which he supported were thought to rest in the sea, immediately beyond the most western horizon. A figure of Atlas supporting the heavens is often found as a frontispiece in early collections of maps."

1. En. Br. (13th) II, 857d—858b.

The passages say that Atlantis and Atlas lay beyond most western horizon of Europe in the ocean; that the land as big as Asia Minor and Lybia united; that Atlantis was a powerful kingdom at a very early date; that the island was identified by some with America; and that Atlas bore much resemblance to the Śeṣa of the Hindus. All these points support Hindu belief of the Pātālas being situated on the other side of earth. Not only this but they show that the Hindu tradition penetrated the European mythology and the very word Atala passed on to the farthest bounds of Europe into the Atlantic Ocean and even beyond it. The word Atlantic itself can be derived from Sanskrit 'Atala-Anta-Ka' meaning 'which ends in Atala' or 'to the very ends of Atala'. It will not then be considered an idle guess if the word Atlantic is believed to have a connexion with the Mexican syllable 'Tlan'. Thus the Pacific and Atlantic coasts are reached from the Pacific as well as the Atlantic coast of Mexico giving full support to the arguments advanced upto now. There is something more. The Atlantis is said to be equal in extent to Asia Minor and Lybia united in extent, that is to say, they occupied about 40 degrees of land measured from north to south, the extent of the Pātālas as heretofore delimited from Mexico to Bolivia, also occupied 40 degrees of length—20 degrees on each side of the equator. Thus Atalantic was not purely an imaginary romance invented by Plato and Homer but was the tradition and legitimate reminiscence of the actual 'Atala' of the Hindus. The position of the 'Atala' or the Pātāla region, as determined by the degrees as above, verifies the Hindu words used for it, viz. Atala, Mahātala, etc., being the central portion of land divided by the equator and on the other side of the earth.

It may be noted that this western approach was in the line of the Hindus and the Mahābhārata³ actually points out in the western direction the submarine mountain of Akṣayamandira as the root of the Himālayas. Again the actual antipodal existence of land was known to the Hindus and Bhaskarācārya,⁴ the late

1. अतलं अन्तः यस्य स अतलान्तकः or better अतलस्य अन्तिके यः अतलान्तिकः.

2. Śiva, Uma, 15.

3. MBH. Udyoga, 110, 9.

4. Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Chap. III.

astronomer, describes the Pātāla regions as such and assures people that those who dwell there are not liable to fall off the Earth. Intercourse (may be casual) from the Asiatic coast also existed even after the Christian Era and there is a reference to the¹ Chinese having reached America in A. D. 500.

The description of the Pātāla as given in the Hindu Texts is very graphic.² All the seven places are geographically mountainous, volcanic, rainy, and situated near the ocean. Life in those regions is said to be very lavish. There are very fine cities built in accordance with the architectural theories. The houses are really attractive. There are recreation grounds interspersed in the cities. There are plenty of gold, silver, gems of all kinds and all other amenities that help to make life profusely happy in all its walks. The society is also nicely developed with all sorts of relations and connections. In short it was believed that life in those places was even richer and happier than that enjoyed by the veritable Devas themselves. There is, however, one unwelcome trait from the modern point of view. The Dānavas and the other tribes of the region were very cruel to their enemies and even took great delight in devouring them and sacrificing them in the name of religion.

This description of the Pātālas bears much semblance to the Mexican³, Mayan⁴, and the Peruvian⁵ civilizations as reconstructed by the archæologists. The ruins which exist, fully bear out the architectural skill of the ancient Americans. They are described as gigantic and beautiful constructions. The splendour with which the Incas⁶ of Peru lived was enough to create envy in the mind of the most extravagant monarch of modern times. 'He had all his things made of beaten gold—his plates, shrines, palaces, and even his gardens were bedecked with golden clay, golden corn, golden sheep, and golden shepherds.' Mexican civilization is also described in the same strain but its religion is said to be the most⁷

1. Beagly's 'Dawn of Modern Geography' Pp. 419-490.
2. E. G.—Śiva, Uma, 15; Bhāg. V. 24.
3. En. Br. (13th) XVIII, 317ff.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid XX, 264ff.
6. Illustrated Weekly of India, 4th February 1934.
7. En. Br. (13th) XVIII, 333a.

blood-thirsty ever known to human race. Not only the Mex. devoured their enemies but they described special and protracted ceremonies for a thorough religious sacrifice of a selected victim.

When all these arguments are weighed as regards the possibilities, Pātālic region can, in all probability, be identified with the present Central America together with the Andean tract adjoining the Pacific Ocean existing as it is up to on both sides of the equator—from Mexico to Bolivian Plateau.

The position of the Pātālas on the Earth is thus more or less satisfactorily identified but after this the next task of locating subdivisions of the Pātāla becomes almost bewildering because their names, their order and their direction of the order are mingled in all sorts of combinations. They are: 1. Atavitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala, Pātāla;² 2. Atavitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Talātala, Mahātala, Pātāla;³ 3. Atavitala, Sutala, Rasātala, Tala, Talātala, Pātāla;⁴ 4. Atavitala, Nitala, Gabhastala, Mahātala Sutala, Pātāla;⁵ 5. Pātāla, Atala, Vitala, Tala, Vidhipātāla, Śarkarābhūmi, Vijaya; 6. Hiraṇyapura, Varuṇaloka, Pātālapura, Garuḍaloka, Rasātala, Nāgaloka (Bhogvatī);⁷ 7. Varuṇa, Aśmanagara, Manigatī, Bhogavati. But the real clash is between the order given by Garuḍapurāṇa⁸ and the order given on the figure of Virāta as given in the editions of Gita and other works. The former gives Atala at the feet and Pātāla at the waist of the Virāta while the latter gives Pātāla at the feet and Atala at the waist of the Virāta the names in both cases remaining the same. The sixth and the seventh orders, given above, are incomplete and indicate only the places visited by Mātali and Rāvaṇa respectively. As the names given there, are as readjusted after the 'Devāsanaṅgrāma' and the occupation of the Pātālas by the Devas. Garuḍapurāṇa has the advantage of an endorsement in a

1. Bhāg. V. 24; Nārada III; Padma, Pātālakhaṇḍa.

2. Śiva, Uma, 15.

3. Ibid.

4. Dowson (Viṣṇupurāṇa).

5. Ibid (Śiva).

6. MBH. as discussed above.

7. Rāmāyaṇa as discussed above.

8. Garuḍa, XV, 56-57:—पादार्धस्तातलं ज्ञेयं पादोर्ध्वं वितलं तथा ।

सुतलं विद्धि सक्थिदेशे महातलम् ॥ तलातलं सक्थिमूले गुह्यदेशे रसातलम् ।
कटिसंस्थं च सप्तलोकाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

language expressed in Ślokas. But it is all alone in this view against all others. Yet these conflicting views can be explained. Atala at the feet and Pātāla at the waist represent perhaps only the widening expanse of areas which the seven Pātālas occupy. Just as feet occupy less space than the waist, Atala's area is smaller with reference to Pātāla. On the other hand Atala at the waist and Pātāla at the feet represent perhaps only the altitudinal positions of the Pātālas—Atala being the highest and the Pātāla being the lowest. When a compromise like this is effected between the divergent views, Pātālas can be assigned their correct positions in mountain valleys according as each occupies narrow or wide habitable space.

For a definite allocation of these regions the places referred to by the two Epics give better clues. They supply the north to south order. Water and fire or in other words the rainfall and volcanoes become the chief deciding factors. The abode of Varuṇa is the place getting incessant waterfall and has a reservoir in its midst. This indicates that the tract must be situated in that zone of America which gets the rain all the year round. Such a place in the modern map is occupied by the Central American Republics of Honduras to Panama with the Lake Nicaragua as the possible reservoir. Pātāla is also getting 'enough rain' and such a condition in the map is shown by Columbia and Ecuador. Hiranyapura is the northernmost place and is inhabited by the Dānavas. Both these conditions are fulfilled by old Mexico with its 'most blood-thirsty religion'. Nāgaloka is the southernmost place and may be taken somewhere on the junction of the frontiers of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, physically known as the Plateau of Bolivia with Lake Titicaca in its midst. Southern Peru may be Rasātala and the country lying further north may be the Garuḍaloka.

But the orthodox classification¹ is different. It is Atala, Vitala, Sutala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala, Pātāla. Etymologically this seems to be the most probable order inasmuch as the names are arranged in a sort of progression according as their areas become broader and broader. Atala has very little space. Vitala, has more space than Atala. Sutala has still more place,

1. Bhāg., Nārada, Padma, as already stated.

worth inhabiting. Talātala is divided equally between habitable and uninhabitable land. Mahātala has majority of habitable land. Rasātala has quite enough land which can be cultivated as far as Pātāla, of course, has the broadest stretch of land. The probable allocation of these places on the modern map will be somewhat like this: Atala being the abode of Dānavas, etc. should be placed in the upper Mexican territory with its blood-thirsty religion. It is ruled by Hāṭakeśvara. An image resembling Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed son of Śiva, was found in the Mexican excavations. It is also well-known that the Dānavas, etc. were the worshippers of Śiva. This circumstance may very well place Vitala in Central Mexico where the Yucatan civilization has become so famous. The isthmus of Central America from Honduras to Panama, or Balize as an accidental vestige of the bygone times, may be assigned to the ancient Sutala of Bali which the Devas afterwards assigned to Varuṇa when Bali was defeated and fled to Astācala. Talātala was ruled by Maya and may be assigned to the land occupied in South America where a place called Manipure or Mayapure is shown on the map near the Venezuela frontier. Mahātala is to be the place where Nāgas reside and may be assigned to Ecuador and part of Peru. Nāgas mean the dwellers on a mountain, i.e. a mountain. They are somewhat like the 'Ghāṭis' of the Western Ghāṭs. Rasātala is again the abode of Dānavas and may be represented by Peru with the pre-Inca tribes. Lastly, Pātāla may be taken to exist on the Bolivian Plateau round the Lake Titicaca.

This all is, of course, hypothetical, but it is backed up by several reasonable tests as discussed heretofore and hence is put forth as the most probable identification of the Pātāla and its subdivisions in general.

A VEDĀNTIC TREATISE AND ITS UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY: A NOTICE

(Sadāshiva L. Kātre)

The Manuscript

No. 3074 of our Institute, viz., the Oriental Manuscripts Library (Prāchya-Grantha-Saṁgraha) of Ujjain, maintained by the government of His Highness Mahārājā Jivājīrāo Scindīā of Gwalior, is a Ms. of a metrical work on Vedānta entitled *Svabodharatna* with a detailed commentary in prose entitled *Prabhābhāna*. The Ms. which is in tolerably good condition contains 132 bluish paper folios of the size $12\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a margin of about an inch left on all sides. Each side of the folios contains 11 to 13 lines on the average, with about 50 letters in each line. The letters are somewhat small and the handwriting, though legible, is not good. The Ms. abounds in mistakes which are due to the scribe's carelessness as also to his ignorance of Sanskrit, although the impression is left on the reader's mind that his prototype must have been a very correct Ms.

Folio 68 is not there; but as possibly no breach of matter can be traced between folios 67 and 69, the scribe seems to have inadvertently inserted the figure 69 instead of 68 on the folio.¹ Further, the figure 94 appears on two consecutive folios. Minute perusal of the Ms. detects a serious blunder of the scribe on folio 96: Verse 126 is there but an abrupt breach of matter is noticed in the Commentary whereafter we are introduced suddenly to the second half of verse 129 on the same folio. This means that the scribe has missed or left out a good deal of matter (viz., a part of com. on verse 127; verses 127 and 128 with their com.; and the first half of verse 129), which could not have been less than one or two folios of his prototype Ms., without leaving any mark to suggest his blunder to the haphazard reader!

1. Folio 67 closes with "...मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यादित्यादिश्रुतिरप्येतदभि-
प्रायैव न तु स्वातंत्र्येण त—” and folio 69 begins with “—दुपादनत्वपराऽन्यथा
सांख्यसिद्धांतापत्तिर्भवेदतो etc.”

The name and the date of the scribe are not found given in the Ms. However the water-marks of the paper used decide to assign the Ms. to a very recent age and as such remove it to about a century from the original composition of the Commentary (vide below).

The Original Text

The original treatise, consisting of 215 verses of various metres,¹ is entitled *Svabodharatna* as well as *Svānubhavādarśa* was published, along with the author's own commentary, in 18 issues at Benares.³ Only a very brief summary of the outlines of its philosophy is possible in the short space permissible to this paper.

Its Philosophy, etc.

Realisation of Ātman (i.e. the Individual Soul), ultimately leading to the sense of identity with Brahman (i.e. the Supreme Soul), the only real, uniform and surviving entity, is most essential to those desirous of salvation. The process, though extremely difficult, becomes possible to those possessing the requisite qualifications⁴ with the help of constant thinking on the lines prescribed by the Upaniṣads or the Vedānta Śāstra under the proper directions. Numerous doubts, misgivings, etc., baffling the progress of right reasoning, occur in the process due to Ignorance.

1. उपजाति (94), शालिनी (48), भुजङ्गप्रयात (24), इन्द्रवज्रा (13), कृतिलका (10), औपच्छंदसिक (10), शार्दूलविक्रीडित (6), द्रुतविलम्बित (3), उर्वर (3), इन्द्रवंशा (2) and मालिनी (2).

2. “निर्मथ्य वेदान्तसमुद्रमेतस्त्वबोधरत्नं सुलभं मनोज्ञं ॥ प्रकाशितं भिक्षुणा तन्मुमुक्षुभिर्धार्यमतिप्रयत्नात् ॥ २१४ ॥.....इति श्रीमन्नारायणशिर्यमाधवाश्रमयतिना विरचितं स्वबोधरत्नापरपर्यायं स्वानुभवादार्शाख्यं सम्पूर्णम् ॥” Our Ms. No. 2769, containing the original only, termed as *Svātmanubhavādarśa*.

3. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Nos. 171 and 256.

4. A ‘मुमुक्षु’, besides undergoing the purification of body and ought to possess the four Sādhana (viz., कर्मणि कर्मफले च दोषदृष्टिः, लेशः, मुमुक्षुता and शमादिषट्कं), should give up the sense of identity of body, etc., and attachment to wife, son, property etc., should cherish sense of aversion to worldly objects, etc.

(Avidyā), positive or negative, and it is primarily necessary to dispel the same in the light of the statements of the Veda (constituting the Upaniṣads, etc.), which is a self-evident proof when viewed with the eye of correct thinking. Striking against Jaimini's view that the Veda prescribes action (Karman),¹ our author, in agreement with Vyāsa, establishes that the Veda really stands for the supreme knowledge of Brahman². This Brahma vidyā cuts at the root of Ignorance, originating from Māyā and responsible for the appearance of the really non-existent material world (Samsāra) as also for the sense of dualism (Dvaita), and gives rise to a direct consciousness of self-experience (Śvānubhava) wherein the material world loses its existence, the sense of dualism vanishes and that of oneness (Advaita) with Supreme Self arises. This stage of self-experience, termed as Samādhi, is in itself the stage of salvation.

In the course of his various discussions the author defines or explains the Vedāntic terms like अपरोक्षत्व, विद्या, अविद्या, अध्यास, बाध, उपाधि, समाधि, प्रतिभास, माया, बन्ध, संवित्, आवरणशक्ति, विक्षेपशक्ति, आत्मस्वरूप, ब्रह्मस्वरूप, जीवनानात्व, विवर्तवाद, etc. He also describes how Brahman alone is real, existent, sentient, blissful, omnipresent, self-luminous, without qualities, etc., and everything else false or unreal; how the non-existent material world makes its appearance due to Māyā and Avidyā and how the same submerges into Brahman on the rise of the real knowledge; how Ātman, which is really identical with Brahman, is quite distinct from प्राण, बुद्धि, मनस् and other इन्द्रियs, from the स्थूलदेह, the सूक्ष्मदेह, the कारणदेह, etc.; how the sense of its identity with, or attachment to, these or alike foreign objects gives birth to various desires (Vāsanās) leading to the ghastly process of rebirth, death etc., and how it vanishes and gives place to the sense of identity with Brahman when the real knowledge is achieved and the stage

1. आम्नायसूत्रे सकलं हि वेदं क्रियापरं जैमिनिराह यत्नात् ॥ न तन्मतं चारु निषेधवाक्ये क्रियापरत्वे न हि तद् घटेत् ॥ १४ ॥ आत्मस्वरूपा हि विमुक्तिरुक्ताऽ-विद्यानिवृत्त्या ह्युपलक्षिता या ॥ ज्ञानेन लभ्या न च कर्मसाध्या ज्ञानं न लभ्यं क्रियया कदापि ॥ १५ ॥ वेदान्तविज्ञानमुनिश्चितार्था इति श्रुतिर्वक्ति यथार्थमानात् ॥ ब्रह्मैव लोकं समवाप्नुवन्ति क्रियापरत्वं न ततोऽस्ति वेदे ॥ १६ ॥

2. चेतःशुद्धौ चेतसः स्थैर्यकार्ये ज्ञानोत्पत्तौ चारु काण्डत्रयं तत् ॥ आम्नायस्यानु-क्रमाद्वेदेवेत्ता वेद व्यासस्त्वेकवाक्यत्वसिद्धौ ॥ १७ ॥ etc.

of perfection reached ; how the Vedāntavākyas (viz : 'तत्त्वमसि' : are to be explained with the help of the Lakṣaṇāvṛtti to their correct sense ; how the artificial and hard-earned pleasures of the heaven, etc., are limited in respect of time and space as such do not amount to real happiness or salvation ; how various Vidyās, Upāsanās, Tantric worships, Tīrthayātrās, Bhakti, etc., cannot lead to real salvation which is possible only through real knowledge ; how a really enlightened person becomes *mukta* and as such free from all passions, fears, desires, etc. ; the knowledge of self is essential to a real Brāhmaṇa and a true ascetic, etc., etc.

The author incessantly harps on the necessity of the destruction of Karman (action) without which the real salvation is not possible. The fruits of Karman accompany the person throughout, during consciousness (Jāgrti), dream (Svapna) and sound sleep (Suṣupti). The कर्मफलभोक्तृत्व depends upon past action and as such occurs alike to the ignorant and to the enlightened of course, with the difference that it causes pleasure, pain, etc. in the former but has no effect whatsoever on the latter. It is said that Karman, though performed through ignorance, is dedicated to God Kṛṣṇa, purifies those desirous of salvation and a man ought to do¹ his appointed duty disinterestedly avoiding the Kāmya and the Niṣiddha which lead to rebirth. The serene and blissful soul is really actionless (Akartṛ) and quite free from the effects of Karman. The acquirement of the knowledge of Brahman puts an end to Karman. If an enlightened person continues to do his duty even subsequently, he, like God, does it simply with a view to the welfare of the masses. In him there is no purpose of his own left to be served by his performance of duties.

The author, following the Bhagavadgītā, even rejects the authority of the Karmakāṇḍa portion of the Veda, as it prescribes action involving the three guṇas and thereby postpones the attainment of salvation. His main ground for rejecting the views of the various systems of Philosophy is that what they prescribe as the means to salvation is really Karman which, in fact, can never lead to liberation.

1. The Commentary says that this is prescribed only for the ignorant.

We meet in this work with some interesting discussions of which one or two may be slightly noticed here. Ancient authorities have said that death at Benares invariably leads to salvation. Our author does not deny their statement but says that as God Viśvanātha imparts the knowledge of the Tāraka mantra to the person prior to his death at Benares, in this case, too, the salvation results from knowledge and not from death as such.¹ Further, in the course of the author's attempt to establish the falsity or unreal character of everything material in the stage of perfection, an objection steps forth as to why even the Vedāntavākyas ('तत्त्वमसि') etc., forming the author's main support, should not be dismissed as false or unreal for the same reason! The author replies² that they are true and real at least so far as the stage of perfection is not reached and that once the Supreme Knowledge is attained with their help it does not matter if they are regarded subsequently as false or unreal. Further, the author says,³ truth or reality can be established even from proofs which are in themselves false or unreal!

Quotations, etc., in the Original Text

The author quotes several passages⁴ from the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads to prove his own statements and to refute those of others. He also deals with the correct sense of some Vedic passages forwarded by others in support of contrary views. He quotes and refutes the views of the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya

1. काश्यां मृत्योर्मोक्ष इत्याहुरेके तत्रापीशस्तारकस्योपदेशात् । सर्वाजीवास्तारयेद्विश्वनाथस्तस्माज्ज्ञानं मोक्षदं नैव मृत्युः ॥ १८६ ॥

2. सर्वं चैतद्वाधितं चेत्त्वदुक्त्या मिथ्याभूतं सर्ववेदान्तवाक्यम् । मिथ्याभूताद्ब्रह्मवित्ता न सिध्येदित्याक्षेपे मद्ब्रह्मत्वं शृणुष्व ॥ १६८ ॥ बोधात्पूर्वं तन्मृषा चोत्तरं वा पूर्वं तच्चेन्नास्ति मिथ्येति वादः । बोधादूर्ध्वं तन्मृषात्वं वदेथा इष्टं तन्नस्ते चिरायुः प्रभूयात् ॥ १६९ ॥

3. मिथ्याभूतादन्यतो बिम्बतो धीर्बिम्बस्यैवं दृष्टमस्तीह लोके ॥ मिथ्याभूताद्देववाक्यात्स्वरूपेणैवं ब्रह्माप्यस्तु बोद्धुं युशक्यम् ॥ १७० ॥ शुभाशुमानां किल सूचकः स्यात्स्वप्नः स्वरूपेण मृषापि सन्यथा ॥ तथा गुरुः शास्त्रमिहास्तु बोधने स्वप्नोऽनुभूतिः श्रुतितस्तु न स्मृतिः ॥ १७१ ॥, etc.

4. These passages are generally designated as श्रुति and sometimes as वेदान्तवाक्य, सर्वज्ञनारायणवेदवाक्य, etc.

Yoga and Pūrvamīmāṃsā (including the Bhāṭṭa section) system on several points and establishes the view of Advaita Vedānta. Among other works, authors, etc., mentioned in the work, we find Janaka (mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad), Kṛṣṇa the Bhagavadgītā, Vyāsa and his Brahmasūtra, the Dvaitavāda the Tantras promulgated by Śiva, previous authors and works of the Vedānta schools, the author's guru, etc., etc. He also refers to some of his predecessors under the general terms वेदविद्, महासूरि, पूर्वाचार्य, etc. in some of which the Commentator finds allusions to Śaṅkarācārya and other teachers of the Advaita school of Vedānta.

The Author, His Guru and Date

The author's name is Mādhavāśrama. He is an ascetic and a disciple of one Nārāyaṇāśrama. He claims to have derived Knowledge of Supreme Self from his guru in the strange Vedāntic manner and to have subsequently become Jīvanmukta. When he mentions this guru, to whom he makes obeisances at several places in his work, is identical with the above-mentioned Nārāyaṇāśrama, or must have invested him with the robes of a Saṁnyāsin, or is somebody else, it is difficult to say. From verses 120 and 121,

1. ये कारणात्कार्यमिदं विभिन्नं वदन्ति तेषां न मतं विशुद्धम् ॥ ये तस्य सुस्तुलितास्तु तज्जं पटे गुरुत्वं द्विगुणं कुतो न ॥ ७९ ॥ ... किं गौतमीयैः चोभिर्नात्मा गुणी नापि गुणा यथार्थाः ॥ सच्चित्सुखात्मन्यथ निर्विशेषे सन्त्येव सुखादयो ये ॥ १३३ ॥ etc.; सांख्यास्तु सत्त्वपुरुषान्यतया हि मोक्षं चाहुरिति तन्न मतं विमानम् ॥ तत्त्वम्पदार्थपरिशोधनसाधनाय युक्तं भवितुमुक्तिसुसाधनाय ॥ १३९ ॥ श्रुतिस्मृतिन्यायजनेषु सिद्धं सर्वेश्वरं ये न जानन्ति सांख्याः ॥ मीमांसकाः कर्मरताश्च तेषामनीश्वराणां न मुखं विलोक्यम् ॥ १४१ ॥ जानन्ति न जानन्ति इहमिति प्रतीतेर्जडाजडात्मानमुवाच भाट्टः ॥ द्विरूपतैकस्य न स्यात्कदापि कुत्रापि न दृष्टमेतत् ॥ १४१ ॥ (Vide also verses 14-16, above in footnote 1, page 107 for the additional refutation of Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā termed as Āmnāyasūtra); पातञ्जलं योगमृते समस्तं सांख्ये परिहार्यमेव ॥ यो योग उक्तः स तु चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधरूपः खलु कर्म चैतत् ॥ १४२ ॥
2. ज्ञानेन मोक्षः श्रुतिलोकसिद्धो न कर्मणा जन्यतया ह्यनित्यः ॥ शिष्टैः परिग्रहेण दुस्तार्किकाणां तु मतं न चारु ॥ १४३ ॥ etc.
3. जानन्नैवं नास्ति वैराग्यलेशः केयं भ्रान्ती राजसी वृत्तिरग्रा ॥ आत्मद्रामकृष्णप्रसादाब्जित्यानन्दः कृष्ण एवाहमस्मि ॥ धिक् संसारमिमं न

ever, it appears, rather indistinctly, that the author's Jñānaguru was possibly one Rāmakṛṣṇa. It is not possible to fix the author's exact date, but there is nothing in this work that goes against placing him five or six centuries back.

An Appreciation, etc.

Evidently the author has generally adopted the Advaita Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya in this work which, he says,¹ he has composed on the lines of his predecessors for strengthening his own conviction and not for displaying his vast learning. In fact, he has admirably compressed, and in a very vivid, forceful and authoritative style, almost all the doctrines of that school in such a small compass. Every line speaks for his vast learning, command over the extant systems of Philosophy and unchallengeable conviction in the principles of his own school.² The strain of the Bhagavadgītā, which identifies Kṛṣṇa, the scion of the Yadu race, with Brahman or Supreme Self, is conspicuous throughout and the author's devotion to God Kṛṣṇa breaks through his conviction in the Advaita principles at many places³ in the work.

(To be continued)

शर्मास्ति यल्लभ्यते यद्यत्पश्यति जिघ्रतीह सकलं दुःखं न संभिद्यते ॥ किं मे तादृश-
शर्मणाथ परमानन्दो गुरोः (सं) स्मृतेः संप्राप्तोऽस्त्यधुना ह्यसौ श्रुतिगतो मत्तोऽत्र
नो भिद्यते ।

1. पूर्वाचार्योच्छिष्टलेशोऽयमुक्तो बुद्धिस्थेन स्वस्य न प्रौढिवादः ॥ विद्वांसो
येऽनुग्रहार्थं समर्थास्तेभ्यो भक्त्या मे प्रणामोऽयमस्तु ॥ २१५ ॥

2. Our Commentator thus refers to the author in his Introduction ;
इह खलु सांख्ययोगपारंगतो माधवाख्यो यतिः कर्णानिधिर्मुमुक्षुहितार्थं निखिल-
वेदान्तशास्त्रजन्यस्वानुभवप्रकटीकरणकामो निखिलशास्त्रप्रतिपाद्यश्रीकृष्णाख्यस्वेष्ट-
देवतानमस्कारात्मकं चिकीर्षितग्रन्थनिर्विघ्नपरिसमाप्तिप्रचयगमनशिष्टाचारपरिपालन-
फलकं शिष्टाचारानुमितश्रुतिबोधितकर्तव्यताकं मङ्गलमाचरन् प्रकरणप्रतिपाद्यमर्थं
संक्षेपेण दर्शयति ॥ Vide also verses 8-11 in the Prologue of the commentary
quoted below.

3. Vide, “यस्मात्परं किमपि नास्ति नमोऽस्तु तस्मै सच्चित्सुखाय विभवे
पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥ नो यत्र वागपि मनो न विबोधनाय कृष्णाय पूर्णमहसे यदुनन्दनाय
॥ १ ॥”, “अघटनघटनापटीयसीयं यदुपतिदेववरस्य शक्तिसत्त्वैः.....॥ २९ ॥”,
“यद्वाद्दशरं किल कालचक्रं त्रिणाभि यच्चाप्यजरं परिभ्रमत् ॥ गोपालकृष्णस्य
करस्थितं यत्स एव कृष्णोऽस्मि कुतो भयं ततः ॥ ८७ ॥”, “यथा स्वाश्रयं मोहयन्त्रैव
माया विशुद्धं परं ब्रह्म गोपालकृष्णं.....॥ ११५ ॥”, etc.

SOME CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA

(Miss P. C. Dharma)

SEC. 1

ETIQUETTE OF THE PERIOD

The word used for welcoming guests in Sanskrit "svāgatam" literally means "well come" (II-50-38). "Go" should always be gladly welcomed by the even if they be common personages" (V-1-1).

Welcoming
Friends and
Relations

The rites of hospitality were called *atithiya* or *ātithya*. Guests (especially Brahmins and elders) were welcomed (See II-54-17, VII-1-12 &c., and VII-33-9) by the offer

1. *Pādyā* (water for washing the feet).
2. *Arghya* (respectful offering of water for sipping).
3. *Madhuparka* (a mixture of honey, curd, ghee, and sugar).

4. A cow (The cow was only presented and not killed) (II-54-17, VII-1-15 &c., and VII-33-9).

5. *Āsana* or Seat (*Br̥ṣī* or Mat in the case of Brahmins, Sages and Sannyāsins. *Sītā* offered a *Br̥ṣī* to *Rāvana*—Sage when welcoming him III-46-33. *Rāma* offered seats covered with deer skin and Darbhā Mat to *Agastya* and other sages (II-1-12 &c.). Welcome enquiries followed the presentation of these items (VII-33-7).

The *Atithisatkāra* done by hermits (III-1-16 F) consisted in the offer of fruits, roots, flowers, water (generally) and shelter in their cottages (as in the case of *Rāma* in *Dāṇḍakāra*)—practically—welcome, board and lodging.

When offering welcome to *Rāma*, Sage *Bharadvāja* presented a cow, water for *Arghyam* and *Pādyam*, different kinds of eatables, fruits and roots, (or shelter) and welcomed him by "Swāgatam" or "Welcome" (II-54-17 &c.). The comment is understood by "Go" a bull.

Agastya welcomed *Rāma* with *Arghya*, *Pādyā* and then made welcome enquiries (III-12-25). *Vasiṣṭha*

comed *Viśvāmitra*, with a seat, roots and fruits and then made the usual welcome enquiries (I-52-2 &c.). *Guha*, King of the *Niṣādas*, offered *Anna* &c. (various kinds of edibles), *Arghya*, a *bed*, for him and *Fodder* for his horses (II-20-36 &c.). Again on meeting *Bharata* on the banks of the *Ganges*, he offered him shelter, roots, fruits, meat and various kinds of forester's food (II-84-17 F).

King *Daśaratha* on the arrival of the Sage *Viśvāmitra* at his palace, went out with his Purohita, offered him Welcome by Kings *Arghya* &c., according to the usual rules, and welcomed him (I-18-40 F and 48). When *Rāma* after his coronation, was visited by various Sages, he got up from his throne with *Añjalibandha*, offered them respectfully *Pādyā*, *Arghya*, cows, and seats (covered with grass mats and deer skins), and then made the usual welcome enquiries (VII-1-12 &c.).

The rites of hospitality were offered even to male guests by the lady of the house in the absence of her husband (III-46-33). *Rāma* had warned *Sītā* about this duty before allowing her to accompany him to the forest (II-28-14). *Sītā* in the absence of *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* offered welcome to *Rāvaṇa* in the disguise of a *Sanyāsī* (III-46-33). *Vedavatī*, the female ascetic, performed the rites of hospitality to *Rāvaṇa* who met her in her hermitage in the *Himālayas* (VII-17-8). *Ahalyā* in the absence of *Gautama*, her husband, offered the rites of hospitality to *Rāma* (I-49-20).

The nature of the welcome enquiries varied with the status of the guest and that of the host. When Ṛṣis or Sages made enquiries of kings, the enquiries were about their personal welfare, righteous administration, adherence to the duties of kings, obedience of their subordinates, subjugation of foes, the army, the treasury, the welfare of friends and relations, and of the welfare of their subjects (I-52-7 &c., I-18-42 &c., I-18-42 F and II-90-8). The hospitable Sage, *Bharadvāja* made enquiries of *Bharata* about the army, treasury, ministers, friends &c. (II-90-8).

When kings met the sages they made enquiries about their success in penance, the un-interrupted worship of the fire

(Agnihotra) and about their disciples (I-52-4). On meeting *Ṛṣi Bharadvāja* at Citrakūṭa, *Bharata* enquired about his personal health—sacrificial fire, the fruit trees, birds and beasts in his hermitage, and his disciples (II-90-8). When welcomed by *Guha*, *Rāma* embraced *Guha* and enquired in return about the health of *Guha* and his family, wealth, friends and kingdom—the main points on which enquiries were made when meeting princes or royal guests (II-50-42).

Friends used to embrace each other, on meeting, if they be of equal age or status. Rāma after accepting the hand of Sugrīva embraced him (IV-5-12 F). On meeting his friend Guha (though of a lower caste) he embraced him (II-50-42). Friendship was contracted by grasping each others' hands. The expression, "He extended his hand in offer of friendship"—was literally correct. Sugrīva extended his hand to Rāma and offered his friendship if he would accept it and Rāma grasped Sugrīva's hand and squeezed it (IV-5-12 F). Vows of friendship were sealed by swearing before the fire.

In offering and accepting welcome, care was taken to note the relative status of guests. Viśvāmitra when addressing Daśaratha, Vasiṣṭha and others who welcomed him at Ayodhyā, spoke to them according to their status Yathā Nyāyam (I-18-44). When Janaka offered welcome to Viśvāmitra and the other Ṛṣis, and Rāma, the guests took their seats according to precedence (I-50-9 etc.). When Bharata met Bharata and his retinue, he made welcome enquiries and gave due regard to precedence (Ānupūrvyācca Papraccha Kuśala 90-6). In accepting the princely hospitality of Bharata, Prince Bharata and his retinue took their seats according to precedence (II-91-38 F). When the Sages Bhārgava, Cyavana, etc., went to visit Rāma they were requested to sit according to precedence by Rāma (VII-60-10).

The usual method of saluting Kings was to bow and to hold the folded palms (Añjalibandha) to the level of the head and above. Kings accepted the Añjali salute by lifting up their folded palms (Añjali II-3-1). In the case of Ṛṣis, etc.,

Preceptors etc., the usual form of the salutation was prostration followed by the announcement of one's name (II-54-12 etc.). *Rāma's* party prostrated itself before *Bhāradvāja* and informed the Ṛṣi about its members. Salutations and prostrations were due both when meeting and departing (II-55-10). The princes used to fold up their palms, bow and prostrate themselves before the feet of the parents, announcing their names at the same time (II-3-32 and II-4-10).

When the kings were visited by Ṛṣis and Purohitas they used to get up from their seats, advance towards the Ṛṣis (I-18-39) and offer welcome with *Añjalibandha* (I-47-20 and I-50-10). They prostrated themselves before saintly Ṛṣis like *Vasiṣṭha*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Agastya* etc. (VI-30-59, II-54-12, III-12-23 etc.). The famous female ascetic *Ahalyā* (wife of *Gautama*) was honoured by *Rāma* with prostration (1-49-19). *Añjali* was never offered by kings to their wives (II-13-18). When people met friends (II-102-48) relations etc., they used to prostrate themselves before the elders and superiors; they embraced their equals in age, while they received the prostrations of the younger people.

When the king drove along the thoroughfares, the citizens on the road, used to bow with folded hands (*Añjalibandha*). Kings used to bow or perform *Añjalibandha* according to the status of the people saluting them. *Daśaratha* is stated to have reciprocated the *Añjali* of the members of the Sabhā (II-3-1). *Rāvaṇa* who drove in a car to the Council Hall was blessed and saluted by the citizens with bowing and *Añjalibandha* (VI-11-13 and VI-11-14). The Counsellors summoned by *Rāvaṇa* held the feet of *Rāvaṇa* seated on his throne and were honoured in return (VI-11-24).

Prostration was a common form of salutation, not only in the case of elders and preceptors but also of kings. The *Vānara* *Sugrīva* saluted *Rāma* by prostration and *Añjalibandha* (IV-12-6). He saluted his elder brother *Vālī* when he returned after killing *Dundubhi* by prostration (IV-9-26). The subjects of *Rāvaṇa* caught hold of his feet respectfully on entering the Council Chamber (VI-11-24). Prince *Vibhiṣaṇa* caught hold of the feet of King *Rāvaṇa* and announced his name (VI-11-30). Subjects

used to prostrate themselves before kings as well as Queen *Hanumān*, on first seeing *Sītā* in *Aśokavana*, when taking leave of her, and when communicating *Rāma's* message after *Rāma's* slaughter prostrated himself before *Sītā* (V-33-1, V-56-22, VI-116-3). On return from *Laṅkā*, he prostrated himself before Prince *Aṅgada* on the sea-coast (V-57-34) and on returning *Kiṣkindhā* prostrated himself before *Sugrīva* (IV-65-1). Queen mother was entitled to special respects (II-12-48) for the subjects. *Kaikeyī* swore that she would not see even for a day *Kausalyā* receiving the *Añjali* salutes, paid to her by the people after the coronation of *Rāma*.

The correct form of saluting the parents, parents-in-law and elder brothers, was prostration or catching hold of the feet after circum-ambulation (I-77-13, II-3-31-47, II-25-46 F, II-40-1, II-99-37 & 40, IV-9-25 & VII-44-17). *Vibhiṣaṇa* used to prostrate himself before *Rāvaṇa* (VI-10-10 and VI-11-25). *Kumbhakarṇa* did the same (VI-62-8). Parents and elders used to lift up their children, embrace them, smell them, touch the top of the head and bless them (II-3-22, II-25-40, II-39-19, II-118-13, VII-44-18, I-22-2, II-25-46, II-118-30 and 30). As the wife of an elder brother was considered to be equal to one's mother in status, the correct form of salutation was prostration or catching hold of the feet of the lady (IV-6-21 and VII-48-18). When taking leave, parents and elders were circumambulated with *Añjali* and adored by prostration (II-25-47 and II-40-1 etc.). When bidding good-bye to their wives, *Vālī* and *Rāvaṇa* embraced their wives (IV-16-16 and VI-58B-16). Evidently it was not considered indecorous to embrace their wives in the presence of others.

Wives used to address (or refer to) their husbands as *putra* (II-27-4 and VI-117-36), their fathers-in-law as *Ārya*, their brothers-in-law as *Ārya*, and their mothers-in-law as *Āryā* (II-39-28 and III-47-6). *Daśaratha* was addressed as *Mahābhāga* and also as *Rāghava*, one descended from *Raghu*, by *Kausalyā* (II-50-22). *Sītā* referred to *Rāma* as *Rāghava*, one descended from *Ra*

when talking to *Anasūyā* (II-118-44) and also as *Rāma* (II-118-50 and 52).

Mothers used to be addressed as *Ambā* (II-34-48), Fathers as *Tāta* (II-34-48), Elder brothers as *Ārya* (II-99-38), and Younger brothers as *Tāta* (II-100-5 etc.), Sons were addressed as *Tāta* (II-64-8) or *Putra* (II-34-36) or *Vatsa* (II-64-31 and 36). Husbands used to address their wives simply as woman, or daughter of so and so, or one born in the race of so and so, one born in such and such a country, the beautiful one, the dear one, one resembling a deer, the timid one, the weak one etc.

Youngsters used to be blessed with Mantras and have auspicious ceremonies performed by the father, the mother and the priest before departing from the house (I-22-2). The whole of Canto 25 in Book II deals with *Kausalyā's* Svastyayana or blessing ceremony, for *Rāma*.

When people departed on long voyages, it was usual for the relations and friends to follow them for some distance (II-55-2 and V-1-46). *But Departing Relations* and friends should not be followed too far, if their safe return be desired. The ministers of *Daśaratha* advised him not to follow outgoing *Rāma*, *Sītā* and *Lakṣmaṇa* too far, if he wished for their safe return (II-40-51).

Visits to kings were usually announced by the Pratihārī the Door-keeper or Royal Chamberlain. Even Ṛṣis and the princes could not enter the Royal palace without being announced. When *Viśvāmitra* called on *Daśaratha* to request for a loan of the services of *Rāma*, he told the *Dvārādhyakṣas* to speedily announce his arrival to the King (I-18-3 F). Similarly *Agastya* (VII-1-8), *Cyavana* (VII-60-3), *Gārgya* (VII-100-4) etc., had to announce their arrival to *Rāma* through the door-keeper. Even the king's son, and the king's brothers could not enter the father's or brother's palace without announcing their arrival (II-33-30 and VII-44-11). The visitors could enter only after the formal permission of the King. The custom of announcing visitors was not confined to the palaces of Kings. In the palace of Prince *Rāma*, the same custom prevailed (II-16-5).

The door-keepers of the Zenana were females (II-10). It was considered highly improper to enter the Zenana without previous intimation. *Lakṣmaṇa* on entering the Zenana *Sugrīva*, and hearing the tinkling sounds of women's ornaments was ashamed to go further into the Zenana, and so twanged bow string to announce his arrival (IV-33-24 &c.). To the present day in Mohammedan houses, male visitors clap hands so as to give notice to the women-folk to retire.

Visitors had always to be announced. When visiting *Agastya* *Rāma* told *Lakṣmaṇa* to go to the hermitage and request disciples of *Agastya* to announce his arrival to Sage *Agastya* (III-12-1 &c.). Well-bred men avoided staring at women, walked with down cast eyes. *Lakṣmaṇa* on seeing *Tārā* in disorder hung down his head (IV-33-38). It was considered impolite to stare at other's wives. When *Vālmiki* took deer *Sītā* to his hermitage, it is stated that he walked in from *Sītā* (VII-49-17). *Lakṣmaṇa* never looked at *Sītā*'s face (IV-18 F & VII-48-19 F).

On occasions of Public Festivities—Coronation, Horse Sacrifice, &c., invitation was extended to all and sundry to enjoy the festivities, with friends and relatives.

Public
invitations

The King's invitation was sent usually through

ordinary messengers. But invitations to close relations, intimate Royal friends, were sent through a minister. Letters were evidently not written during the *Rāmāyaṇa* period. Arrangements for board and lodging of all the visitors high and low (of all castes, in all stations in life, and of all the workmen) were made during the public festivities (I-13-9 &c. and 18 &c., VII-1 &c., and VII-92-4 &c.). Provision was always made for the luxurious accommodation in special camps or buildings for the distinguished guests. Separate accommodation was provided for Brahmins. When the public was invited, dining halls with plenty of various kinds of food, delicacies and drinks were provided. Extensive courtsey was shown to all visitors. Nobody was ignored or slighted even through ignorance. Ample provision for gifts of wealth to visitors was also made during the sacrificial festivities. Messages to kings were always sent together with presents (II-68-9 & VII-100-2). Kings always used to make presents to departing guests. The

Presents

of *Kekaya* when sending his grandson *Bharata*, sent him with an escort and many valuable presents (II-70-19 &c.). The Kings who had assembled for his Coronation were allowed to depart by *Rāma* with many valuable presents and escorts (VII-38-5 &c., and 9 &c.).

People were very polite in those days. They used to apologise for faults committed consciously or unconsciously. When going on exile, *Rāma* requested all the queens of the harem to forgive him for any fault he might have committed consciously or unconsciously, on account of his familiarity with them (II-39-37).

When *Kausalyā* was begged by *Daśaratha* with *Añjalibandha* for mercy, (when she reprimanded him, in a fit of grief, for the banishment of *Rāma*), she was terribly ashamed of her unjust accusations. She fell down at *Daśaratha*'s feet and humbly apologised for her fault (II-62-11). *Tārā* apologised to dying *Vāli*, for all the faults she might have committed unconsciously (IV-20-25). *Vibhīṣaṇa* before deserting *Rāvāṇa* apologised to him for daring to give him unpleasant (though salutary) advice (VI-16-25). *Rāma* apologised to *Mātali* for offering him advice in charioteering (VI-108-12).

People not only apologised for mistakes but also rendered thanks for favours received. The expression of gratitude has always been very common amongst the Hindus, though we meet with no single word equivalent to the word 'thanks' in the English language, the expressions used when people have to be thankful are sufficiently indicative and unmistakable.

When his son *Rāma* was elected Crown Prince by the *Sabhā* (the Representative Assembly) King *Daśaratha* expressed his thankfulness by telling the *Sabhā* "I am exceedingly pleased with your decision and feel myself greatly honoured." (II-3-2). When *Sītā* gave valuable advice to *Rāma*, on the eve of the slaughter of the *Rākṣasas* in the *Danḍakāvana*, he acknowledged her kindness (III-10-2). In the same way *Vāli* also acknowledged his indebtedness to *Tārā* for her valuable advice (IV-16-6 & 9), when going out to fight with *Sugrīva*. *Rāma*'s gratitude and the acknowledgment of the invaluable services rendered by *Hanumān*, *Sugrīva* and other *Vānaras* are well described (VI-49-24 & 27 F.).

The Āryans were in the habit of producing fire by friction. Fire in those days was made by the churning the *Araṇi* sticks. *Araṇi* was the fire-producing stick made of *S'amī* wood (II-103-26 & VII-51-3).

Fire production
by attrition

The Āryans used to keep a firepot in the house and feed it perpetually (perform *Aupāsana* or fire-worship twice a day). An *Agni-Hotra* or *Aupāsana* fire had to be fed by the wife in the absence of the husband. The faggots called *Samit* were used to feed the fire. Besides faggots, cattle-dung cakes were used for producing the domestic fire, and heat. *Rāma* used the dung of the buffalo and the deer in the forest as fuel to produce fire and to keep off cold (II-99-7).

For lighting purposes, lamps (*Pradīpa*-s or *Dīpika*-s) were used and were fed with oil or *Taila*. The sticks were lighted by lamp posts or *Dīpa*-posts (II-6-18). *Ulkā*-s or Torches were also in use for lighting when going out in the dark.

Lighting

At every stage of life the Āryans had to perform various religious rites, beginning with the *Jāta Karma* (done immediately after birth), *Nāma-karma* (done on the 12th day after birth), *Anna-Prāśana* (feeding of Rice), *Tonsure*, *Upanayana* or Initiation, *Vivāha* marriage rite. All these religious ceremonies were conducted by the family priest or *Purohita* as at the present day (1-18-18 & *Daśaratha's* *purohita Vasiṣṭha* went over to *Rāma's* palace to initiate *Rāma* and his wife through the fasting ceremony on the eve of the coronation (II-5-2 etc.). The ceremonies for the coronation of *Rāma* as *Yuvarāja* were entrusted to *Vasiṣṭha*. He was also in charge of *Rāma's* coronation ceremonies. An important part of all the ceremonies was the feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* as well as the citizens. The *Brāhmaṇas* were invariably presented with plenty of money, gems, cows and clothes.

Religious
rites

When anybody had to perform an important ceremony, it was obligatory on him and his wife to fast and sleep on *Darbha* grass with controlled sleep the previous night (II-4-23). He had to be initiated. Auspicious decorations (*Kautuka Maṅgala* or *Maṅgala*) were worn before festive ceremonies e.g. marriage, coronation etc.

Dikṣā-Maṅgala
etc.

done by the mother, elderly women or the priest (I-22-2, I-73-8 and II-4-37). The whole house was decorated on auspicious occasions, e.g. the day fixed for *Rāma's* coronation, *S'atrughna's* coronation etc. These decorations were invariably done by the women (II-6-5 and VII-63-16).

Reference has been made already to *Svastyayana*. This ceremony consisted of *Pūjā*, *Homa* and gift or *Dakṣiṇā* (money present) to Brahmins. The Brahmins at the end of the ceremony used to bless the party and scatter unbroken rice grains over the head of the party to be blessed. *Svastyayana* was performed for *Rāma*, before departing with *Viśvāmitra* and before departing to the forest when exiled (II-25-30 etc., and I-22-2). *Svastyayana* was also performed by *Tārā* with mantras for *Vāli* when he set out for his last fight (IV-16-12). *Kausalyā* blessed a root with mystic Mantras and tied it on *Rāma's* wrist before he set out for the forest (II-25-38). *Vālmiki* gave two talismans of *Darbha* to the nurse to be tied on the wrists of *Kuśa* and *Lava* immediately after their birth to ward off evil spirits (VII-66-3 etc.). The Gold *Mālā* of *Vāli*, which he used to wear round his neck when fighting with his foes was a famous talisman. To prevent the loss of its magic power by coming in contact with a dead body, it was handed over by *Vāli* to *Sugrīva* before he died (IV-22-15). *Viśvāmitra* taught *Rāma*, two charms, *Balā* and *Atibalā* which rendered the wearer invincible, intelligent, beautiful, free from disease or exhaustion and free from hunger and thirst (I-22-12 etc.). Serpents were supposed to be restrained and confined by charms, herbs, the stick, and mantras (III-29-31 and II-12-4).

Swearing and cursing were common vices of the day. *Kaikayī* made *Daśaratha* swear that he would grant her wishes when mentioned, and called on all the gods to witness his oath (II-11-3 etc. and 13 etc.) and when she found him reluctant to grant her boons she swore on *Bharata* (II-12-48). *Lakṣmaṇa* swore on his bow and his virtuous deeds, when he insisted on following *Rāma* (II-21-16). When begging his mother to permit him to go to the forest and to give him her blessings before departure, *Rāma* swore

on his life (II-21-45). Almost every character in the poems at one time or the other. The instances are all too numerous to be detailed. *Vālmiki* swore by his penance and his line that he was telling the truth, that *Sītā* was perfectly chaste and that *Kuśilavau* were born to *Rāma* (VII-96-17 etc.).

The *Rṣis* *Agastya*, *Vasiṣṭha*, *Gautama*, *Viśvāmitra* etc., all given to cursing people for misbehaviour (VII-55-17, VII-55-18, I-48-26 and 29, I-59-17 etc., I-62-16 and I-64-11 F). *Anaraṇya* cursed *Rāvaṇa* with death at the hands of one of his descendants i.e. *Rāma* (VII-19-28 F). The efficacy of the curse depended on the asceticism and the meritoriousness of the curse. Even women like *Vedavatī*, and the chaste maidens captured by *Rāvaṇa* used to curse (VII-17-30 F and VII-24-20).

An oath was strengthened by being made in the presence of fire (VII-23-14). *Rāvaṇa* sealed his friendship with the *Nivāta Kavacas* in the presence of fire (VII-23-14). In the same way *Rāvaṇa* vowed eternal friendship before fire when contracting friendship with *Kārtikeya*, *Arjuna* (VII-33-18) and with *Vālī* (VII-34-41). *Rāma* and *Sītā* also swore eternal friendship with each other in the presence of fire (IV-5-15 F and III-72-16). When insulted and disgraced by *Rāma*, *Sītā* swore before the fire before entering it, to preserve her chastity (VI-119-23 etc.). The marriage compact and the friendship made in the presence of the glowing fire, were binding on both parties (I-73-28, VII-12-18, IV-5-15 F and III-72-16).

This custom must certainly have been prevalent. A Brahmin subject threatened *Rāma* that he would commit suicide at the gates (unless *Rāma* restored his dead child to life) and make *Rāma* responsible for the effects of the sin of *Brahmahatyā* (VII-73-12).

When *Bharata* performed *Pratyupaveśa* (practically *Dharmasamadhikāra*) before *Rāma* to compel him to return to *Ayodhyā*, *Rāma* pronounced the *Pratyupaveśa* and told him that a Kṣatriya could never perform it (II-1-1 etc.) and that the practice was confined to Brahmins.

Whenever the king returned to town, after a temporary sojourn elsewhere, the citizens used to give him a royal welcome. The whole town-roads, temples, Caityas, and cross-ways, used to be swept, watered, fumigated with fragrant incense.

and decked with flags and buntings tied on all the tall buildings, trees, spires, temples, and turrets. When the royal processions passed through the main roads, the ladies used to scatter flowers from the windows of the upper stories on either side and Brahman maidens used to present flowers and fruits to the princes and kings after circum-ambulating them on the roads. Brahmans with sweetmeats and flowers in their hands, musicians, dancing girls, and all the citizens used to march with the procession (I-11-25, II-43-12, VI-130-7 &c., and VI-131-36 &c.).

The present day 'hartal' is not without precedent. When *Rāma* was banished at the instance of *Kaikiyī*, the merchants did not set out from their houses and open the shops. The people did not rejoice or make merry, the householders did not cook, and nobody cared for loss or gain (II-48-4). There was a cessation of *Vedā-dhyayana* and learned disputations, and a cessation of all festivities, such as music and dancing in the city. The shops were closed; and the queen was cursed (II-48-22 &c., 24, 37).

The death of Kings caused a general mourning all over the town. Roads, parks, and gardens were deserted by pleasure-seekers, and free from the noise and bustle of men, women, carriages, horses etc. The absence of flags and buntings, the absence of music, and the forlorn dusky appearance of houses kept untidy and unswept were noticeable features. The deserted appearance of the roads and crossways, the cessation of sacrifices and religious ceremonies, the fasting of citizens, the cheerlessness of people, the neglected courtyards of the temples devoid of worshippers, the stoppage of worship of idols in temples, and the closure of the shops were all indicatives of the general mourning (II-71-51 &c.).

The death lament of women in India has been the same for centuries. Immediately on hearing that her husband had been fatally wounded, *Tārā* ran weeping to the spot where *Vālī* was lying, beating her head and breast (IV-19-20). On seeing the dying husband, she embraced his body and set up a wail. *Tārā's* wail and the consolations offered to her by *Hanumān* are literally

repeated even at the present day (IV-19-20 and IV-21-1). Reference might also be made to the death lament of the women and *Mandodarī* (VI-96-25 &c., 44, and VI-114-2 &c.).

(1) Amongst the Āryans and Vānaras, cremation was the usual method of disposal of the dead. *Daśaratha*, the blind Vaiśya ascetic, and *Vālī* were cremated. *Rāvaṇa* was cremated, as he was a Brahman by birth.

(2) Burial was one of the methods of disposal of *Rākṣasas* like *Virādha*. *Virādha*'s burial pit was covered with stone by *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* (VII-4-81).

(3) The corpses of the common soldiers on the battlefield were allowed to be eaten up by vultures and beasts of prey. *Rākṣasa* heroes vowed that they would offer the bodies of their enemies to the vultures.

(4) Many of the dead *Rākṣasas* in *Laṅkā* were thrown into the sea; while the rest were probably disposed off by vultures.

The performance of funeral rites by sons, on the death of their father, was considered meritorious, and sons who performed the funeral rites of their father were supposed to be lucky (II-51-20). *Daśaratha* desired *Bharata* to do his funeral rites in case he consented to reign in place of *Rāma* (II-12-94). As *Daśaratha* considered the postponement of the performance, a great punishment, it must have been a highly valued privilege of the sons (II-12-94). On the occasion of the death of *Daśaratha* from *Kaikeyī* *Bharata* exclaimed that his brothers were lucky inasmuch as they would have participated in the funeral rites (II-72-29). Funeral rites could be performed by anybody for people who died childless (III-68-31). *Jaṭāyū*'s funeral rites were performed by *Rāma* according to Vedic rites. But as a rule, the son had to perform the cremation. Cremation and funeral was postponed till the arrival of the ministers. *Daśaratha*'s ministers preserved his corpse in oil till the arrival of *Bharata* (II-66-15 and 27).

(To be continued)

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REVIEWS

Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya-campū of Queen Tirumalāmbā, edited with an Introduction by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D. PHIL. (Oxon), with a Commentary in Sanskrit by Mahāmahopādhyāya GIRIDHAR SHARMA CHATURVEDA and HARIDATTA SHARMA. Pub. by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore. Date and Price not mentioned. Pp. 5 + 34 + 4 + 22 + 182.

This **Campū** depicting the romance of the wedding of Princess Varadāmbikā was first noticed by Dr. SARUP in 1924 at Tanjore, and he announced his discovery at the Fourth Oriental Conference in Allahabad in 1926. At the Lahore conference in 1928 he read a paper on it. In May 1932 he edited and published it for the first time in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, based as it was on a single Ms. of the work available at the Tanjore Mss. Library.

The romance here edited is the work of a talented queen, who along with Sītā, Vijayā, Subhadrā and Rāmabhadraṁbā etc., has vindicated the honour of Indian womanhood in the field of Sanskrit literature. Dr. SARUP believes that the **Campū** was written between 1529 and 1540 A.D., as the regal authoress was the queen of Emperor Acyutarāya who was crowned in 1529. The romance centres round the love at first sight of Acyutarāya with Varadāmbikā, and it is thus probable that it is an autobiographical poem. For according to Dr. SARUP Tirumalāmbā "was the confidante and the be-all and the end-all of the deepest love of Emperor Acyutarāya" (p. 11).

The style of the poem shows what an accomplished lady Queen Tirumalāmbā was. "She has shown a remarkable mastery of Sanskrit language." Her mastery of vocabulary is only equalled by her command over the figures of speech. Her imagery is ever fresh, though loaded with unending compounds, and the music of the passages matches their intrinsic worth. But the style is encumbered from the point of view of modern scholarship with long compounds and involved sentences, and without the aid of a commentary few people may be expected to go through it patiently.

This the Editor has remedied by getting the help of two well-known scholars, Mahāmahopādhyāya GIRIDHAR SHARMA CHATURVEDA, Principal of Jaipur Sanskrit College, and Pandit HARIDATTA SHARMA, Principal of the Agra Sanskrit College. The commentary which is by Haridatta Sharma does full justice to the text, and the explanations are so natural and so clearly given that even First Year students in Sanskrit in the Universities may follow the lead of Acyutarāya and Varadāmbikā. The commentator has done the greatest service to the student world by simple and clear explanation and its commentator.

It is the ardent wish of all scholars to discover such works and bring them to light ; Indian literature will certainly be enriched by them ; besides, these contributions to world literature by Indian womanhood will enable India to take her rightful place in the comity of nations. The work here reviewed is a precursor of what may be achieved still in Indian literature. It is by no means a small achievement for its modern editor.

S. M. K.

OBITUARY

It is with deepest regret and sorrow that we have to announce the sad demise of Dr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon.), Honorary Ph. D. (Patna), Barrister-at-law, which happened on the 4th of August, 1937. Dr. Jayaswal was one of the foremost scholars in the domain of Ancient Indian History. He was the organizer of Bihar and Orissa Research Society and edited its Journal. He presided over the Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Banarasi in 1933. His works and articles are too well-known to be enumerated. His unexpected and untimely death has been a very serious shock to all Indologists. We offer our sincere condolences to the relatives of the late Dr. Jayaswal.

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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ACTIVISM OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

(R. Mahadevan)

It has been the fashion among western critics¹ to treat the Bhagavad Gītā as a work bristling with interpolations, and in consequence, as utterly lacking in unity. Textual criticism of a spurious type has helped these foreign scholars to establish their thesis that there are three, if not more, unreconciled and irreconcilable philosophical doctrines in the Gītā. Even such a sympathetic student of Hindu culture as Hopkins says that the poem is 'an ill-assorted cabinet of primitive philosophical opinions'. But enlightened western opinion is slowly grasping the inner unity of the great poem, and it is refreshing to find Mr. Hill saying that 'the poem is less a medley than a reconciliation of beliefs, while many apparent inconsistencies of doctrine are only regarded as such, owing to a misapprehension of their significance'.² We find unmistakable evidence in the Gītā for the belief that the author was deliberately setting out to combine the conflicting tenets of the Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta schools into a higher unity. Arjuna, now and then, draws the attention of the great Teacher to the apparently conflicting doctrines that he propounds, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa immediately gives a discourse in which the deep-lying unity is disclosed.

Of all the doctrines that puzzle the modern student of the Gītā, the doctrine of action preached therein seems to puzzle him most. Hopkins says, 'It (the Gītā) is uncertain in its tone in regard to the comparative efficacy of action and inaction.'³ At the commencement of the third chapter Arjuna cries out:—

1. Garbe, Farquhar and Hopkins.
2. W. D. P. Will ; The Bhagavad Gītā, p. 15.
3. Hopkins : The Great Epic of India, p. 400.

'If, O Janārdana ! devotion is deemed by you to be superior to action, then, why, O Keśava ! do you prompt to this fearful action ? You seem, indeed, to confuse mind by equivocal words.'

ज्यायसी चेत्कर्मणस्ते मता बुद्धिर्जनार्दन ।

तत्किं कर्मणि घोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव ॥

व्यामिश्रेणेव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।

तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ॥ २

On the basis of utterances similar to these it is concluded that the Gītā preaches inconsistent and contradictory doctrines regarding the origin and purpose of human action. It is rather preposterous to assume that the Master Teacher was unaware of the contradictions in his own teachings, and that it was left to the critics of the Twentieth Century to point them out to the world. In the fourth chapter Śrī Kṛṣṇa Says :—

'Even sages are confused as to what is action and what is inaction. Therefore I will speak to you about action, and let that you will be free from (this world of) evil.' The Sāṃkhya and Yoga are at variance with each other in their respective opinions on the value of action. The simple devotee is puzzled. Śrī Kṛṣṇa takes upon himself the task of reconciling the contradictions by an exposition of the (psychological) nature of the human mind.

Our contention in this paper is that the activism preached in the Gītā is based on the recognition of the hormic nature of the human mind. A superficial survey of the views of action, inaction and desireless action as set forth in the Gītā may bewilder the intelligence ; but if we get behind these and grasp the psychological truth on which they are based, we find that they are so many parts which fit nicely into one another to compose the grand unity of the doctrine of the Horme.

Professor McDougall asserts that every human action is an instance of purposive behaviour. By purposive behaviour we mean that all activity is striving towards a goal, though vaguely the goal may be thought of. " The theory that all human behaviour is purposive in however vague and lowly a degree, that purposive action is fundamentally different from mechanical

process, may be conveniently called the Hormic Theory". The word Hormic is from the Greek '*horme*' meaning 'a vital impulse' or 'urge to action'. This may be considered to be synonymous with Bergson's '*elan vital*', Jung's '*libido*' and Schopenhauer's '*will-to-live*'. In every activity there is this hormic urge. Professor T. P. Nunn says, 'To this element of drive or urge, whether it occurs in the conscious life of men and the higher animals or in the unconscious activities of their bodies and the (presumably) unconscious behaviour of lower animals, we propose to give a single name hormone'.¹ This conation is present in some degree or other from the very beginning of life.

We have said that every action is an outcome of some 'urge' or motive. Now, this motive, when truly assessed will be found to be some instinctive impulse or some conjunction of two or more such impulses. Professor Mc-Dougall recognises thirteen instincts; the instinct of escape, (self-preservation) of combat, and of repulsion; the parental instinct, the instinct of appeal, the pairing instinct, instinct of curiosity, of assertion, the gregarious, food-seeking, and constructive instincts, and to satisfy the superstition, laughter is taken as the fourteenth instinct. We can trace every action to one or more of the instinctive impulses.

"We may say, that directly or indirectly, the instincts are the prime movers of all human activity. By the conative or impulsive force of some instinct, (or of some habit derived from an instinct) every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained: and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfaction, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means. Take away these instinctive dispositions; with their powerful impulses, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would be inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed

1. T. P. Nunn's 'Education, Its Data and Principles' quoted in McDougall's 'Outlines', page 73.

or a steam-engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces that maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will."¹

This quotation states clearly the main thesis of Prof. McDougall's hormic theory. This, in brief, is the hormic theory of action. Every action in all living organisms can be traced to some one of the instinctive impulses; conation is at the basis of all action.

Desires are the conative tendencies of our instincts working on the plane of imagination. The organised system of these tendencies, directed upon many things towards realising certain goals, connected with those objects, is character. "Character is the system of directed conative tendencies." The nature of this system depends upon the intellect of man, or his cognitive organisation which again is brought forth only to carry out his desires. So the character of a man depends upon the nature of his desires.

According to the Hormic theory of action, desire is the factor which is like the 'starting handle' of behaviour. Without any desire, humanity would have come to a stand-still, long ago. A study of abnormal psychology tells us how, seemingly meaningless organic convulsions and muscle twitchings are the result of frustrated desires. Tics, as such movements are called, can be traced to latent desires. Even sleep cannot be had without a desire to sleep. No amount of physical and mental exhaustion would do to make one sleep. Even after the last ounce of energy is spent, we see one work with vigour on a new problem. He can do by drawing upon his reserve store of energy. The new problem is to satisfy any one of his desires. So also one can go to sleep at any time if he desires to do so. McDougall has, by analysing his own dreams and those of others, proved that dreams also have a conative basis.

So far, a general survey of hormic theory of action has been given showing how desire is the basis of all action, conscious or unconscious, physical or mental.

1. McDougall's Social Psychology, p. 44.

To a superficial critic the Hormic theory and the teaching of the Gītā, may seem to be diametrically opposed. If he prides himself on being a Sanātanist, he would say that this theory is sacrilegious. Lord Kṛṣṇa says that we should be desireless, and how can we be so if every action has a desire at its root. But, here it is hoped to prove that the Gītā idea of action is in no way antagonistic to the Hormic theory.

Since the question rests upon whether it is possible to do desireless action, as alleged to have been urged by Gītā, it would be better to understand clearly what we mean by 'desire'. "Desire is conative impulse working on the plane of imagination." "When a tendency is stirred to action by the mere thought of an object that is distant, we feel the stirring within us as an impulse to action. It becomes what we call a desire and we formulate in thought the goal of our desire."¹ Instinctive impulses are roused by stimuli, but they are sustained and carried out till the goal is reached by desire. The working of this desire rests upon the nature of the man and his character. The confusion arising out of a misunderstanding of Gītā's desireless action is not a genuine confusion. The difficulty arises when we confuse desire for action with desire for the fruit of action. Here again there is a mistake in talking about a desire for action. Action is but a means to an end and there is no desire for any action. We have only a goal in mind and there is desire to reach that. That urge to attain something is desire. So far, the definition of desire is common to both the theories. Let us now see whether they disagree when they talk about the control of this desire.

Arjuna is a reputed warrior and upon him rests a great responsibility. But on seeing that he has to fight his own friends and relatives, he draws back. He cries out that he would rather be shot unawares than fight his own kin to gain his kingdom. Now the Divine Charioteer interposes and exhorts him not to lose courage. Then follows the brilliant discourse on Karma Yoga.

The Lord says :—

न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।

कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥

1. McDougall : ' Character and Conduct of Life ', p. 14.

"Verily, none can ever rest for even an instant without performing action ; for all are made to act, helplessly indeed, by the Guṇas, born of Prakṛti."

"Know thou that Prakṛti and Puruṣa are both actionless ; and know thou also that all modifications of the Guṇas are born of Prakṛti. In the production of the body and the senses, Prakṛti is said to be the cause ; the experience of pleasure and pain, Puruṣa is said to be the cause. Puruṣa seated in Prakṛti experiences the Guṇas born of Prakṛti ; the reason of the birth in good and evil wombs is its attachment to the Guṇas. He sees who sees Prakṛti alone doing all actions, that the self is actionless."

"Even a wise man acts in accordance with his nature ; beings follow nature ; what can restraint ? (III, 33).

In all these ślokas and in various other places in the Gītā we have described the tremendous nature of Prakṛti which is likened to Śakti or McDougall's Horme.

"The three Guṇas are Sattva, Rajas, Tamas ; these Guṇas are Mighty-armed, born of Prakṛti bind fast the indestructible embodied in the body." These three Guṇas which are, in some degree or other, inherent in all human nature can be traced to McDougall's fourteen instincts.

In Chapter XVII, verses 2 to 22 clearly define the nature of men who possess the three Guṇas. The Guṇas indicate the character of a man, or conversely, by one's behaviour, we can infer the Guṇa which he possesses. These Guṇas are born of Prakṛti and an ordinary man cannot overcome the works of Prakṛti.

"The Guṇas of Prakṛti perform all action. With the understanding deluded by egoism, a man thinks, 'I am the doer' (III, 27)

"For all are made to act helplessly indeed, by the Guṇas born of Prakṛti." (III, 5).

"If filled with self-conceit, thou thinkest, 'I will not be bound' vain is this thy resolve ; thy Prakṛti will constrain thee" (XVIII, 59)..

Such is the compelling nature of Prakṛti. The power of Prakṛti makes Arjuna consider his weakness on the battle-field to be of a nobler type.

Let us now come to Lord Kṛṣṇa's theory of action. We have seen how the power of Prakṛti has been recognised. We shall now consider whether we should let Prakṛti exercise its power. The will of man seems to be determined by past nature, heredity, training and environment. The whole world seems to converge in the nature of the individual.

"Even a wise man acts in accordance with his own nature; beings follow nature; what can restraint do?" (III. 33)

'Yet the Gītā recognises the soul as superior to the mechanically determined will.' What is the nature of this soul?

Soul: "An eternal portion of myself having become a living soul in the world of life, draws (to itself) the five senses with mind for the sixth abiding in Prakṛti."

समैवांशो जीबलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः ।

मनः षष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति ॥ (XV. 7)

Thus the Supreme spirit as manifested, is the Jīva. When He presides over the senses, He experiences objects. He is united with the Guṇas and so the ignorant do not know Him. Only the Yogis who strive for it find Him in themselves.

This individual soul is eternal, affected by nothing. It is deathless. The body which it occupies has beginning and end because of the nature of Prakṛti. One should realise the truth of this eternal Soul and only then can he rise above the normal life and be free from the clutches of Prakṛti and Guṇas.

How can one realise the soul? To know the reality of soul and incidentally its identity with the Supreme Spirit, Lord Kṛṣṇa teaches the Karmayoga as a means.

S/. "In the beginning of creation, O sinless one, the two-fold path of devotion was given by me to this world; the path of knowledge for the meditative and the path of work for the active."

लोकेऽस्मिन्द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।

ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्यानं कर्मयोगेन योगिनाम् ॥ (III 3)

S/. One cannot rest from work. He should be always working. "Do thou perform obligatory action; for action superior to inaction, and even the bare maintenance of thy life would not be possible if thou art inactive."

नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।

शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिद्धयेदकर्मणः ॥ (III 8)

In the same chapter in verse 19 he says, "Therefore do always perform actions which are obligatory, *without attachment* by performing action without attachment, one attains to the highest." Again in Śloka 47 Chapter II He, tells us :—

"Thy right is to work only; but never to the fruits thereof. Be thou not the producer of the fruits of (thy) actions; nor let they attachment be towards inaction."

Herein lies the crux of the problem. How is it possible to be without attachment and how to renounce the fruits of action? "Possession may be, as it is said, nine points of the circle but is certainly ninety-nine points of human nature".¹ This would mean desireless action, which is impossible, since action conscious and unconscious is born of some desire, whether vague or explicit.

Now we are faced with the following contradictions

- (i) We should be ceaselessly acting.
- (ii) There are Prakṛti and its Guṇas which are all-pervasive but are limited to a certain extent.
- (iii) We should be desireless.

Self-surrender and the cultivation of a spiritual vision are urged by the Lord. Let us now turn to McDougall before considering the Gītā's solution to the above problems. McDougall recognises four levels of conduct.

- (1) The stage of instinctive behaviour modified only by the influence of the pains and pleasures that are incidentally experienced in the course of instinctive activities.
- (2) The stage in which the operation of the instinctive impulses is modified by the influence of rewards and punishments administered more or less systematically by the social environment.

1. Wadia : Message of Kṛṣṇa.

- (3) The stage in which conduct is controlled in the main by the anticipation of social praise and blame.
- (4) The highest stage, in which conduct is regulated by an ideal of conduct that enables a man to act in the way that seems to him right regardless of the praise or blame of his immediate social environment.¹

This last approaches Gītā's desireless action. Further, commenting on the saying of Thomas a Kempis, "Forsake all and thou shalt find all. Leave desire and thou shalt find rest. Unless a man be disengaged from the affections of all creatures he cannot with freedom of mind attend unto divine things." McDougall writes, "Its injunction, 'leave desire,' is an exhortation to make one desire and one purpose dominant over all others, if possible to the point of their exclusion or extinction; namely the desire for self-perfection. It will be found that all systems of moral cultivation which leave a man a responsible moral being, necessarily are alike in that respect. The only alternative is a system of discipline which gives an authoritative ruling for every situation and thus deprives its followers of all moral responsibility save that of obedience alone."

Coming back to the Gītā, the whole discourse arises out of a particular situation. Arjuna, a great warrior, is to fight his cousins who misbehave. On the battlefield, at the prospect of the impending carnage of his own blood relations and friends, his heart fails him. The problem here is, in the words of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, "It (Gītā) sets out with an ethical problem raised by a conflict in which we have on one side the Dharma of the man of action, a prince and warrior and leader of men, protagonist of a great crisis, of a struggle on the physical plane, the plane of actual life between the powers of right and justice and the powers of wrong and injustice, the demand of destiny of the race upon him that he shall resist and give battle and establish even though through a terrible physical struggle and a giant slaughter, a new era and reign of truth and right and justice, and on the other side the ethical sense which condemns the means and the action as a sin, recoils from the price of

1. McDougall : Social Psychology, p. 181.

2. McDougall : Character and Conduct of Life, p. 116.

individual suffering and social strife, unsettling and disturbing and regards abstention from violence and battle as the only and the one right moral attitude."¹

Lord Kṛṣṇa offers an excellent solution,

"So let the Śāstras be thy authority in ascertaining what ought to be done and what ought not to be done. He knows what is said in the ordinances of the Śāstras thou shouldst act here (in this world)."

तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।

ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥ (XVI. 2)

The safest guide then would be the Śāstras which advise the following of Svadharma. Arjuna being of the fighting type must fight since it is his duty. When he thinks of the immediate future he is swayed by his emotions and so his moral perspective is distorted and he talks of crime and sin. It is why the Lord

"Verily you talk words of wisdom, but the truly wise grieve neither for the living nor for the dead."

Then the Lord soars into the philosophical heights grasping Arjuna from the depths of Prakṛti-ridden misery to the highest bliss. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the tricks of ignorance etc., need not be repeated here. Let us see what means the Lord suggests for performing dharma, for action we must do. Inaction is impossible and if possible is unworthy of man. "Be always acting but remember all actions in Him, with mind centered on the self, getting free from hope and selfishness (fight) free from (mental) fever. Do not attach yourselves to the immediate effects of actions. Have Śraddhā and with your mind always centred on Him you will be rid of desires." (III. 33).

"From whom is the evolution of all beings, by whom all is pervaded, worshipping Him with his own duty, a man attains perfection."

That Supreme Spirit to whom we should surrender all our actions is described by the Lord Himself as follows: "I am unborn, of changeless nature and Lord of beings yet sustaining my Prakṛti, I come into being by my own Māyā."

1. Essay on the Gītā: 2nd series, p. 453.

अज्ञोऽपि सन्नन्यात्मा भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन् ।

प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संसेवाभ्यात्ममायया ॥ (IV. 6)

"Unaware of my higher state as the Lord of Beings, fools disregard Me, dwelling in the human form." (IX. 11)

"For I am the Abode of Brahman, the immortal and immutable, of everlasting Dharma and of Absolute Bliss." (XIV. 27)

"I am the self, O Guḍākeśa. Existent in the heart of all beings, I am the beginning, the middle and also the end of all beings." (X. 20).

"Beyond me, O Dhanañjaya, there is nought. All this is strung in Me, as a row of jewels on a thread." (VII. 7)

Such is the universal Spirit in whom you should centre your desires. McDougall tells us: "He can find some one distant goal that seems worth striving for with steady purpose..... He can subordinate to this purpose all trivial seductions. With this in view, let him adopt the practice of being alone for some time, in order that he may commune with himself."¹

If one is so whole-heartedly devoted to Him, he cares not for the immediate results of his action. He does the action at the dictate of his Svadharma, but he is only concerned with the supreme goal. The object of his desire has changed and so he does not care for the intermediary opposites of qualities. If he sacrifices his actions at the feet of the Highest he becomes one with Him. Then he can live in oneness with God and his true self being perfected, become a faultless instrument of living action in the freedom of the immortal Dharma.

Now the aspirant gets an asakta Buddhi towards everything. We can now understand the Gītā doctrine of non-attachment and renunciation. Renunciation here means renunciation of the fruits of our action, for we can never renounce our actions. The fruits of our actions are now become worthless since our goal has been fixed at a higher level, that of realising Him. Here one is taught renunciation IN action rather than renunciation OF action,

"He who does actions forsaking attachment, resigning them to Brahman, is not soiled by evil, like unto lotus leaf by water." (V. 10).

1. McDougall : Character and Conduct of Life, p. 170.

"When a man, completely casts away, O Partha, all desires of mind satisfied in the self alone by the then is he said to be one of steady wisdom."

प्रजहाति यदा कामान् सर्वान्पार्थ मनोगतान् ।

आत्मन्येवात्मना तुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते ॥ (II. 53)

S/. He who maketh Brahman alone as the object of works obtains Brahman, when such a goal is in view, is it impossible to forsake the fruits of action? To one who is always striving to attain that, is non-attachment a difficulty? Never. When concupiscent tendencies have been directed towards another character, the motive power exhausts itself in that supreme goal and is doing nothing to do with the baser levels of desires. With the one desire that of attaining Brahman, will it not be possible to do

"That which is like poison at first, but like Nectar at the end."?

The recognition of the worthlessness of our outward world, that it is only a passive instrument, is made possible by the knowledge. Bhakti, Śraddhā and self-surrender at the feet of God-head will give you true knowledge. For, has He not said

"To them, ever steadfast and serving Me with affection, I give the Buddhi Yoga, by which they come unto Me."

"This upward transference of our centre of being and the consequent transformation of our whole existence and consciousness, with a resultant change in the whole character and motive of our action, the action often remains precisely the same in all its outward appearances, but is the gist of Gītā's Karma Yoga."¹

Reverting to Hormic psychology as propounded by McDougall, we find a similar theory of action.

"For the essence of moral conduct is the performance of one's social duty, the duty prescribed by society, as opposed to the mere following of the promptings of egoistic impulses."²

This passage from McDougall, suggests the doctrine of Svadharma. Human conduct is the behaviour of self-conscious and rational beings: it is the highest type of purposive behaviour.

1. Ghosh: Essays on the Gītā, 1st series.

2. McDougall: Social Psychology, p. 313.

Again McDougall shows how we can have actions, whose immediate results may be ignored.

"The conations, the desires and aversions arising within this self-regarding sentiment are the motive forces which, adding themselves to the weaker ideal motive in the case of moral effort, enables it to win the mastering over some stronger, coarser desire of our primitive animal nature and to banish from consciousness the idea of the end of this desire."¹

McDougall is not interested in the metaphysical aspect of the self as much as he is interested in the psychological aspect of it. Herein he tells us the necessity for self-perfection.

"The habit of self-criticism is required and this implies and arises from a strong self-regarding sentiment. The special moral sentiments must be brought into connection with and organised within, the system of a more comprehensive sentiment—what may be called the master sentiment among all the moral sentiments, namely, the sentiment for a perfected or completely moral life."²

"Self-knowledge is the best and surest way to the understanding of others; and to each of us it is indispensable for the guidance of his own little bark through the troubled waters of modern life."³

Regarding God, McDougall writes: ".....nothing is more miserable than the state of that man whose character, having been integrated by the religious sentiment, collapses through the destruction of the belief in God."

Further, when asked the question, what master sentiment can we cultivate whose object cannot be destroyed so long as life endures and whose desires will govern conduct to noble ends alone and never lead us to lasting unhappiness, McDougall answers: "It is possible by cultivating the one sentiment of self-regard from which arises the purpose of attaining to nobility of

1. McDougall : Social Psychology, p. 248.
2. McDougall : Social Psychology, p. 226.
3. McDougall : Character and Conduct of Life, p. 4.

character. He whose character has developed along this line can say,

"In the fell clutch of circumstance,
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance,
My head is bloody, but unbound.
It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishment the scroll,
I am the master of my fate ;
I am the captain of my soul " .¹

About the way to attain detachment McDougall has a great thing to say : " Any intellectual contemplation of our emotions detaches us in some degree from them, weakens their power over us, even if it be merely the contemplation of scientific curiosities. Then talking about that " noblest invention of nature," parental instinct, McDougall cites it as a case of disinterested protective impulse.

If we give a richer connotation to McDougall's advice, we hear the Lord's voice, though faintly, for he says,

" Make a plan of life and pursue it steadily ; but be inflexible in your means, though inflexible in your main purpose, remembering that joy is in the pursuit, rather than in the attainment of the goals ; therefore, set them high, lest you attain them too early."

"The worldly hope men set their hearts upon
Turn ashes—or it prospers and anon,
Like snow upon the desert's dusty face,
Lighting a little hour or two—is gone"

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1. McDougall's Character and Conduct of Life, p. 114.
 2. McDougall's Character and Conduct of Life, p. 213.

A VEDĀNTIC TREATISE AND ITS UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY: A NOTICE

(Sadāshiva L. Kātre)

(Continued from p. 111)

The Commentary

It is, however, the Commentary Prabhābhānu that forms the main bulk and importance of our present Ms. It is an elaborate and lucid exposition of the original treatise. The Commentator, like others of his class, makes a great display of his vast erudition and learning and of his mastery of different systems of Hindu Philosophy, Grammar, Poetics, etc. He, while establishing the points of the original author or refuting those of others, enters into numerous, though usual, Sāstric discussions, raises doubts and dismisses them with arguments.

Quotations, etc., in the Commentary

He never spares an opportunity to quote, with his own remarks, some ancient authority for or against some view. Among the works, the authors, etc., quoted in his Commentary we meet with the following :—Numerous passages¹ from the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, of which the ऋग्वेदसंहिता, the अथर्ववेदसंहिता and the ऐतरेय, श्वेताश्वतर, बृहदारण्यक (including the सप्तान्नब्राह्मण portion, कठबल्ली and छान्दोग्य Upaniṣads are distinctly named ; numerous passages² from the Epic, Purāṇic, Philosophical and Dharmaśāstra literature whereof the महाभारत, the भगवद्गीता, the विष्णुपुराण, etc., are distinctly named ; the आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र ; मनु, वामदेव, जनक, भरत, देवल, वशिष्ठ,³ व्यास, शुक्र (along with his unnamed preceptors and disciples) etc., as also the Smṛtis and other works

1. These passages are generally named as श्रुति and sometimes as वैदिक वचस्, etc. The श्रुतिs are sometimes also specified as द्वैतश्रुति, अद्वैतश्रुति, लयश्रुति, भेदश्रुति, गौरवश्रुति, etc.

2. These passages are generally named as स्मृति, वचन, etc. and the works are called इतिहास, पुराण, शास्त्र, स्मृति, etc. The quotations from the भगवद्गीता are designated as स्मृति, भगवदुक्त, भगवद्वचन, कृष्णवाक्य etc.

3. Vasiṣṭha is here said to have founded the most ancient school of Vedānta.

ascribed to them; the सांख्य system, the सांख्यसूत्र and its followers of the school named as the सांख्य्य अनीश्वरवादिन्, पतञ्जलि, his योग school and its adherents called the पातञ्जल्योगसूत्र, गौतम, his न्यायसूत्र and the followers of his school called the गौतमीयस, नैयायिकस, तार्किकस, पीलुपाकवादिन्स, etc.; कणाद, his system (also called the उपाङ्ग) and its adherents called the कणादवादिन्स, etc.; some of the combined न्याय-वैशेषिक schools and their followers called उपाङ्गपठितन्यायशास्त्रविद्स, etc.; जैमिनि, his पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र Mīmāṃsā sub-schools founded by कुमारिलभट्ट, प्रभाकरगुरु, etc., and their respective adherents called the भाट्टस, the प्रभाकरवादिन्स, व्यास's वेदान्तसूत्र (also called the ब्रह्मसूत्र or शारीरिक) and his followers called the वेदान्तिन्स, अद्वैतवादिन्स, मुख्यसिद्धान्तिन्स, etc.; शंकराचार्य, his भाष्यस, and other works like the वाक्यवृत्ति; सुरेश्वर (designated as वार्तिकाचार्य, etc.,) and his वार्तिकास; हस्तामलकाचार्य, विक्रमसंक्षेपशारीरकाचार्य, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, विद्यारण्यस्वामिन्, वेदान्तविमर्श (possibly the renowned वेदान्ताचार्य), and their works; many anonymous works and authors; four schools of the चार्वाकस; schools of the त्रिदण्डिन्स; two schools of the बौद्धस; two schools of the हैरण्यगर्भस; various एकजीववादिन्स, the पाशुपतस, the औपनिषदस, अतिप्राकृतस and others; the कादम्बरी, the किरणावली, etc. Tantras promulgated by Śiva, etc., etc.

Other Features of the Commentary

The commentary explains at length several additional philosophical terms and views like अनुमान, अर्थापत्ति, उपमिति, प्रत्याक्षिप्ति, etc.

1. On folio 100, the com. on verses 139 and 140 says: "पुरुषान्यतया प्रधानपुरुषयोरन्यत्वेन विवेकेन यज्ज्ञानं तेन मोक्षो भवतीति प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेकनिष्ठा आहर्षदन्तत्यर्थः । तथा च सांख्यसूत्रं तद्विपरीतः तस्माददृष्टानुश्रविकात् औपधादेज्योतिष्टोमादेश्च दुःखनिवृत्तिहेतोर्विपरीतो भिन्नो रातिशयक्षयादिदोषरहितः शास्त्रैकगम्यप्रकृतिपुरुषभेदसाक्षात्कारोऽत्यन्तदुःखश्रेयान् एकान्तात्यन्तिकदुःखोच्छेदक्षम इत्यर्थः etc. Obviously, the Com. has in his mind the verse 2 (दृष्टवदानुश्रविकः स ह्यविशुद्धिसंयतिः तद्विपरीतः श्रेयान्व्यक्ताव्यक्तज्ञविज्ञानात् ॥) of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's सांख्यकारिका. He secures to designate as सांख्यसूत्र.

2. The Com. has alluded to the कादम्बरी and the किरणावली, discussing the propriety of Maṅgala in the beginning of a work. Unluckily the scribe has committed several serious blunders in this as elsewhere !

etc., and अवच्छेदवाद, दृष्टिसृष्टिवाद, सर्वशरीरसजीवस्ववाद, four अद्वैतवादs, various एकजीववादs, etc. It discusses, in the manner of similar commentaries, the application of various Lakṣaṇās in explaining the Vedāntavākya. It also refers to several popular or Philosophical maxims¹ in the course of various discussions. The commentary on verses 183 and 184, dealing with the eighteen Vidyās and the theory of Rasa in Poetry, shows, like several other passages, the commentator's admirable grasp of different branches of learning.

Criticism, etc. in the Commentary

The Commentary is further marked by the Commentator's justness and generosity of mind as also by his critical faculty. He never puts in a quotation blindly, but almost always supplements it with his introduction, explanation, conclusion, summary, etc. Even with those opposed to the Advaita Vedānta school he deals most generously. He attacks and refutes their views only after explaining them thoroughly. His critical mind makes its appearance in several ways in the Commentary. He notices² variant readings of the text at several places. He also points out³ why a common Vedic passage has undergone modification in a particular Vedic text. At some places⁴ he tries to establish

1. E. g., “ प्रधानमल्लनिवर्हणन्यायेन ” (folio 100 b), “ त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थ इति न्यायेन ” (104 b), “ सावकाशनिरवकाशयोर्मध्ये निरवकाशं बलीय इति न्यायात् ” (104 b), “ अथ कैमुतिकन्यायेनापि ब्रह्मणोऽद्वितीयत्वं दर्शयति ” (112 b), “ निमित्तापाये नैमित्तिकस्याप्यपाय इति न्यायेन ” (118 a), “ ऐहिकमविकन्यायेन ” (120 b), “ सर्वापेक्षा च यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्वदिति न्यायात् ” (125 b), “ उत्तरपूर्वाद्ययो-रल्लेषविनाशौ तद्व्यपदेशादिति न्यायात् ” (127 b), etc.

2. E. g., folio 3 b “ स्पर्शोपलं संपतितं ” and “ स्पर्शोपलभ्यं पतितं ”, “ प्रपश्यतां ” and “ प्रपत्स्यतां ” (Verse 6), folio 63 b “ अव्ययनिदानन्दं ” and “ अव्ययचिदानन्दं ” (Verse 65), folio 94 b “ तदलं ” and “ सकलं ” (Verse 120), etc.

3. Vide, for instance, folio 21 b “ अत एवात्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीदित्यस्य स्थाने सदेव सौम्येदमग्र आसीदिति छन्दोगाः पठन्ति. ”

4. E. g., folio 46 a “इदमेव सांख्यैर्महत्तत्त्वमित्युच्यते etc. ”

the unity of different Śāstras on some points. At other he exposes the differences among some authors of the school.

An Appreciation, etc.

Thus it will appear that the *Prabhābhānu* (lit. Brilled-Sun) is a very learned Commentary and that it is its title, although it does not make any new or original contribution to the Vedānta literature. It reminds the reader of two well-known commentaries on Śaṅkara's *Vedāntasūtra*, Nṛsiṃhasarasvatī's *Subodhinī* and Rāmātīrtha's *Vidvanmanor*, which might have served as models to our Commentator. It is to be regretted that our Ms. is marked, as shown in the beginning of this paper, with the absence of some original matter.

The Commentator and his Environments, etc.

I may quote below in full the Introduction and the opening Colophon of the Commentary as they attach considerable historical importance to the Commentator and his work:—

Folio 1 b (Introduction)

॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ शक्तिब्रह्मचिदानन्दौ पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

लयोत्पत्तिस्थितिकरौ वन्दे तौ जगतां गुरु ॥ १ ॥

सच्चिदानन्दरूपाय कृष्णायार्क्षिष्टकारिणे ॥

नमो वेदान्तवेद्याय गुरवे बुद्धिसाक्षिणे ॥ २ ॥

आशाप्रपूर्णाणि (= आशाः प्रपूर्णापि) विचित्रकृत्यैः कुमोदकत्वं क्षयितुं विन्यस्य (?) कुं तां क्षमताविहीनं (?) ज्ञात्वावतीर्णो निखिलार्थदाता ॥ इति

धर्मस्य गुण्यै यशसामुदन्वान्प्रतापमानुर्भगवान्वरेण्यः ॥

मानुष्यमास्थाय सुतत्त्वमाप श्रीमाधवस्यामितविक्रमस्य ॥ ४ ॥

स साम्प्रतं दौलतरावनाम्ना स्यातो जगन्त्यां जगतीशराजः ॥

1. E.g., folio 53 b ff "इति काम्यं त्वाचार्यमते त्याज्यमेव फलकत्वात् । वार्तिककारमते तु काम्यमपि कामनां त्यक्त्वा ज्योतिष्टोमादीष्वपि त्वेनानुष्ठितं सद्विविदिषां जनयेदेवेति तत्कर्तव्यमन्यथा ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो त्यादितद्विधायकश्रुतीनां वैयर्थ्यं स्यादित्याकरे विस्तरः " (Verse 39), etc. also folio 88 b ff., where the Com. marks at great length the difference among वार्तिककार, विवरणाचार्य, संक्षेपशारीरकाचार्य, वाचस्पतिमिश्र, etc. the Śaṅkarācārya's view of the correct sense of the Vedāntavākya on allied topics.

दूर्वादलश्यामलकान्तकान्तिर्हुताशनः शत्रुगणस्य वीर्ये ॥ ५ ॥
 शौरिर्दृती मेरुमेश एव क्रोधे कृतौ विक्रम एव दाने ॥
 कर्णः स्मरो रम्यसुकामिनीनां यशोविधेचन्द्रः सुकृतस्य सिन्धुः ॥ ६ ॥
 ज्ञाने समाधावपरो हि रामश्चमूपभूपैः कृतिभिः सदस्यैः ॥
 राष्ट्रस्य कोशस्य बलस्य नीतेर्महैधकैः स्वामिपरैरुदारैः ॥ ७ ॥
 परावरज्ञैर्धिपणासमुद्रैरमात्यवर्गैः सहितः सभायाम् ॥
 सतां मुदे बालविदे च भिक्षोः स्वबोधरत्नस्य तु माधवस्य ॥ ८ ॥
 व्याख्यां प्रभाभान्वभिधां विधातुं मामादिशद्ग्रन्थवरं च कर्तुम् ॥
 वेदान्तरत्नं लघुचारुपद्यं सिद्धान्तसारं चिदचिद्विचारम् ॥ ९ ॥
 ततः प्रवृत्तः पदयोगधर्मवेदान्तशास्त्रादिषु च प्रवीणः ॥
 नारायणस्यात्मजबालकृष्णो राजैकजीवी पितरं सुधीरम् ॥ १० ॥
 वयासमालक्ष्यभिधां (=वयःसमां लक्ष्यभिधां?) च धात्रीं नत्वा पुरो ग्रन्थवरं विधाय ॥
 वेदान्तरत्नं विमलाशयोऽहं व्याख्यां करोमि प्रबुधाः क्षमध्वम् ॥ ११ ॥

e Folio 132 b (Conclusion)

वेदव्यासादिरूपेण स्वात्मतत्त्वप्रकाशकम् ॥
 नौमि साम्बं परात्मानं सच्चिदानन्दरूपिणम् ॥ १ ॥
 प्रभाभान्वभिधा व्याख्या बोधरत्नस्य कारिता ॥
 श्रीमता सार्वभौमेण दौलचावेण धीमता ॥ २ ॥
 सा कृता बालकृष्णेन द्विद्वीपवसुचन्द्रके (१८७२) ॥
 संवद्वर्षे व्यये मासि ज्येष्ठे शुक्ले तिथौ दिशि ॥ ३ ॥
 शुक्ले समाप्तिमगमत्तया श्रीभगवान् हरः ॥
 सोमः सराधः कृष्णश्च भगवान्नीयतामिति ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीमद्राजाधिराजमहाराजसार्वभौमदौलतरावकारिता बालकृष्ण-
 कृता प्रभाभान्वभिधा माधवकृतस्वबोधरत्नस्य व्याख्या समाप्ता ॥

|| The Commentator's Personal Details, etc.

The Commentator's name is Bālakṛṣṇa. He is son of Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī who are said to be of equal age and seem to be alive when the Commentary was written. It seems to be a family of Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas, possibly Ṛgvedins, migrated to Gwalior, although its surname is not mentioned. About his learning the Commentator simply says that he is well-versed in Grammar, Yoga, Dharma, Vedānta and other Śāstras. From his salutations to Śiva, Pārvatī and Kṛṣṇa (who is also associated with Rādhā in the concluding colophon), both in the beginning and in the end, he appears to be an unbigoted and liberal-minded Śaiva and an

adherent of the school of Śaṅkarācārya. He describes himself as being dependent for his livelihood solely on his royal patron Mahārāja Daulatrāo Scindīā, under whose directions he, with a clear and unbiassed mind, composed the present extensive Commentary on the *Prabhābhānu* on the ascetic Mādhava's Vedāntic gem *Śrīmad-ratna* for the delight of the good and for the understanding of beginners and completed it on Friday, the tenth day of the fortnight of Jyeṣṭha in Sāṃvat 1872 named as Vyaya (Sāṃvat i. e., about June, 1815 A. C.

The Commentator's Patron : Mahārāja Daulatrāo Scindīā

Thus the Commentary takes its additional importance from its association with an important figure in the history of India. Daulatrāo Scindīā is here identified with Supreme God who, for relieving the afflicted Earth of her miseries and protecting Dharma, incarnated himself on the earth as a (subsequently) became the (adopted?) son of Mādhava Mahādajī Scindīā) of limitless valour and is now (i. e. at the time of the composition of the Commentary) renowned in the world as King of Kings under the name Daulatrāo. He is said to have a charming dark complexion, is described as fire to the enemies, as Cupid to handsome damsels, as the moon born in the ocean of glory, as an ocean of meritorious deeds, and is compared to Kṛṣṇa, Meru, Śiva, Vikrama, Karṇa and Rāma in respect to his valour, patience, fury, deeds, liberality and combination of Knowledge and perseverance. His Court, where he directed the Commentator to compose the requisite Commentary on the particular Vedāntic treatise, is said to have among its members successful field-m Marshals and feudatory chiefs as also his band of brave and liberal ministers, possessing a vast intellect, well-versed in History and in the Śāstras and having immensely added to the Kingdom (or Empire), treasure, force and statesmanship. At the end, again, Daulatrāo, possessing immense wealth and intelligence, is said to have caused the Commentary to be written and described as Rājādhirāja (= a king of kings or paramount ruler) and Mahārāja-Sārvabhauma (= an Emperor).

Historical Gleanings

Daulatrāo, born in 1780 and adopted in 1794 by Mahārāja, a widow, tried to follow in the footsteps of his celebrated

father with greater vigour and enthusiasm and almost ruled the politics of Poona and Delhi for some years in the beginning. Several martial victories, a few of them involving some ignoble feats actually committed by his infamous ministers, are attributed to him during this period, although in political matters he generally proved a failure. He was actuated by a keen desire to retain or even increase the vast dominions earned by Mahādājī, to keep other Indian states under the sway of the Marathas and to ward off all chances of foreign intervention with the supremacy of his own kingdom and of the Maratha Empire in general. Still, unluckily he failed in the long run and, by the Treaty of Surjī Añjangāon in 1803, lost the major portion of his limitless territories to the British, had to surrender his claims over several other states and also had to acknowledge the partial supremacy of the British in respect to foreign relations. Although he kept on trying to mend the situation during subsequent years, ultimately he, in a state of helplessness, made a permanent allegiance with the British in 1817 and had to see with his own eyes the destruction of the Maratha Empire of the Peshwās in 1818 before he died in 1827.

Remarks

As such the praise showered on him, especially the divine character attributed to him, in the Commentary might appear to students of History as extravagant and befitting only the pen of a dependent. Yet it is possible to find for it some justification in facts. In the first place, there is the age-long Hindu belief in the divine character of all Kings expressed in the well-known maxim "नाविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः" and we need not be surprised at its application in the case of Daulatrāo, who, despite his undeserved failures, was certainly a prince of high order on account of his personality, spirit of enterprise, numerous martial achievements, education and love of letters. Secondly, prior to 1817, it had appeared for some time as if Daulatrāo's attempts for the revival of his lost supremacy were being crowned with considerable success. By the Treaty of 1805 arranged by Lord Cornwallis, Daulatrāo had regained some of his lost territories from the British and had also been granted a free hand over the states of Rajputana and Malwa. His shifting of the Scindiās' permanent camp from Ujjain to Gwalior, ultimately

leading to the creation of the Capital City of Lashkar in 1810, was also one of his remarkable achievements of this period. It was some time after 1810 that Daulatrāo directed our Commentator to compose the present Commentary, completed in 1812. It was one of his enthusiastic Durbars held to celebrate the foundation of the new capital. It is no wonder, therefore, if the subject is in general, not to speak of the Commentator who confesses to be wholly dependent on his royal patron, had begun to speak of the revival of Mahādajī's supremacy and glory in Daulatrāo's time. At this stage and the titles "Rājādhirāja" and "Mahārāja-bhauma" were applied to his name.¹

Daulatrāo's Addiction to Spiritualism

Daulatrāo's educational attainments and literary habits are well-known to history and are also evinced in his patronage of several poets and Śāstrins of which our Commentator may be one. The Commentary, besides corroborating these facts, throws a flood of light on Daulatrāo's love and study of metaphysics. The very fact that he selected the particular Vedānta 'gem' and prescribed it for a learned and extensive commentary speaks for his deep knowledge of the subject.

Nor is this factor in Daulatrāo's personality quite unknown to people. During my recent visit to Lashkar-Gwalior a few months ago, I met some reliable aged friends, conversant with local history and tradition, who definitely informed me that Mahārājā Daulatrāo had cultivated a spiritual temperament through several years and had during late years become very anxious for his permanent spiritual welfare and salvation through mystic self-experience. He requested Anṇamahārāja, a highly respected local saint, to administer to him the requisite *mantra* and thereby secure his permanent spiritual welfare. Anṇamahārāja, however, refused saying that a Hāthayogī himself was not properly authorised to make the king his disciple. At his own suggestion further Daulatrāo invited the Mahīpatinātha, a Rājayogin of Paithāṇa, to Lashkar, under

1. Possibly Mahādajī Scindia never used these titles with his subjects. He continued to call himself the Peshwā's representative or the Emperor's Vazir even after 1782 when he attained equal rank with the Peshwā and the British by the Treaty of Salbei.

the due *gurumantra* ceremony at his hands and thereby had his object of mystic self-realisation and spiritual welfare fulfilled. Subsequently Mahīpatinātha, now Daulatrāo's spiritual guru, settled and built a Maṭha at Lashkar-Gwalior and was succeeded by his disciple surnamed Purandare whose descendants, under the title Dholibuvā, continue to exercise spiritual influence in the local high circles even to this day.

Its Probable Causes

As to what exactly led Mahārāja Daulatrāo, a prince and general of a high order, to cultivate an addiction to spiritualism, it is difficult to say. Possibly, his loss, despite his best efforts for several years, of supremacy and of the considerable portion of the vast dominions earned by Mahādajī, side by side with the gradual destruction of the father empire of the Peshwās, led him to cherish a belief in the transitory character of material objects and worldly glory. Again, his remorse for the ferocious and heart-rending deeds committed under his name actually by his cruel minister Sarjerāo Ghatge at Poona and at Indore might have further urged him for spiritual purification as the necessary means to real salvation for which he was growing anxious.

SOME CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS FROM THE RĀMĀYANA

(Miss P. C. Dharma)

(Continued from page 124)

The Purohita (Chief Priest) was the master of the ceremonies. As soon as *Bharata* gave the funeral rites (II-76-13 &c.) the priest brought out the " fire " from the place where it was kept and worshipped, as the corpse was to be used for setting fire to the pyre. The corpse was placed on a litter (Śibikā) and carried on the shoulders of the attending attendants to the cremation ground. During the procession, gold and silver coins and cloths were scattered on the road, evidently for poor people to pick up along the route.

A pyre was soon formed on the cremation ground on the Banks of the River Sarayū with faggots of fragrant wood Sandal, Agarū, Saralā, Padmakā, Devadāru etc., and kinds of incense. After placing the corpse on the funeral and setting fire to it, the priests chanted the Vedic Mantras. The widowed queens who had followed the corpse in carriages and palanquins surrounded by the old servants of the palace, surrounded the pyre with loud lamentations; and then performed the water rites together with *Bharata*. The queens, *Bharata*, the priests etc., subsequently returned to the city and slept on the ground for 10 days till the period of pollution was over.

On the 12th day after cremation, *Bharata* performed the ceremony and distributed various gifts to the Brahmins, money, food, and clothing (II-77-1 etc.). On the 13th day *Bharata* went to the cremation ground to collect the bones to perform the rest of the rites (II-77-8 and 26). The only difference in the present day custom is the collection of bones and ashes on the 2nd day i.e. the day after cremation. In the case of *Rama* cremated him, offered funeral oblations, of balls of rice

venison, with Vedic Mantras and then performed the water rites in the river Godāvarī (III-68-31 etc.).

Vānara Funeral Ceremonies
Vāli was cremated by his son *Āṅgada*. His body ornamented and clothed was carried in a litter to the cremation ground. The male *Vānaras* marched in front. The women folk went behind the corpse, weeping. The corpse-bearers were picked strong men. The litter was carried on the shoulders of *Vānaras*. On reaching the *Sandy Bed of a River* the litter was placed on the sand. The funeral pyre was prepared on the sandy bed. (To the present day this custom is said to be prevalent in South India). After dragging wailing *Tārā* (*Vāli's* wife) from the corpse, *Vāli's* body was placed by the attendants, on the funeral pyre which was lighted by his son *Āṅgada*. After the lighting of the funeral pyre, all the relations went to the river and performed the water rites for the dead and then returned home. These ceremonies have been continued up to the present day for 5000 years with very little change. These can be witnessed in *India* even today (IV-25-13).

Vibhiṣaṇa first brought out from the palace, *Rāvaṇa's* sacred fire, carts, brass utensils, fragrant faggots (like sandal wood etc.), fragrant incense, gems, pearls and corals. Then *Rāvaṇa's* body was covered with a silken cloth and placed in a golden litter, adorned with flowers. The litter was carried to the cremation ground *with the Music of Trumpets* and the chanting of priests. The priests preceded the corpse, while *Vibhiṣaṇa* and others followed with faggots in their hands. The damsels of the *Seraglio* followed the corpse on foot. The pyre was made of fragrant faggots on which was spread an Antelope skin. The corpse being placed on it, the *re* was placed on the South-east corner of the pyre. *Prṣadājya* (curd and ghee) was poured on the shoulders of the corpse, and the various sacrificial wooden vessels were placed on the legs, thighs etc. Then slaying the beasts according to Śāstraic injunctions the *Rākṣasas* dipped a coverlet in their fat and ghee and placed the coverlet on the face of the corpse which was adorned with garlands and clothes. *Vibhiṣaṇa* and others scattered fried paddy (or popped rice) (*Lāja*) over the corpse, and duly lighted

the funeral pyre, Then *Vibhīṣaṇa* bathed, and with wet cloth performed the *Water-rites* with Sesamum, *Darbha-Grass* and *Water*. Subsequently the women consoled by *Vibhīṣaṇa*, returned to the city (VI-114-100 etc.).

Water rites—*Nivāpa* (II-102-28) or *Udaka* (II-101-7 F) had to be done by the sons immediately after hearing of the death of the father if they had not participated in the original cremation ceremony (II-101-7 F). Water rites were faithfully performed to secure the salvation of the father (II-101-8). As pointed out above, the son who had an opportunity to perform the cremation of his father was considered particularly lucky by his brethren (II-102-10). Funeral rites were always performed by the sons. On hearing of the death of *Daśaratha*, *Rāma* told *Lakṣmaṇa* to bring the *Ingudī* cake and the upper cloth and went to the front side with *Sītā* in the front. At the present day the upper cloth is not worn (II-102-20 F). *Rāma* took water in his *Aṅgūlī* (joined hands), faced the south and weeping offered it to his deceased father (II-102-25). It is stated that *Rāma* sprinkled the water (*Vāsodaka*). The water rite was later on followed by the rite of *Offering the Piṇḍa* (or offering the bolus of food for the Manes). The bolus used to be made of the food which the individuals used to eat. *Rāma* offered a ball of *Ingudī* cakes with Jujubes, on *Darbha* grass spread on the ground (II-102-26).

It was a funeral rite in honour of the spirit of the deceased relation. The important part of it was the *Śrāddha* ceremony. *Brahman*, supposed to represent the spirit of the dead, and presenting him with *Dakṣiṇā* (money gift). The first *Śrāddha* was performed on the 12th day after death (the cremation being done on the first day) (II-77-1). Subsequently *Śrāddhas* came to be performed at regular periods and at least once a year on the anniversary day. The son was expected to perform the *Śrāddha* once at least a year. The sanctity of *Gayā* has continued upto the present day. The belief in the virtues of a *Śrāddha* and especially of one performed at *Gayā** by a Son has evidently existed from time immemorial.

* *Rāma* told *Bharata* that people wish for many sons, so that the least might go to *Gayā* and perform *Śrāddha* (II-107-11).

Goats' flesh was offered as food to the Brahman guests invited for the *S'rāddha* during the epic period (III-11-57 F).

There was a widespread belief in auspicious moments for commencing business, e.g. marching for battle, entering a new house, commencing a sacrifice, performing marriages, crowning kings, setting out for a journey etc. (I-73-8, II-4-22 and VI-4-3). *Hanumān* suggested to *Rāma* that he would do well to start the expedition in an auspicious Muhūrta (VI-3-33). *Rāma* told *Sugrīva* that the *Abhijit-Muhūrta* was suitable for marching to *Lankā* which was situated South-east (VI-4-3. etc.). Great importance was attached to the occurrence of good and evil portents when beginning any business, especially when setting out for battle.

The first entrance into a new house used to be made in an auspicious moment, after worshipping the Deities called the *Vāstudevatās* with offerings of cooked food (II-56-22). After the construction of a cottage by *Lakṣmaṇa*, *Rāma* asked *Lakṣmaṇa* to quickly get ready some roasted venison for offering to the presiding Deities, as he was anxious not to miss the auspicious time for sacrificing and entering the newly erected residence. *Daśaratha's* march to the sacrificial camp (I-13-38), and his journey to Mithilā to attend *Rāma's* marriage (I-71-23 and I-73-8) commenced at auspicious moments.

People believed in an auspicious time even for stealing. *Jaṭāyus* pointed out to *Rāma* that *Rāvaṇa* stole *Sītā* in an inauspicious moment and that he could therefore never enjoy her (IV-68-13). *Sumantra* placed *Rāma's* car with its face northwards before starting from *Tamāsā's* southern bank to the forest. It was considered inauspicious to have the conveyance facing the south when starting (II-46-34).

The belief in dreams was very common. *Daśaratha* on seeing evil omens in his dreams, indicative of his approaching death before the Coronation of *Rāma*, was very much troubled (II-4-17). *Trijaṭā* told *Sītā* that her dreams were an indication of the course of future events (VI-27-8 etc., and VI-27-55). *Bharata* also believed in dreams and was distressed by bad dreams while at *Rājagṛha* (II-69-8 etc.).

The signs of impending disaster were :—

Plunging from the peak of a mountain into a dirty
of cow dung, with dishevelled hair ;

Floating in a pool of cow dung ;

Drinking oil with laughter, anointing oneself
and diving into oil, head downwards ;

Eating sesamum rice, sitting on an iron seat
black clothing, laughed at by black and
women ;

Wearing a red garland and hurrying on an ass
chariot towards the south ; and being dragged
red clad frightful demoness.

Other signs of impending disaster were the drying up of
Ocean ; falling of the Moon on the earth ; withering
trees ; cracking of the earth ; universal darkness ;
smoke from mountains ; the sudden extinction of flames
etc. (II-69-8 etc.). The sight of a monkey in a dream was
cative of disaster, according to *Sītā* (V-32-9).

The belief of the people in good and evil portents
was widespread. The whole poem is
Belief in omens references to omens and portents. *Rāma*
with evil portents when returning home after killing *Mārīcī*
was filled with anxiety about *Sītā* (III-57-10 etc.). *Rāma*
time of march noticed auspicious omens such as the throbbing
the right eye, and therefore anticipated success
Lakṣmaṇa noted various good omens during the march
assured *Rāma* of success. *Sītā* who wanted to hang
noticed auspicious omens (throbbing of her left eye, left
left thigh) and became cheerful (V-29-1 etc.). *Vibhīṣa*
dissuaded *Rāvaṇa* from fighting with *Rāma* gave him a list
omens noted by him, as indicative of impending
(VI-10-14 etc.).

The cultivation of the sciences of Astrology and
is revealed by the use of many astro-
logy, Palmistry and astronomical terms (I-18-8 &c.).
Belief in astro- numerous references to Palmistry (V-35-14 etc.)
and Sāmudrika The Astrologers, and Palmists (including

professors of *Sāmudrika*) were called:—*Lakṣaṇin* (II-29-9 and VI-48-2); *Kārtāntika* (VI-48-4); *Gaṇaka* (I-13-7); or *Daivajña* (II-4-18). The belief in *Astrology* and *Palmistry* and *Sāmudrika S'āstra* was widely prevalent. *Sītā* who lamented for *Rāma* on his supposed death stated that all the predictions of astrologers about herself and *Rāma* had proved false (VI-48-2 etc.). *Dāśaratha* who had been told by astrologers that his Natal Star had been invaded by Malevolent Planets (indicating approaching death) was very anxious to see *Rāma* crowned as speedily as possible before his death (II-4-18 etc.). *Sītā* told *Rāma* that her future residence in the forest had been foretold in her father's house by astrologers (II-29-8).

By the use of the so-called Divine Vision or *Jñāna-dṛṣṭi* or *Jñāncakṣus* (Television in a broad sense) it was considered possible, to divine unseen things. *Vālmiki* is said to have witnessed all the incidents in the life of *Rāma*, past, present and future by such a power and then composed the Song of *Rāmāyaṇa* (I-3-6). When *Vālmiki* met deserted and pregnant *Sītā*, crying near his hermitage, he divined all the circumstances connected with her banishment by such powers and knew her to be innocent and chaste (Rā-VII-49-14). *Sampātī* saw by his "Jñāna" vision or Television that the *Vānaras* would succeed in getting scent of *Sītā* (IV-58-25 and 29). *Budha*, on meeting king *Ila* transformed into a female, was able to divine his precedents by his Yogic knowledge (VII-88-20). *Nalakūbara*, by such powers, was able to divine the ravishment of *Rambhā* by *Rāvaṇa* (VII-26-50 F). Sage *Ṣharadvāja* divined all the adventures of *Rāma* by such powers (VI-127-7 etc.)

Sins and crimes were supposed to be partly expiated by being punished by the king. The Brahman beggar *Sarvārtha-Siddha* requested *Rāma* to punish him as he thought fit, for the crime of hitting an innocent being, so that the sin might be expiated and the fear of Hell removed (VII-59L-29). *Rāma's* trusted ministers told him that sinners would be pardoned in the future world if punished by the king here (VII-59M-39).

People believed that the misfortunes of the subjects were due to maladministration by the kings. To cite an instance the Brahman who went to Rāma with his dead child, told Rāma that in the neighbouring kingdoms children did not die before their fathers and that therefore the death of the child must have been due to Rāma's maladministration (VII-73-1).

Rākṣasas were supposed to increase in strength after evening twilight (I-26-13). *Viśvāmitra* advised Rāma to kill *Tāṭakā* before sunset as she would otherwise become invincible.

Belief in the invincibility of demons at night time

Belief in "Possession by evil spirit" must have been current during the Epic period just as at the present time in South India. *Daśaratha*, on seeing *Sita* sulking on the floor, told her that she was like one possessed (II-10-30), as she asked for unreasonable things (II-12-57). *Sumantra* reported to *Daśaratha*, that *Sita* in the forest stood like one possessed (II-58-34). *Kausalyā* is described as trembling like one possessed with a *Bhūta* (II-60-1).

The Hindus believed that various *Spirits* presided over the natural elements, trees, rivers etc. [The] forces were all attributed to the spirits. *Kausalyā* called upon all these presiding spirits to protect Rāma (See the 25th Chapter of *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*) the forest.

Bharadvāja told *Sitā* to salute the great *Nyagrodha* Banyan tree on the banks of the *Gangā* and pray for blessings (II-55-25). *Sylvan Spirits* were supposed to reside in the sacred trees (II-55-25).

The *Sangama* or confluence of two rivers, e.g. *Sarayū* and *Gangā* was always considered to be a sacred spot (I-10). River *Gangā* was considered sacred in those days. It was supposed to purify the persons who bathed in it but also those whose ashes were washed by its waters lead them to salvation (I-43-32, 1-44).

Belief in the sanctity of the confluences of rivers and in the sanctity of the Ganges

I-42-18) *Ganges* water was used in the Coronation ceremony (II-14-34). Water rites for the dead, performed with the waters of the *Ganges* were supposed to lead to the salvation of the Pitṛs (II-83-24 and II-50-24). *Bharata* before crossing the *Ganges* performed the water rites for *Daśaratha* (II-83-24). *Rāma* on getting into the boat when crossing the *Ganges* on his way to the forest prayed to *Gaṅgā* for his welfare. *Lakṣmaṇa* and *Sītā* sipped water and saluted "*Gaṅgā*" on getting into the boat (II-52-77 &c.). While crossing the river *Ganges* and the river *Jumna*, *Sītā* prayed to the presiding Deities, for favour, and a safe return with *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa* after the completion of the exile (II-52-82 &c., II-55-19 &c.).

Particular spots were considered sacred e.g. *Gayā*, *Siddhāśrama*, *Himālayas*, *Naimiṣa forest* &c. The mere sight of *Citrakūṭa* Hill was supposed to purify a man from his sins (II-54-30).

Cows were held in great respect (VII-23-21 &c.). Even unprincipled *Rāvaṇa* respected the Cow *Surabhi* by circumambulating her (VII-23-21 &c.). Cow's milk, curd and butter, were valuable and indispensable articles of diet in the vegetarian diet of Brahmins, and curd, butter and ghee were in requisition for the daily oblations in the fire. The Brahman's diet and the religious rites entirely depended on the cow (I-53-13 F). Further the cow was very valuable in an agricultural country. Bulls were also required for ploughing, and drawing *Gorathas* and *Śakaṭas*. But or the sanctity attached to cows in India, they would have been exterminated by indiscriminate slaughter for food.

People believed in the possibility of understanding the speech of animals in exceptional cases. *Kaikeyi*'s father was credited with such knowledge (II-35-18).

Various superstitious beliefs were held during the period about eclipses, death vision, insects, geography etc. The eclipses of the sun and the moon were supposed to be due to the planets *Rāhu* and *Ketu* who were supposed to swallow the Sun and the

Moon. The scorpion was supposed to be killed by its young (III-43-40) as soon as they were born. People before death supposed to see golden trees (III-53-18). The Universe supposed to be supported by eight big elephants stationed in eight quarters, and earthquakes were attributed to the shaking the heads of elephants out of weariness (I-40-13 etc.).

Belief in Fate and Karma has always been one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Hindu religion right up to the present moment. Hindus believe that every man reaps what he had sown in his previous birth, that Destiny or Fate is all-powerful and cannot be conquered by any amount of human effort. King *Anarāya* told his wife when he was fatally wounded, that Time or Fate was invincible (VII-19-25). Fate or providence was supposed to span the Universe (III-69-41 etc.). *Rāma* consoled *Tārā* by telling her, that she could overcome fate and that griefs and joys were ordained by the Creator (IV-24-42 F). *Rāma* comforted *Bharata* by telling him: "No creature is endowed with the power of controlling over the course of events. Man is not independent of Fate. The destroyer (Time) draws him hither and thither (II-11-12). *Sītā* told *Hanumān* that everybody was at the mercy of fate, that fate was invincible (V-57-3 F). *Rāma* who had never known any distinction between his own mother and *Kaikeyi*, wondered why she inflicted misery on him, and came to the conclusion that it was *Destiny* that made her press for the Coronation of him and his own banishment with harsh and cruel words (etc.), *Rāma* pointed out to *Lakṣmaṇa*, when cancelling the arrangements for his Coronation, "Destiny is above comprehension. It is beyond the powers of any creature to avoid the consequences of destiny. No one can withstand destiny, hidden from our view, until it is realised by the consequences. No one can fight with destiny. Destiny is the cause of happiness, sorrow, fear, anger, profit and loss, birth and death. Even sages and ascetics under the influence of destiny renounce their austerities and succumb to the attacks of anger and desire. The delay to the completion of works undertaken, and the occurrence of un-thought-of events, is nothing but the action of destiny. The human mind be brought under discipline by this rationale of destiny."

cause for sorrow regarding my thwarted coronation." Rāma asked *Lakṣmaṇa* not to find fault with his father or *Kaikeyī* as the whole thing had been ordained by destiny (II-22-20 &c.).

Kausalyā told *Rāma*, when she was unable to divert him from his resolution, that it was impossible to withstand Destiny (II-24-32) and that "Destiny was incomprehensible" (II-24-35). *Sumantrā* thought that there could be no merit in *Brahmacarya Vrata*, in *Vedādhayana* (Recitation of the Sacred Scriptures) or in the practice of virtuous acts, as even *Rāma* possessing those merits had come to grief on account of "Fate" (II-52-17). The *Rākṣasī* women in weeping over the dead *Rāvaṇa*, pointed out that the slaughter of many *Vānaras* and *Rākṣasas* had been brought about, solely by *Fate* and that nothing was capable of withstanding it (VI-113-23).

The opposite view was also held by some like *Lakṣmaṇa*, who asserted that *only weak people talked of destiny*, and that Destiny was weak and powerless with brave people and that *only cowards talked of destiny* (II-23-6 F and 16 F). *Lakṣmaṇa* was of opinion that too much fear of the censure of the world and too high an ideal of what example one should set, were disastrous to one's personal interests (II-23-5). *Lakṣmaṇa* was in the minority. The great majority of Hindus have always believed in "Destiny".

Rāma was of opinion, that this world was the *Karma-Bhūmi* (II-109-28) for performing good and bad actions, the fruits of which were to be enjoyed later on.

Daśaratha thought that the calamity of *Rāma's* exile had befallen him on account of sins committed in previous births (II-39-4) such as depriving the mother cows of their calves, or thoughtlessly slaying living things (II-39-11). He told *Kausalyā* that he was only reaping the effects of his own Karma (II-63-6).

Kausalyā told *Rāma* that destiny was all-powerful, as even he had to be banished to the forest for no fault (II-24-5). She lamented that she must have cut off the paps of cows when the calves were hungering after mothers' milk, in some former birth and that therefore she was paying for her past sin, by

suffering the loss of her son (II-43-17). *Sītā* attributed her fortune to her previous Karma (VII-48-4). She wondered why sin she could have committed in her former birth to deserve the torments of the *Rākṣasīs* (V-25-18). *Sītā* on seeing the magic created dummy of *Rāma*, killed in her presence, lamented that she must have prevented the gift of a bride in her previous birth and therefore was reaping the results of her past sinful deed.

When *Hanumān* told *Sītā* of his desire to torment and kill the *Rākṣasī* guards, *Sītā* replied that her sufferings were only due to her own past Karma and that the *Rākṣasī* guards were only carrying out the orders of their master (VI-116-37 FF). The innumerable damsels captured by *Rāvaṇa* wondered what evil deed they had done in their former lives (VII-24-14). The Brahmins with the dead child who came to *Rāma*'s city gate wondered what sin he had committed in his previous birth for the loss of his only child (VII-73-4). King *Nṛga* believed in fate and Karma and accepted his curse (VII-54-15 F). *Rāma* attributed all his troubles and the loss of *Sītā* to his past sins (III-63-3 F). *Kaṭv* told *Rāvaṇa* that one would certainly reap the fruit of his Karma and that the fruit would be in accordance with one's deed (VII-15-26).

The various *Vānara* heroes are said to have inherited the

1. Heredity special strength, skill and virtues, of the powerful fathers although born of an inferior race of mothers (I-17-18). *Kaikeyī* is said to have inherited her mother's vices. Girls were supposed to take after the mother and boys were supposed to take after the father (e.g. *Kaṭv* and *Bharata* II-35-27). *Nala*, the *Vānara* Engineer is said to have inherited his Engineering skill from his father *Viśvakh*, the famous Architect (VI-22-49). *Hanumān* is said to have inherited his fleetness and strength from the Wind God *Vāyu* (IV-66-30).

Sampātī enunciated a theory similar to the modern theory of adaptation of the body of animals to their environment. 2. Theory of adaptation to environment. and environment (IV-58-26 etc.). He told the *Vānaras*, who wondered at his sharp sight, that "the sharpness of vision of birds depended on the distance at which their natural food could be seen—as

cocks (land birds) find their food on the ground, they need not see far, when searching for food. Hence their vision is not very sharp. The crows feeding on the fruits of trees have to see farther when flying and have better vision. The sharpness of sight is greater in the hawks; and the vision of vultures still sharper, as they have to spot food at very great distances when flying in the higher regions of the atmosphere. The Garuḍa or the Brahmaṇi Kite flies highest and it has to spot its food from a still greater height and hence its sight is very sharp." *Sampāti* belonged to the class of Garuḍas. So he could see *Lankā*, 100 leagues away. Each age has got its own beauty and own Culture. A survey of the Rāmāyaṇa age reveals a state nursed in princely lore though clouded by the mist of superstition.

P. 6 note 2 and p. 8, note 2: For a list of the Purāṇas and Smṛtis cf. G. Jha, Hindu Law in its Sources, vol. I, Allahabad 1930, p. 30-32.

P. 7 line 9: Though there are later lists of 13, 16, 25, *saṃskāras* the *śārīrāḥ saṃskārāḥ* are 18 in number from *mūḍha* up to *pāṇigrahaṇa*, see Hillebrandt, Ritual-Literatur p. 18, cf. Kamalabai Deshpande, The Child in Ancient India, Poona 1936, p. 11 ff.

P. 8 line 22: 36 ṛṣis as authors of Smṛtis are enumerated in Devanabhaṭṭa's Smṛticandrikā vol. III, part 1, p. 2 (ed. Mysore) where other lists occur, also 16 or 17 Upasmṛtis (not 18, as Kaśyapa's History of Dharmaśāstra I, p. 118, says; nor in the Sarasvatī Smṛti p. 13, but in both books follow 18 Purāṇas).

P. 10 note 1: Viramitrodaya by Mitramiśra and Mitākṣara on Y. III, 240, referred to by Aparārka too.

P. 11, line 14: Bṛhadār. Up. II, I, 19 (cf. Brahmayajurveda II, 12; Kṣurikā Up. 17) says that there are 72,000 veins, called *śūlakā*, the number, however, is not given in the parallel passage Kaśyapa's Up. IV, 19; cf. Bṛhadār. Up. IV, 3, 20.

P. 12, line 5: On 18 means for direct knowledge which lead one to release according to Madhva cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. p. 60f., who refers (p. 59, n. 5) to the Madhvasiddhāntasāra of Padmanābhasūri.

P. 20, line 1: The 18 *āveṇikadharmas* are enumerated in the Uttaratantra, a work ascribed to Maitreya and preserved only in Tibetan, translated into English by Obermiller, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. IX, 1931, pp. 261-63.

P. 27, 2nd line from bottom: For an *Aṣṭādaśasūnyatā* cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques I, p. 397; the number of 18 Arhats in China and Tibet can be found in an inscription of 959 A.D.; to the number of 16, the two Taoistic symbols of East and West, the Tiger and the Dragon have been added, the names of which are rendered as Nandinī and Piṇḍola, or Kāśyapa and Nandimitra; cf. Waddell, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. XI, t. 8, p. 1ff., esp. 275ff. In Mil. 35lf. first 28 good qualities in which one is completely endowed, then 18 good qualities with whom one becomes completely endowed whosoever carry out the vows.

*First published in the Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 1-37. The references are to these pages. Edited.

P. 23, line 8 : Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* (ed. London 1832, II, p. 757; 2nd ed. Calcutta 1979, II, p. 658; 3rd ed. Oxford 1920, III, p. 1814) quotes from the Khoman Rasa a passage about the 18 varieties of artisans in Chittorgarh.

P. 28, line 3 : Influenced by Indian Buddhism the number 18 is to be found in the Tibetan "History of the Existences of Padmasambhava" the Padma thang yig¹ Uḍḍiyāna i.e. the Swāt valley, is said to comprise 5 big provinces, 21 small provinces, 18 big villages, and 96 big towns.² Vajradhara makes 18 Tantras raining down on the roofs of king Ujāyin's houses (ch. XVIII, T. p. 84; Schl. p. 531). In the 32nd chapter (T. p. 140; Schl. p. 535) the "18 fruits of the Tathāgatas" are mentioned, and in the same chapter (T. p. 144) among the texts, taught by the preceptor of Gods and men, occur 11 hearings (*bcva brgyad gsan*); 18 divisions of the Avīci-hell are found in ch. 45 (Schl. p. 558); 18 kinds of treasures are enumerated in ch. LIII (T. p. 223ff.); in XCL (T. p. 369) 4 treasures are mentioned, each of which has 18 ones again; LXXXVIII (T. p. 358) mentions the Tantra of 18 spiritual bases (*sems smad bcva rgyad*), and XCII (T. p. 377) a rain of blood lasts for 18 moons (months).

P. 28, line 22 : For the symbolical number 72, i.e. 4×18 , the latter being $8 + 6 + 4$, cf. Przyluski, *Journal of the Greater India Society* II, 2 (1935), p. 166.

P. 30, line 4 : v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* p. 336f. refers to the Ācāradinakara according to which with the Śvetāmbaras 18 kinds of men and two more among women are not allowed to enter the order.

P. 31, line 1 : Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya kindly directs attention (by post-card, 3. XII. 1936) to the colophons in the Sāhityadarpaṇa the author of which, Viśvanātha Kavirāja, calls himself *aṣṭādaśabhāṣāvāravilāsiniḥbhujāṅga*.

1. Quoted according to the French translation by G.-Ch. Toussaint (abbrev. here T.), *Le Dict des Padma* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, vol. III), Paris 1933; for some passages cf. the parallel quotations in the survey of the contents by Schlagintweit, Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-philol. Kl. XXII, 1905 (abbrev. here Schl.)

2. Schl. ch. XII, p. 528; according to the Lithang Ms., the base of T's translation, ch. XII, p. 67, instead of 18 big villages are mentioned 18 millions of big districts.

THE AŚVAMEDHA PERFORMED BY SEVAI JAYASING OF AMBER (1699-1744 A-D.)

(P. K. Gode)

In my article published in the *Journal of Indian History* Madras, I produced contemporary evidence to contradict suggestion of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sarkar that "Sevai Jayasing probably did not celebrate any Aśvamedha." Since the publication of my paper I have come across some more documentary evidence of an anthology called the *Padyatarāṅgiṇī*, 3 MSS¹ of which are available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. This evidence corroborates the evidence already recorded by me proving beyond all doubt the performance of the Aśvamedha by Sevai Jayasing. I shall refer in this paper to the MS of *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* viz. No. 725 of 1886-92 acquired by Peterson from the Govt. of Bombay. The work was composed by Vrajanātha.

1. Vol. XV, pp. 364-367.

2. There are in all three MSS of this anthology recorded by Anderson in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. They are identical with the following MSS in the Government MSS Library :—

(i) No. 725 of 1886-92—Text with author's own commentary on the *anyokti* verses of the text. The commentary is called "अन्योक्तिप्रकाश" in the colophon on folio 23 of the MS. The MS contains 37 verses styled as "नृपतिवंशवर्णन" plus an additional verse recording the date of composition viz. the year 1809 (Sāṃvat)—folios 28.

(ii) No. 724 of 1886-92—Same as above—folios 25.

(iii) No. 421 of 1887-91—Contains text and Commentary but does not contain the verse of the chronogram as also the 37 verses recorded as "नृपतिवंशवर्णन." It ends as follows :—"मीती मार्गसीरसु शुक्ल ॥ संवत् ॥ १८५१ ॥ पुस्तक लालामथुराकिशोरजीने लिषी आत्मपठनार्थं जयनाथ श्रीविजोगोविंदमंदिरे "

I am thankful to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma, M.A., Ph.D., for drawing attention to the references to हयमेध in the above anthology.

3. Vide *Fourth Report* (1894) pp. 26-32.

4. Vrajanātha edited a work called वैदिकवैष्णवसदाचार composed by हरिकृष्णमिश्र by order of Sevai Jaya Sing (See MS No. 443 of 1891-92 in R. I. Govt. MSS Library, folio 22—"ग्रंथोयं वैष्णवैर्ग्राह्यो ब्रजसंस्कृतः । ब्रजनाथमयेनाहो कविना यज्ञकारिणा. ")

to please Mādhava or Madhosing, son of Sevai Jayasing,¹ on Sunday, *Ekādaśī*, month of *Pauṣa* of the year 1809 which corresponds to 14th January 1753.² Verses 1 to 37 at the end of the work are devoted to the praise of Jayasing and his son Madhosing = Mādhava. In particular verses 1 to 10 deal directly with Sevai Jayasing and the sacrifices performed by him. I shall, therefore, reproduce them here to acquaint the reader with their contents and their bearing on the question at issue viz. the Aśvamedha sacrifice commonly attributed to Sevai Jayasing. These verses read as under :—

“यस्तीक्ष्णांशुकुले बभूव विमले श्रीमान्धराधीश्वरः
 पृथ्वीराज इति प्रभावमहितः प्रत्यर्थि जेता रणे ।
 श्री कूर्मान्वयभूषणं नरहरिप्रेमैकपात्रं श्रियो
 लीलासद्मगुणैकधाम सकलक्षोणीशचूडामणिः ॥ १ ॥
 तद्वंशे सततावदातचरितः प्रौढप्रतापानल—
 ज्वालाजालविदीपितारिनिवहः सच्छास्त्रनिष्णातधीः ।
 देवब्राह्मणपूजकोतियशसा कुर्वन्सितं भूतलं
 जातः श्रीजयसिंह इत्यभिधया ख्यातो धराधीश्वरः ॥ २ ॥
 केनाभवन्नृपतयो वत विक्रमाद्याः
 केनाथकारि न हि तेषु तुरंगमेधः ।

हरिकृष्णमिश्र mentions जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम (Composed A.D. 1713) on folio 21 of the MS of वैदिकवैष्णवसदाचार. He appears to be identical with हरिकृष्णशर्मा, a Karnāṭaka Brahmin who attended the Aśvamedha of Sevai Jayasing as stated by कृष्ण कवि in Chap. IV (वाजिमेधारंभ) verse 41 of ईश्वरविलासकाव्य (MS No. 273 of 1884–86). This verse reads as follows :—

“कर्णाटदेश्यद्विजवंशदीपश्चराचरे यश्चयनीप्रसिद्धः ।
 सोत्रागतः श्रीहरिकृष्णशर्मा पुरस्कृतो गोकुलवासिवयैः ॥ ४१ ॥”

1. Ibid, p. 29, verse 11 and p. 32, verse 36 which reads :—

“तत्तुष्ट्यै व्रजनाथेन स्म्या पद्यतरंगिणी ।
 निबद्धा शोधनीयेयं सद्भिः सारानुरागिभिः ॥ ३६ ॥”

2. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 308—The chronogram is recorded by the author in the following verse at the end of the MS :—

“नंदाश्रवसुशीतांशु १८०९ मितेऽद्वे मासि पौषके ।
 एकादश्यां रविदिने ग्रंथः संपूर्णतामगात् ॥

अस्मिन्युगे निखिलभूपतिसार्वभौम-
 तद्यज्ञकृद्विजयते जयसिंह एकः ॥ ३ ॥
 पारीक्षितोपि विदधे ह्यमेधमुच्च-
 स्तत्रापशापमयमुत्तमपूरुषोपि ।
 राजाधिराज'जयसिंह नृपश्चकार
 निर्विघ्नेनमधुना भगवत्प्रसादात् ॥ ४ ॥
 योदाद्वनीपककुलेषु सुवर्णपूगा-
 नभःकणानिव नभःस्थितवारिवाहः ।
 वेदोदितेन विधिना ह्यमेधमुच्चै-
 श्चक्रे तथा क्रतुशतानि महाधनानि ॥ ५ ॥
 आसन्पूर्वं मानसिंहादयोपे
 भास्वद्वंश्याः क्षोणिपाजाः केयतः ।
 चक्रूर्भूमिं भूमिपालान्वशेते
 श्रौते मार्गे नैव निष्ठामवापुः ॥ ६ ॥
 राजाधिराजो जयसिंह येक-
 स्तद्वंशजः प्राक्तनपुण्यपुंजात् ।
 संभावितो दक्षिणदिग्दिजेन्द्रैः
 श्रद्धालुरासीच्छ्रुतिधर्म एव ॥ ७ ॥
 पपाठ वेदं विदधेग्निहोत्रं
 चकार यज्ञान्विविधान्सदैव ।
 धनं ददौ ब्राह्मणपुंगवैभ्यो
 ग्रामान् गजांश्चापि तुरंगमांश्च ॥ ८ ॥
 बभौ स तस्य क्रतुराट् तदानीं
 महेंद्रसंस्पर्दिं समृद्धिभाजः ।
 अत्रागतश्चेन्नकुलः सदैवा-
 त्स्वर्णाद्वपश्चोथ भविष्यदेव ॥ ९ ॥

1. Compare *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* of Kṛṣṇa Kavi, B. O. R. Insti. MS. 273 of 1884-86 folio 8 :—

“यस्यावलोक्य धरणीवलये समंतात्
 सर्वेषु राजसु विशिष्टतरानुभावं ।
 दिल्लीश्वरः सपदिजातमनःप्रसादो-
 राजाधिराजपदमर्पितवान्प्रकामं ॥ २२ ॥”

See also Irvin : *Later Moguls*, vol. II, pp. 124. The title was conferred on Sevai Jayasing on 12th June 1723.

वेदव्यासतनुः पुराणमनने तर्कागमे गौतमो
 वेदांतार्थविवेचने विधिमुतः कान्येषु काव्योपरः ।
 शेषो व्याकरणे कलासु कुशलो गर्गस्तथा ज्यौतिषे
 नानाशास्त्रविचक्षणो जयहरिः क्षोणीशमुख्योभवत् ॥ १० ॥ ”

The mention of तुरंगमेध (v. 3) and of हयमेध (verses 4 and 5) by Vrajanātha in A. D. 1753 will settle once for all the doubts of historians regarding the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Sevai Jayasing. The explicit statement of Vrajanātha that Jayasimha performed the *hayamedha* according to Vedic injunctions (“वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधम्...चक्रे”) is another direct contemporary testimony of a writer connected with the Jaipur court in 1753 A.D. and it would be worthwhile recording in this paper some information about this writer furnished by contemporary records.

A poem in praise of King Mādhava Simha = Madhosing, son of Sevai Jayasing, was composed by one Śyāma Latṭu in Śaka 1677 (= A. D. 1755) i.e. two years after the composition of Vrajanātha's *Padyatarāṅgiṇī*. The title of this poem is *Mādhavasimhāryā-S'ataka*.¹ It mentions the names of several learned men who flourished at Jaipur during the reign of Madho Sing. They are:—*Gaṅgārāma* (v. 122), *Rāmeśvara* (v. 123), *Gopinātha* (v. 124), *Viśvanātha* (v. 124), *Vrajanātha* (v. 125), *Sudhākara S'armā* (v. 126), *Yamunākara Śarmā* (v. 127), *Haridatta S'armā* (v. 128), *Kevalarāma* (v. 129), *Sadāśiva S'armā* (v. 130), *Ravidatta S'armā* (v. 131), and *S'aṅkaradatta* (v. 132), who was perhaps a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin (महाराष्ट्री ज्ञातिर्यस्यैवासर्वविख्याता—” v. 133). The verse which describes ब्रजनाथ reads as follows:—

“जयति श्रीब्रजनाथः कविरिह सततं ब्रजाधीशे ।

सुकलितदृढतरभक्तिर्जयपुरनगरे पुराधीशे ॥ १२५ ॥ ”

The statement made in the the above verse that Vrajanātha was strongly attached to Madhosing² is proved by the composition of the *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* by Vrajanātha with a view to please (तत्पुष्ट्यै) his patron.

1. Vide note on this poem by Mr. M. M. Patkar in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 34-37.

2. Vide *Peshwa Daftar XXI*—Letter No. 38 dated 25th January, 1751—Govind Ballal reports to the Peshwa that Jayaji Scindia and Malharrao Holkar left Jaipur after seating Madhosing on the Jaipur throne. Vide also

More information about the family of Vrajanātha is supplied to us by Kṛṣṇakavi the author of the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya*, only MS of which is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. C. Institute, Poona viz. No. 273 of 1883-84. In chapter X of the historical kāvya we get the following verses regarding Vrajanātha S'armā and other members of his family :—

Folio 37—

“धुरंधरे राज्यधुरं समस्तं पुत्रे निधायेश्वरसिंघनाम्नि ।
 क्रमान्निवृत्ताखिलभोगतृष्णः कृष्णाद्वयप्रेमभरं बभार ॥ ५ ॥
 विधाय सम्यक् सुकृतात्मकानि कार्याणि विज्ञातपरात्मतत्त्वः ।
 गोविन्ददेवस्य पदारविन्दे प्रमाणमेकांतमनन्यमूहे ॥ ६ ॥
 तस्याखिले पंडितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुभ्रातृसुतोतिविद्वान् ।
 श्रीपौंडरीकाध्वरयाज'योभून्नित्यं समीपे ब्रजनाथशर्मा ॥ ७ ॥
 ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
 प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥ ८ ॥
 तदात्मजः श्रीवज्रनाथमानामा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
 तौ भ्रातरौ संनिहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने ॥ ९ ॥
 प्राज्ञोत्तमश्रीब्रजनाथवक्त्रविनिर्गतां शास्त्रकथामजस्रं ।
 शृण्वन्सविद्वन्समुदायमध्ये धर्मेण कालं सकलं निनाय ॥ १० ॥”

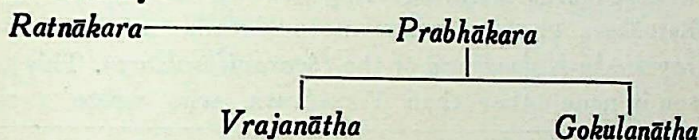
The above verses explicitly tell us that Sevai Jayasinh entrusted the administration of the state to his son Īśvarasinh (v. 5). He then spent his time in devotional duties towards Govinda (v. 6). In the whole assembly of pandits at his Court there was always by his side one *Vrajanātha S'armā* who was the son of the brother of his *guru* and who was very much respected on account of his deep learning. *Vrajanātha* had performed a *darika* sacrifice. *Ratnākara* was the *guru* of the King (Jayasinh). He was an ornament to the line of *R̥gvedi brahmins*. He had a brother by name *Prabhākara*, who always resided at *Madhosing*.

Peshwa Daftar II, Letter No. 31, dated 21st February, 1751, which mentions the “horrid murders perpetrated upon the Maratha forces by order of Madhosing.” In an earlier letter (No. 29 dated 15th Feb. 1751) Madhosing is styled as “दुर्बद्धि” or wicked and “विश्वासघातकी” or treacherous.

1. In the colophons of the MSS of *Jayasinhakalpadruma* composed by Ratnākara, the author is called “देवमहात्मजपौंडरीकयाजिरत्नाकर” (MS No. 253 of 1887-91, folio 193).

(v. 8). One of his sons was *Vrajanātha* while the other was called *Gokulanātha*. These two brothers were always at the side of the King expounding to him the meaning of the *S'āstras*. (v. 9). *Vrajanātha*, who was the wisest among the brahmins personally expounded the *S'āstras* to the King almost without a break and in this manner the King passed his entire time in the company of the learned, listening to the *Śāstras* and acting according to *dharma* (v. 10).

After the tragic end of *Īśvarasingh*,¹ *Vrajanātha* appears to have transferred his loyalty and attachment from Sevai Jayasing to his other son Madhosingh as evidenced by the composition of the work *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* referred to above which was definitely composed to please his new patron. From the verses quoted above from the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* we get the following genealogy of *Vrajanātha*'s family :—



1. Vide *Peshwa Daftar* II, (p. 53) Letter No. 31 dated 21st February, 1751. This is an important newsletter addressed to *Govindpant Bundele* by his accountant *Baburao Vishnu*, from the camp of *Malharrao Holkar* and *Jayapa Scinde* in the vicinity of Jaipur. This letter of five pages gives a detailed account of the circumstances which resulted in the suicide of *Īśvarasing* and the treacherous conduct of Madhosing against the Maratha forces led by *Subhedar Malharrao Holkar* and *Jayapa Scinde*.

The old administrators of the State viz. *Hargovind* and *Vidyādhara* reported to *Īśvarsing* that the troops of Holkar had arrived at the gate of Jaipur. *Īśvarsing* asked them to negotiate for peace but they refused to approach *Holkar* whereupon feeling helpless and desperate *Īśvarsing* ordered his page to get a live cobra as also some *somalkhār* (=arsenic). He then took some of this poison himself and got the cobra to bite him. He died early at dawn. His three wives and one mistress also poisoned themselves and fell dead in the palace rooms. *Har Govind* and *Vidyādhara* reported this tragic occurrence to Holkar, who kept a guard at the palace and later cremated the body of *Īśvarsing* with due honour along with the bodies of three wives and one mistress. After successful negotiations carried on by *Har Govind* and *Vidyādhara*, *Holkar* withdrew his forces from the town of Jaipur. One queen and twenty mistresses of *Īśvarsing* burnt themselves as *Sati*. Madhosing returned to Jaipur after a fortnight and rode into the town on elephant's back together with Holkar. Jayapa Scinde came to Jaipur eight days after Madhosing's arrival.

Ratnākara mentioned in the above genealogy given by Kṛṣṇa in his *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* is identical with Ratnākara, the author of the Dharmaśāstra compendium called the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* composed at the request of Sevai Jayasing. Ratnākara belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and was the son of a Brahmin Dhanubhaṭṭa, a resident of Benares.¹ The *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* has given us the name only of one brother of Ratnākara viz. Prabhākara. It appears, however, from Ratnākara's reference to his brothers in the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* that he had two brothers.²

Ratnākara completed his *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* in A.D. 1770 (Śamvat 1770, in the month of *nabhas* i.e. Bhādrapada) as stated in verse 5 of the colophon.³ Further information about the descendants of Ratnākara is luckily available and my attention was drawn to it by Dr. Hara Datta Sharma.⁴ His study of his work on Dharmaśāstra composed by the great grandson of Ratnākara gives us some more details not recorded in the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* or the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya*. This great-grandson is none other than Viśveśvara, who wrote a work called

1. Vide the following verses at the beginning of *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* (MS No. 253 of 1887-91) fol. 4—

“तेन श्रीजयसिंहेन सर्वशास्त्रार्थसंविदा ।

संप्रार्थितं तिथेः कृत्यं कुरुतेति सुसंग्रहम् ॥ २६ ॥

रामांग्रिप्रवणः सुकर्मनिरतः शांडिल्यगोत्रोद्भवः

काशिस्थद्विजदेवभट्टतनयः सम्राट् सुविद्यान्वितः ।

संलब्धैर्धनसंचयैर्बहुविधैः सर्वान् कतूनाचरन्

तत्प्रीत्यै व्रतकल्पशास्त्रिनमसुं निर्माति रत्नाकरः ॥ २७ ॥”

2. Ibid, fol. 1, verse 2—

“श्रीजानकीशं शरणागतैका । दुःखापहं श्रीगिरिजाधवं च ।

स्मृत्वाथ पूज्यौ पितरौ गुरुंश्च । श्रीभ्रातरौसूर्यसमौ नमामि ॥”

The two brothers to whom Ratnākara bows in the above verse have been older than himself and it is possible to conclude that Prabhākara was one of them.

3. Ibid, p. 894. The exact Christian equivalent of these details is given in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, Vol. 11, No. 1, *Saturday, 25th of July, 1713*, which is the date of completion to their work.

4. Dr. Sharma has submitted to the Ninth Oriental Conference on “*Nirṇaya-Kaustubha* or *Laghunirṇaya-Kaustubha* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa” on “*Nirṇaya-Kaustubha* or *Laghunirṇaya-Kaustubha* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa” its date and contents.” I am thankful to Dr. Sharma for allowing me to use of this article to make my account of Ratnakara's family as complete as possible.

*Nirṇaya-Kaustubha*¹ between A.D. 1788 and 1803 according to Dr. Sharma. Viśveśvara's surname was, *mahāśabda*.² In another work composed by Viśveśvara and called *Pratāpārka*³ he states that his surname was *mahāśabda* (महाशब्दोपनामा) and that he was the great grandson of Ratnākara-bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma*⁴, grandson of Gaṅgārāma⁵ and son of Rāmeśvara.⁶ We have already seen that Ratnākara mentions his gotra viz. *S'āṇḍilya* in his *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma*. Viśveśvara also has mentioned this *S'āṇḍilya* gotra in his *Pratāpārka*.⁷ The genealogy of Ratnākara's family gathered from the work *Pratāpārka* may now be presented as follows:—

देवभट्ट (of Sāṇḍilya gotra) (resident of Kāśī or Benares)

रत्नकर (author of *Jaya-Simha Kalpadruma*)

गंगाराम } These two persons were at the court of Mādhava-
रामेश्वर } sing son of Sevai Jayasing.⁸

विश्वेश्वर

1. Only one MS of this work is available in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona viz. No. 350 of 1875-76 (45 folios) dated Samvat 1863 = A.D. 1807.

2. Ibid, verse 1 at the beginning:—

“प्रणम्य जानकीजानि महाशब्दोपनायकः ।

विश्वेश्वरः सुवालानामवबोधार्थमादरात् ॥” etc.

“महाशब्दे” is a surname correct among the Maharashtra Brahmanas. Is it not possible to conclude that Ratnākara's family came from the Deccan and resided at Benares?

3. Vide pp. 129-30 of Peterson's *Cata. of Ulwar MSS.*

4. Ibid verse 9 of the Extract from *Pratāpārka* quoted by Peterson.

5. Ibid verse 10.

6. Ibid verse 11.

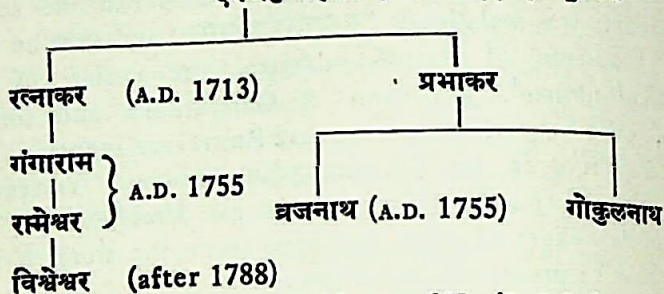
7. Ibid, verse 7.—“श्रीशांडिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि ।”

8. Vide Mr. M. M. Patkar's article on *Mādhavasimhāryāsataka* of Śyāma Laṭṭu composed in A.D. 1755 published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 35. Among the learned pandits at the court of Mādhava-sing two pandits viz. गङ्गाराम and रामेश्वर are mentioned in the following verses quoted by Mr. Patkar:—

“श्रिपौण्डरीकयाजी गंगारामाभिधः सुरिः ।

ऋषिरिव बभूव चास्यां पुर्या भूदेववर्यौय ॥ १२२ ॥

If we now consolidate the above genealogy with that given in Kṛṣṇakavi's *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* we get the following result:—
देवमद महाशब्द of S'āṇḍilya gotra



Besides the contemporary evidence of Vrajānātha's work composed in A.D. 1753 regarding the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Sevai Jayasing we have also the testimony of a pandit at the court of Mādhavasing in A.D. 1755. He is described by Śyāma as the author of *Mādhavasimhāryā S'ataka* as follows:—

“जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माग्रयः ।

माधवसिंहसुधर्मा सदसि सुधर्मः स्वधर्माग्रयः ॥ १३० ॥”

The Sadāśivaśarma mentioned in the above verse in a work composed in A.D. 1755 is possibly identical with the author of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* by Sadāśiva. This work begins as follows:—

तत्सूनुर्द्विजराजः श्रीरामेश्वराभिधः सूरिः ।

श्रीपौण्डरीकयाजी विराजते ब्रह्मपुर्या यः ॥ १२३ ॥”

In the colophons the author of जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम its author is styled “पौण्डरीक रत्नाकर.” In verse 3 at the end of the जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम the performance of पौण्डरीक sacrifice is attributed to रत्नाकर (श्रेष्ठं सर्वकृतुभ्यो विविधं पौण्डरीकं च युतं etc.). I have no doubt that गङ्गाराम and his son mentioned in 1755 A.D. are identical with their namesakes mentioned in the प्रतापार्क of विश्वेश्वर.

1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 36.

2. MS No. 236 of 1887-91 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. Institute, Poona. Vide P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, where we have the following information about Sadāśiva and his work.

“सदाशिव, son of गदाधर of the दशपुत्र family. First quarter of 18th century; author of *आचारस्मृतिचन्द्रिका* (composed for king जयनगर), *लिङ्गार्चनचन्द्रिका*”.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीमन्महागणाधिपतये नमः ॥

उमाकटितटस्फुरत्करिवराननालोकन-

प्रसन्नहृदयं धिया सदयमिन्दुचूडं मृडम् ।

नमामि गिरिजाधवं भजनमात्रदत्तेप्सितं ॥

स्मिताननमनामयं प्रियमुमासहायं मुदा ॥ १ ॥

धामाशेषबुधाशिषां शुभगुणग्रामाभिरामाकृतिः

कामावाप्तिकृतिं सतामवतरन्भूमाविवस्वर्द्रुमः ।

भूपायस्तनुमानशेषतपसां श्रीविष्णुर्सिंहप्रभोः

सूनुः श्रीजयसिंहभूपति पतिर्वर्द्धिकीर्त्या भुवि ॥ २ ॥

यश्चासीकरवृष्टिभिः सुमनसां दारिद्र्यदावानलो-

द्भूतं तापमपाचकारकरणाकल्लोलिनीवल्लभः ।

न्याये वर्त्मनि च प्रजामिव निजां शश्वत्प्रजाः पालयन्

श्रीरामस्य यशो जगाम विपुलं भूपाल चूडामणिः ॥ ३ ॥

काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।

अंगदिनः कुण्डलिनः कंकणिनो येन विरचितावु(वि)बुधाः ॥ ४ ॥

वंशेऽस्मिन्दशपुत्रनामनि महान् विष्णुर्द्विजाग्रथस्त्वभूत्

सूनुस्तस्य सुधीर्गदाधर इति ख्यातो जगत्याख्यया ।

तत्पुत्रेण सदाशिवेन कृपया श्रीविश्वनाथप्रभो-

राचारस्मृतिचंद्रिका विरचिता विद्वच्चकोरष्टदा ॥ ५ ॥

In the above extract verse 4 is very important as it mentions the performance of तुरगमेध or Aśvamedha by Sevai Jayasing and the attendance of Benares pandits on the occasion, not to say the numerous presents given by the king to these Brahmins.

The B. O. R. I. MS mentioned above is the only MS of *Acārasmṛti-candrikā* recorded by Aufrecht (Vide Cata. Catalo. III, p. 9.)

Vide also *Peshwa Daftar* No. II—Letter No. 7 dated A.D. 1747—This is a newsletter addressed to the Peshwa from the Maratha camp near Jaipur. It describes the great terror and anxiety created by the presence of the Maratha forces in the mind of Madhosing. The letter contains a reference to “मट राजे सदाशिवजी” who is also called “मटजी” and whom Madhosing consulted in his embarrassing situation. Most probably, this सदाशिवमटजी is identical with सदाशिवशर्मा mentioned by Śyāma Latṭu in 1755 as associated with the court of Madhosing. A person whom Madhosing consulted in his troubles in 1747 may have attained some influence at his court later after the enthronement of Madhosing on the gāḍi of Jaipur in A.D. 1751.

We shall now quote a few verses at the end of the work which contain a reference to Jayasing by our author. The verses read as follows:—

“मीमांसानयमांसलातिविमला प्रज्ञा तथा भूयसी
दृष्टिः श्रौतनिबन्धचारचतुरा येषां सदाचारिणां ।
तेषां दृष्टिपथं प्रयातु सुहृदां संदर्भ एषस्थितः
किंचान्यैर्निजदोषदुष्टमतिभिः प्राज्ञेतरैः प्रार्थितैः ॥
प्राज्ञश्रीजयसिंहनामनृपतेस्तोषाय या निर्मिता
साचारस्मृतिचंद्रिकाऽतिविमला विद्वच्छकोरेष्टदा ।
तां पश्यंतु परीक्षकाः सहृदयाः निःपक्षपातं बुधा-
स्तेनेयं गुणवत्तराहि भविता गौरीपतेस्तुष्टये ॥
इति श्रीमद्दशपुत्रकुलावतंसेन विरचिता सदाशिव-
पण्डितेन ऽपस्तंबाचारस्मृतिचंद्रिका समाप्ता ।”

In the foregoing extract the author Sadāśiva definitely states the work was composed to please his patron Jayasing (जयसिंह नृपतेस्तोषाय या निर्मिता). We must, therefore, presume that work on *dharmasāstra* was composed during the life-time of Jayasing i.e. before A.D. 1744, the date of Jayasing's death. If the work refers to *तुरगमेध* (or *अश्वमेध*) it must have been composed after the performance of the *Aśvamedha*. We must, therefore, attach the highest evidential value to Sadāśiva's reference to *तुरगमेध* as it is a piece of contemporary evidence coming from a person in direct contact with his patron Jayasing. We also know that Ratnākara the author of the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma*, in which he refers to the other kinds of sacrifice in which Jayasing was interested does not make any reference to *Aśvamedha*. This omission which may enable us to fix the probable limits for the date of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* viz. A.D. 1713, the date of completion of the *Jayasimha-Kalpadruma* and say about 1715, presuming that Sadāśiva must have taken at least two years for the composition of his work *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* and shows that his patron some time before his death. In addition to the references about the *Aśvamedha* found in contemporary and subsequent works of the 18th century as pointed out by me I have found a reference to it in a still later work.

the *Dharmasaṅgraha*¹ composed by *Hariścandra* by order of *Rāmasimha* of the Jaipur dynasty. *Hariścandra* records in the beginning of his work some genealogy² of his patron and in doing so he refers to *Sevai Jayasing* and his *Aśvamedha* in verse 6 (देवाः संतोषिता येन चाश्वमेधेना कर्मणा). The genealogy recorded by *Hariścandra* is of the princes from *Sevai Jayasing* onwards. It is as follows :—

(*Sevai*) *Jayasimha*—*Mādhavasimha*—*Pratāpasimha*—*Jagatsimha*
Jayasimha—*Rāmasimha*.

1. Only one MS. of this work is recorded by Aufrecht (C. C. II, 58) viz. "Peters 4.8". It is the same as No. 223 of 1886-92 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona..

2. Ibid, folios. 1-3—verses 2 to 22 read as follows :—

प्रणम्य श्रीगुरुनादौ ज्ञानानंदसरस्वतीं ।
प्रकाशानंदनाथेन धर्माभूतमहं ब्रुवे ॥ २ ॥
राज्ञामाज्ञां समादाय धर्मकामार्थहेतवे ।
लोकानामुपकाराय धर्माभूतमहं ब्रुवे ॥ ३ ॥
कूर्मवंशेतिविख्यातो मानसिंहो महीधरः ।
धीरः सुधी सुविज्ञश्च दानी शूरो जितेंद्रियः ॥ ४ ॥
विजित्य सकलां भूमिं स्वकीयखड्गधारया ।
आसमुद्रक्षितीशानां शत्रूणां दमनं कृतम् ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य वंशे समुद्भूतो जयसिंहो प्रतापवान् ।
देवाः संतोषिता येन चाश्वमेधेन कर्मणा ॥ ६ ॥
पंचाश्वमेधी विख्यातो स्मार्तधर्मपरायणः ।
राजनीत्या धर्मनीत्या लोकाः सर्वे वशीकृताः ॥ ७ ॥
यादृशो नगरो येन स्वबुद्ध्या परिकल्पित—
स्तादृशो नैव भूलोके विख्याताहि जनश्रुतिः ॥ ८ ॥
तस्य पुत्रो समुत्पन्नो माधवेशः प्रतापवान् ।
तपस्वी धर्मसंपन्नो दयावांश्च जितेंद्रियः ॥ ९ ॥
माननीयो नृपाणां च भाग्यवान् समुपस्थितः ।
अनायासेन लब्धौ वै रणस्तंभगिरिवरः ॥ १० ॥
यादृशो हि वरो दुर्गस्तादृशो नगरः कृतः ।
स्वसामंतबलेनैव व्रजराजो रणे जितः ॥ ११ ॥
तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नः प्रतापेशो विचक्षणः ।
दयावान्धर्मशीलश्च चातुर्यं चातिविश्रुतः ॥ १२ ॥

The above genealogy appears to be substantially correct with the exception of the omission of the names of *Ishvarasing* and *Prthvīsimha*, whose careers were not apparently very important or prosperous in the opinion of *Hariścandra*.

मालवाधिपतेर्युद्धे पराजययुपागतः ।

पुत्रस्तस्य समुत्पन्नो जगत्तेशो भुविश्रुतः ॥ १३ ॥

दयावान् श्रद्धया युक्तो भोगैश्वर्ये सदारत- ।

स्तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभुजः ॥ १४ ॥

तपस्वी सत्यसंपन्नो दयावांश्च जितेंद्रियः ।

तस्य पुत्रः समुत्पन्नो रामसिंहो नृपोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥

दयावान्शीलसंपन्नो शिवभक्तो महामतिः ।

धर्ममार्गेण दमनं कृतं कुपथगामिनां ॥ १६ ॥

निगमागमसंप्रोक्तो ख्यातो धर्मः सनातनः ।

तस्मिन्धर्मे सर्वलोकास्थापिताश्च महीभुजा ॥ १७ ॥

अस्मिन्कलियुगे घोरे विवेकी समदर्शनः ।

रामसिंहसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥ १८ ॥

राजराज्येन्द्रवर्येण रामसिंहेन धीमता ।

निर्णयार्थं कृताः प्रश्नाः धर्मरक्षणहेतवे ॥ १९ ॥

वशिष्टगोत्रोत्पन्नो यो ज्ञात्यादवरविश्रुतः ।

उपाध्यायो हरिश्चंद्रः प्रश्नानां उत्तरं ददौ ॥ २० ॥

1. Vide article on Jaipur State in the *Mahārāshṭriya Jñānakōśa* Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Vol. 13 (Poona, 1925), pp. 119-124. It is stated in this volume (p. 122) that *Sevai Jaysing* ruled for 40 years and died in A.D. 1744. This statement is absolutely wrong as *Sevai Jaysing* died in A.D. 1744. He ruled from A.D. 1699 to 1744—a period of 45 years. The chronology of Jaipur rulers as given in this volume of the *Jñānakōśa* may be indicated here :—

1. Savai Jaysing (1699-1744).
2. Ishvarasing (poisoned himself).
3. Madhavasing (ruled for 17 years.)
4. Prthvīsing II and his mother.
5. Pratapsing (ruled for 15 years) (1788 to 1803.)
6. Jagatsing—(1803 to 1818.)
7. Jaysing III—(1819 to 1835.)
8. Ramasing (*Savai*) 1835-1883.

Savai Ramasing the patron of *Hariścandra* was a very able ruler. He assisted the English with 7000 troops in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He constructed a railway line and founded a school in his state. He was a member of the Legislative Council of the Government of India (1869-1875).

I have recorded the testimony of Hariścandra regarding the Aśvamedha of Sevai Jayasing even though it belongs to the middle of the 19th century to make my list of references to Aśvamedha as comprehensive as possible.

I shall now sum up in brief the evidence about the Aśvamedha as recorded in this paper as also in my previous paper on the subject published in the *Journal of Indian History, Madras* (Vol. XV) :—

1. *Evidence of Sadāśiva Daśaputra* recorded in his work called the *Ācārasmṛticāndrikā* composed to please Sevai Jayasing. This evidence has the highest evidential value as it is recorded during the life-time of his patron i. e. before A.D. 1744.
2. *Evidence of Kṛṣṇakavi* recorded in his work called the *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* composed some time after the death of Sevai Jayasing i. e. at the coronation of his son Īśvarasing say about 1744-5 A.D.
3. *Evidence of Vrajanātha* recorded in his work called the *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* composed in A.D. 1753. The personal contact of this author with Sevai Jayasing has been amply proved in this paper.
4. *Evidence recorded by Viśveśvara* in his work called the *Pratāpārka* composed between 1788 and 1803.
5. *Evidence recorded by Hariścandra* about the middle of the 19th Century in his work called the *Dharmasaṃgraha*.

The foregoing references to the Aśvamedha performed by Sevai Jayasing made by pandits patronized by the Jaipur line of princes are conclusive so far as they go. The echo of this epoch-making religious event which then caught the imagination of the citizens of the Jaipur State must have reverberated throughout the length and breadth of the Hindu India and hence it is possible to collect more references to this Aśvamedha in Rajputana records which unfortunately are not at present accessible to me. Perhaps in the Peshwa Daftar recently published by the Govt. of Bombay a few contemporary references to this event are likely to be traced. I shall, however, conclude this paper by reproducing a reference to this Aśvamedha made by a Maharashtra Brahmin

in 1782 A.D. This reference as found in the *Sources of Maratha History*¹ published by the Maharashtra historian V. K. Rajwade is as follows :—

Letter No. 436—dated *S'aka 1704, Māgha vadya 5* (= *3rd February, 1782*) Mādhavrao Anant Vedānti writes to the Peshwa a long letter of advice in which he deplors the decay of Hinduism in general and notes the special efforts made by certain Hindu kings to revive it. One such effort was made by the king of Jaipur by the performance of *Aśvamedha*. In the opinion of the writer all these efforts were disconcerted and hence not effective. He then refers to the incarnation of God Śiva on earth in the form of the Maratha king Shivaji the Great and his life-long efforts to preserve Hindu literature and culture.

1. *Khanda* VI. p. 514—“ हिंदु राजे कित्येक होते जाले. त्यासही कर्ते लोक निर्माण जाले. त्याणीं नानाप्रकारें सांगून धर्मवांछा धरविली. प्रवृत्ति लावणें जाहलें नाहीं. जैपुरवाले याणीं अश्वमेध केला. ”

THE YAŚASTILAKA AND THE PAÑCATANTRA

(A. Venkatasubbiah)

The *Yaśastilaka-campū* (published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in the *Kāvya-mālā* ; No. 70) is the work of the Jaina author Somadeva, and, as stated in the colophon at the end, was written in the Śaka year 881 (=A.D. 958) under the patronage of Prince Vāgarāja, feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa III, at his capital Gaṅgadhārā. The quotations from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, from the works of Manu, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa,¹ from Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Prajāpati's *Citrakarma*, *Ādityamata*, Varāhamihira's *Pratiṣṭhāhārḍa* and *Nimittādhyāya*, from Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*, *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, *Ratnaparikṣā* and Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* in *Āsvāsas* 4 and 5, (see pp. 54-56 ; 100-1 ; 112-3 and 254-6 in Part 2), as well as the numerous references throughout the work to Purāṇic stories, show how wide and varied Somadeva's learning was. That he was acquainted with the *Pañcatantra* is not therefore a matter that needs cause one any surprise.² But what is of interest in this connection is the fact that the *Pañcatantra* version

1. Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa are both writers of works on *Arthaśāstra*. The passage cited by Somadeva from the work of the latter reads as follows :

चातुर्मास्येष्वर्धमासिकं, दर्शपूर्णमासयोश्चातूरात्रिकं, राजनक्षत्रे गुरुपूर्वाणि च तूरात्रिकं, एवमन्यासु चोपहतासु तिथिषु द्विरात्रमेकरात्रं वा सर्वेषामघातं घोषये-
दायुर्वल्लङ्घ्यर्थम् ।

Compare with this Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (Mysore edition of 1909), p. 407, line 8 ff : चातुर्मास्येष्वर्ध मासिकमघातं, पौर्णमासीषु च चातूरात्रिकं, राज-
देशनक्षत्रेष्वेकरात्रिकं योनिबालवधं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत् and note how closely the two passages resemble each other, in form as well as in meaning.

2. As a matter of fact the name पञ्चतन्त्र is actually employed by Somadeva in the following passage printed on p. 360 in Part 2 : धर्षणो नाम नृपतिः । अस्यातिचारप्ररूढप्रणयसहकारमञ्जरी सुमञ्जरीनामाग्रमहादेवी । पञ्च-
तन्त्रादिशास्त्रविस्तृतवचन उग्रसेनो नाम सचिवः ।

To judge from the context, however, it is hardly likely that पञ्चतन्त्र here denotes the well-known story-book.

that he was acquainted with was that of Vasubhāga.¹ This is clear out clearly from the following passage in *Āśvāsa* 4 (p. 99 in Pe

प्राणाघातान्निवृत्तिः परधनहरणे संयमः सत्यवाक्यं
काले शक्त्या प्रदेयं युवतिजनकथामूकभावः परेषाम् ।
तृष्णास्रोतोविबन्धो गुरुषु च विनतिः सर्वभूतानुकम्पा
सामान्यं सर्वशास्त्रेष्वनुपहतविधिः श्रेयसामेष मार्गः ॥

इति कथमेतत् सर्वपथीनमुवाच वररुचिः ॥

This stanza which Somadeva ascribes to Vararuci is put in the mouth of Vararuci in Durgasimha's Pañcatantra also. Regarding this Pañcatantra version the article in 6, 255 ff. 7, 8 ff. of the *Zeitschrift fuer Indologie und Iranistik*. In 1, 6 of this version, it is said that the sage Vararuci, when passing through the Daṇḍaka forest, was met by an ogre (*brahma-rakṣa*) who wanted to eat him and put to him four questions:

कः पन्थाः का वार्ता, को मोदते, कः सेव्यते ।

and that Vararuci's answers took the form of the following stanzas :²

प्राणाघातान्निवृत्तिः परधनहरणे संयमः सत्यवाक्यं
काले शक्त्या प्रदानं युवतिजनकथामूकभावः परेषाम् ।
तृष्णास्रोतोविभङ्गो गुरुषु च विनयः सर्वभूतानुकम्पा
सामान्यं सर्वशास्त्रेष्वनुपहतविधिः श्रेयसा मेष पन्थाः ॥

अस्मिन्महत्पण्डकटाहमध्ये

सूर्याग्निना रात्रिदिवेन्धनेन ।

मासर्तुदर्वी परिघट्टनेन

भूतानि कालः पचतीति वार्ता ॥

पञ्चमेहनि पष्टे वा शाकं पचति यो गृहे ।

अनृणोह्यपरप्रेष्यः स रात्रिचर मोदते ॥

एका भार्या त्रयः पुत्रा द्वौ हलौ दश धेनवः ।

मध्यराष्ट्रं तु सुक्षेत्रमस्ति चेदतिसेव्यते ॥

It can be seen that the first of these stanzas is, slightly apart, identical with that ascribed to Vararuci in the *Yat*

1. Regarding the Pañcatantra version of Vasubhāga, see *Historical Quarterly*, X. 104 ff. and *Zeitschrift we Indologie und Iranistik*, 7, 18 ff. and 8, 230 ff.

2. See 6, 271-72 and 6, 302 in the above-mentioned article in the

The story of *Vararuci and the Ogre* is found in the *Kathāsa-ritsāgara* (taraṅga 5, vv. 50-52) and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (p 22, vv. 186-188) also. In both these works however it is related that an ogre (*rākṣasa*), desirous of eating Vararuci, propounded to him the question, "Who is the most beautiful woman in this town?", and that Vararuci answered, "To each man, that woman is most beautiful who is the object of his affection".

So far as we know, it is in Durgasiṃha's Pañcatantra only that Vararuci appears as the speaker of the stanza *prāṇāghātān niṣṛtīḥ*..... This Pañcatantra however was written in A. D. 1031 (see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 10, 105, n. 1), seventy-three years later than the *Yaśastilaka*; and it is obvious that the above cited statement of Somadeva cannot be based on Durgasiṃha's work. This work, however, is but a Kannaḍa rendering of the original work (written in Sanskrit) by Vasubhāga, that is, of a recension of Vasubhāga's Sanskrit Pañcatantra that was current in the Kannaḍa country in the time of Durgasiṃha (see ZII. 6, 260 and 7, 11 f.). This recension must have come into existence in A. D. 931 at the latest; and it contained, in all probability, as I have already observed in ZII. 7, 12 (lines 14-17), the story of *Vararuci and the Ogre* and the other stories found in Durgasiṃha's Pañcatantra. Since, then, among the works anterior to A. D. 958, it is only the above-mentioned Pañcatantra recension, the original of Durgasiṃha's Kannaḍa rendering, or one collateral with it,¹ that could have made Vararuci the speaker of the stanza *prāṇāghātān niṣṛtīḥ*....., we are justified in concluding that Somadeva was acquainted with such a recension, that is to say, with a recension of Vasubhāga's version of the Pañcatantra, and that the above-

1. The above-cited stanza *ekā bhāryā trayāḥ putrāḥ*..... which forms Vararuci's answer to the fourth question of the ogre is found in the *Tantri Kāmandaka*) or Javanese version of the Pañcatantra also (no. 25; see vol. 46 of Dr. Hooykaas' edition of that work); but the story itself does not occur in it.

Since the *Tantri* is the adaptation of a Pañcatantra version belonging to the recension of Vasubhāga (see ZII. 8, 229 ff.), there can be no doubt that his version too contained the story of *Vararuci and the Ogre*.

cited passage of the *Yaśastilaka* is based on the story of *Vararuci and the Ogre*¹ found in that recension.

Similarly the passage किमङ्ग महामुनिर्गौतमः प्राणत्राणार्थं न कारिणमपि नाडीजङ्घं न जघान in *Āśvāsa* 4 (p. 124 in Part 2), too, is without doubt to the story of *Gautama and the ape Nāḍijāṅgha* which forms story I, 19 in Durgasiṃha's *Pañcatantra* (see p. 6, 274), and which must, therefore, have been contained in the Sanskrit original of that work. So far as we know, this story is not found in any other work.

On pp. 99, 115 and 253 of Part 2 of the *Yaśastilaka* are the following stanzas which, Somadeva has himself said, are taken from other works :

यावन्ति पशुरोमाणि पशुगात्रेषु भारत ।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि पच्यन्ते पशुघातकाः ॥
सन्दिग्धेऽपि परे लोके त्याज्यमेवाशुभं बुधैः ।
यदि न स्यात्ततः किं स्याद्यदि स्यान्नास्तिको हतः ॥
यावज्जीवेत्सुखं जीवेन्नास्ति मृत्योरगोचरः ।
भस्मीभूतस्य शान्तस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥

These stanzas are, disregarding slight variations, identical with stanzas 31, 32, 33 cited in Durgasiṃha's *Pañcatantra* (ZII. 6, 301); and it is possible that these too have been taken from Somadeva from the Sanskrit original of Durgasiṃha's work.

1. The story of *Vararuci and the Ogre* is not found in any of the recensions (e.g. *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Southern Pañcatantra*, Buehler-Klein edition of the *Pañcatantra* in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, *Pūrva Pañcatantra*) of Viṣṇuśarma's version of the *Pañcatantra*.

2. Somadeva, it will be noticed, has not said that *Nāḍijāṅgha* was an ape; but this fact is mentioned in the commentary of Śrutasāgara. The details of the story given by Śrutasāgara however differ much from those given by Durgasiṃha.

The story of a Gautama who killed his benefactor for the pleasure of eating his flesh is related in the *Mahābhārata* (*Kumbakonam edition*, ch. 167 ff.) also. This Gautama was not a *mahāmuni* but only an ordinary *Brāhmaṇa*; and the benefactor whom he killed was not *Nāḍijāṅgha* but a crane (*baka*) named *Rājadharmā*. It is thus plain that it is not the *Mahābhārata* story that is referred to by Somadeva in the above-cited passage.

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P. O. II-5

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Die Seidenstrasse or the Silk Road, by Dr Sven Hedin. The book describes Dr Sven Hedin's latest expedition undertaken under the auspices of the Chinese Govt. in 1933, about constructing a Motor Road from Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, through the great desert of Central Asia, Chinese Turkestan etc., projected practically on the same lines as the old antiquated 2000 years old Caraven Road, which was used to take silk from China to Rome. The expedition was calculated to last for six months but actually lasted for two years owing to the tremendous odds such as snow storms, Siberian cold and opposition from Mongolians etc. Leipzig, 1937. Cloth Royal Pp. 264, 91 pictures, 2 Maps. Rs. 10-0.

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VEDA

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Atharva-Veda—on the Interpretation of some doubtful words in—by Dr. Tarapada Chaudhary, Patna, Pp. Roy. 100. Rs. 3-8

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S'aunakiya (शौनकीयम्) ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri, Trivandrum 1936. Pp. 3, 3, 104. As. 8.

REVIEWS

The Types of Sanskrit Drama by D. R. Mankad with Foreword by Dr. S. K. De, pp. XI + 212, price Rs. 5/- or Sh. 1/-, published by Urmi Prakashan Mandir, Karachi, 1936.

Thanks to the learned labours of Dr. De and Mr. E. R. Sankar, Sanskrit Poetics has very much come out of the dark obscurity in which it has been lying enveloped. But unfortunately the sister department of Sanskrit Poetics—dramaturgy—is still almost unknown and less understood. It is indeed a matter of shame to the modern scholarship of Sanskrit that this should have remained so. It is, therefore, a matter of congratulation that at long last a scholar hails from Sind and proposes to tell something about our drama and dramaturgy.

Mr. D. R. Mankad has already made himself known to us by his admired papers on subjects connected with Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy. His papers have made us to feel that he is a sincere, sober scholar and a patient worker. This impression has been reinforced by reading the present book. Here he tries to study and examine in a critical way the Sanskrit dramatic theory which may be said to be responsible for the development of the various types of Sanskrit drama and for controlling its technique. It is an index of judiciousness on his part to begin in the way he has done, for ambitious beginnings often forebode an ill success. Whatever we may say in regard to the inferences he has drawn, there can be no giving opinions as far as the great value of material he has collected and is concerned. His intensive study and patient assimilation of the Sanskrit works on dramaturgy call forth genuine admiration. As regards the sifting of the material thus gathered together, we have little doubt as to his sincerity of purpose, even if we may not agree with the result of his judgment.

The book under review is divided into eight chapters followed by two appendices and indices. He begins his first introductory chapter with a totally uncalled-for remark that "our drama was still-born" for "there has been very little advance in technique." It is not a very happy way to begin a book like

especially as it has nowhere been convincingly borne out in the body of the book. How can it be, when we know so little about the origin and beginnings of our drama? This is followed by discussion about the exact significance of the words नृत्त, नृत्य and नाट्य, which is quite stimulating and a valuable contribution. He is right in coming to the old conclusion that "नाट्य incorporated all the three features-dance, music and speech." But our author proceeds a little further when he holds that there were "three distinct forms of entertainment, based on नृत्त, नृत्य and नाट्य". That which was based upon नृत्त never reached the status of drama but those which were based upon नृत्य and नाट्य gave birth to the two forms उपरूपक and रूपक respectively.

With this idea of रूपक and उपरूपक, our author begins to study in detail the divisions of the two. The next four chapters are devoted to the study of रूपक and the other two to the study of उपरूपक. The last chapter discusses the oft-discussed question with regard to the origin of Sankrit Drama. His study of Sanskrit dramaturgy has led him to believe "in the gradual development of our नाट्य types from the नृत्य types, which in their turn evolved from the primitive नृत्त types."

The first appendix gives us a list of plays quoted in dramaturgical texts and the second contains an alphabetical list of the technical terms, often met with in the texts of Sankrit dramaturgy. Our author has rendered a very great service to the study of Sanskrit dramaturgy by giving an exhausting annotated list of these technical terms. The two indices give us alphabetical list of names and subjects in Sanskrit and in English.

Thus we see that the main thesis of our author is that the different types of Sanskrit drama have their own story to tell. The divisions into रूपक and उपरूपक have much more to suggest than we usually understand. They seem, according to him, to suggest that they are born of two different parents and thus have even now those important features which their parents possessed. In a word रूपक point to नाट्य and उपरूपक both for their origin. It is a very interesting idea and quite a plausible hypothesis. But to our mind, the accumulative evidence is still wanting something to drive away our scepticism. We have

every hope that Mr. Mankad will be able to convince all students of Sanskrit drama and dramaturgy in a very near future by means of his further researches.

This remark of ours made above does not in any way diminish the great value of his contribution especially for gathering together so much material from obscure nooks and corners for giving a fresh orientation to the study of Sanskrit literature.

No notice need be taken in such a work of pin-pointing misprints and other minor defects which will be, we are sure, nowhere in the second edition after being carefully revised.

B. N. Sharma

R̥gvedasamhitā : With the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya II. Maṇḍalas II-V. Published by the Tilak Mahārāshtra University-Vaidika Samshodhan Maṇḍala (Vedic Research Institute) of Poona. S. Royal size. Pp. 1-46, 1-998, 2. Cloth binding. Price Rs. 12.

We had the privilege of reviewing the first volume of *R̥gvedasamhitā* in the October 1936 issue of the journal. The present volume is an improvement on the last one in many respects. It comprises of Maṇḍalas, namely, 2, 3, 4 and 5, and three Aṣṭakas, namely, 2, 3 and 4. Of these the second Aṣṭaka is based on 15 Mss., the third Aṣṭaka on 13 Mss. and the fourth Aṣṭaka on 15 Mss. The Mss. are classified into three divisions according to their importance. The Mss. १ and २ belong to first division, the principal bases of the second and the third Aṣṭakas. The former belongs to the Sarasvati Mahal Library of Tanjore, the latter is from the private library of Shrimant Sardar Kibe of Indore. Both these are complete Mss., but the latter is assigned to third division in the text of the fourth Aṣṭaka. "omit a number of words from the commentary." Extending nobody can doubt the integrity and sincerity of the editors, yet it would have been better if they had taken the confidence of readers also in their confidence by giving a detailed description of the Mss.

The method adopted in choosing and fixing the text in this volume is almost the same as in the first volume.

indeed regrettable that palm-leaf Mss. were not available for this volume (except one covering only a portion of the second Aṣṭaka) as they were for the first one. We hope that when Editors secure them even for this volume they will give the reading public the benefit of these Mss. in some later volume.

We fully appreciate importance which the Editors have attached to "the traditional recitation of the Saṁhitā and the Padapāṭha" and entirely agree with the following remark, "We do not attach any importance to manuscripts in such a matter." The complement to superiority of traditional recitation to all Ms. and printed material is well deserved. This volume devotes 36 pages to the discussion of various readings (as against 8 pages in the first volume). It is not possible to enter into details about the readings in this review. The notes are full of erudition and prove complete grasp of the Editors on the entire Vedic literature. For instance, while discussing जुहाम्यग्निं हविषा घृतेन (Introduction, p. 13, l. 7) the Editors support their arguments with quotations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa common to Kāṇva and Mādhyandina recensions both) and the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

The errata is surprisingly short, although not exhaustive; for instance, p. 34 (II, 1, 10, 2) श्रुयः should be श्रूयः.

After congratulating Mr. Sontakke, the Managing Editor and Mr. S. R. Sardesai, the Printer, for their praiseworthy performance, we conclude with joining the learned Editors in thanking the various generous Ruling Princes and Her Highness Mahārāni Saubhāgyavatī Indirābāi Mā Sāheba Holkar, Indore, who have been helping this noble cause.

The Editor.

The Naishadhacarita of Śrīharsha (Cantos I-XXII) for the first time translated into English with critical Notes and Extracts from unpublished Commentaries, Appendices and a Vocabulary. By Krishna Kanta Handiqui, M.A. (Cal., Oxon.) Principal and Senior Professor of Sanskrit and History, Jorhat College, Jorhat. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass in the Punjab Oriental Series, No. 23. Royal Size; Cloth bound; pp. 2, 43, 611. Lahore, 1934. Price not mentioned.

Amongst the five *Mahākāvya*s, Śrī:Harṣa's *Naiṣadha* ranks foremost. It is one of the most difficult Sanskrit Kāvya and an English translation of this work was a long-felt desideratum. Any translation would have been welcome, but the present one is doubly welcome as it is from the pen of an eminent scholar as Professor Handiqui, who has spared no pains to make the difficult *Naiṣadha* understandable even to an ordinary University student. At the same time, the Notes, etc. add to its value and distinguish it from a mere help-book for the University examinees.

In the Introduction, Prof. Handiqui has given a clear account of the Mss. as well as of the intrinsic merit of the commentaries of (1) Caṇḍūpaṇḍita, (2) Vidyādhara, (3) Īśānadeva, (4) Narahari, (5) Viśveśvara, (6) Jinārāja, (7) Mallinātha and (8) Nārāyaṇa. Out of these, the commentaries of Mallinātha and Nārāyaṇa are printed. Extracts from the Mss. of the remaining six commentaries, together with various readings in the Text are quoted and discussed in detail by Prof. Handiqui in his Notes. Of these six unpublished commentaries the *Dīpikā* of Caṇḍūpaṇḍita is the most learned, and there are no other Kāvya commentaries which can compare with it in the depth and variety of its reference." Unfortunately, the two *Dīpikā*s utilised by Prof. Handiqui are not complete. It would indeed be very useful if it is published. Although Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (quoted also in the 2nd ed. of the Nirṇayasāgara Press) mentions as many as 23 commentaries yet they could not be utilised by the author, perhaps because he had no access to their Mss. Prof. Handiqui in his introduction has given us also the names of authors and works mentioned in the various commentaries used by him.

The introduction is followed by a Synopsis of the contents of the different cantos. After the Synopsis we have the translation. The language of the translation is very lucid and clears up the obscure idioms of *Naiṣadha*. Of course, there will always be room for difference of opinion, and improvement, but on the whole the translation and the explanatory footnotes are excellent. The Notes following the translation, as mentioned above, give copious extracts from the various

mentaries and discuss the various readings adopted by different commentaries.

The most valuable portion of the work are the Appendices attached to it. In Appendix I, Prof. Handiqui discusses the philosophical allusions in the *Naiṣadha*. It was natural for Śrī Harṣa, the author of *Khaṛḍanakhāṇḍakhāḍya* to indulge in philosophical allusions and references even in his *Kāvya*. Prof. Handiqui has very ably and in a masterly fashion elucidated the various allusions to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya-Yoga, Vedānta, Buddhism and Jainism. Prof. Handiqui has gone to the original sources of these systems and has quoted the references in full. For instance, he has very ably differentiated between the Naiyāyika and Vaiśeṣika conception of *mukti*, and has dilated upon Bhāsarvajña's position with regard to *mukti*. We have to resist the temptation of discussing the various theories alluded to in Appendix I, as the space at our command is limited. We, therefore, pass on to Appendix II explaining minor allusions. Here, the mythological allusions to Dattatraya, white Hair of Viṣṇu, etc. are traced to various Purāṇas and position of the Buddhist goddess Tārā in Hindu pantheon is fully discussed.

The last, but the most important portion of the work is the Vocabulary of difficult or unusual words used in the work. One of the interesting words discussed here is *ulūlu* (उल्लु). It is commonly believed that this peculiar and auspicious sound is made by women of Bengal at the time of marriage. The commentator Nārāyaṇa, while commenting upon XIV, 51, says—*विवाहाद्युत्सवे स्त्रीणां धवलादिमङ्गलगीतिविशेषा गौडदेशे "उल्लुः" इत्युच्यते । सोप्ययुक्तवर्ण उच्चार्यन्ते । स्वदेशरीतिः कविनोक्ता ।* It is perhaps this remark which led the late Pandit Nilakamala Bhattacharya, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit, Benares Hindu University, to advance the proposition that Śrī Harṣa was a Bengali, (See *Naiṣadha* and Śrī Harṣa—The Sarasvati Bhavana Studies, Vol. III, pp. 159–194). But Prof. Handiqui is quite right in saying: "There is, however, nothing to warrant Nārāyaṇa's statement, as references to the Ulūlu sound are found in writers belonging to the various part of India." We perfectly agree with Prof. Handiqui and the references to various writers given here are

very important. Prof. Handiqui has not discussed the part of Śrī Harṣa's personal history, but has promised to give it in a separate Volume.

We cannot but congratulate Mr. Handiqui upon his excellent performance. We only wish that the book had been printed in some better press.

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CHAPTER II

24. VĀDIRĀJA TĪRTHA

(B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma)

Vādirāja Svāmin (c. 1510-1600)

When Vyāsarāya died in 1539, his place in the polemical arena was quickly filled up for the rest of the 16th century by two of his illustrious successors, Vādirāja and Vijayīndra Tīrtha. Both are traditionally believed to have been the disciples of Vyāsarāya and read under him. Unlike Vijayīndra, Vādirāja does not acknowledge Vyāsarāya as his teacher, anywhere in his works.¹ Tradition and certain extraneous evidences in the works of celebrated Dāsas like Purandara Dāsa, Vijaya Dāsa, Timmaṇṇa Dāsa and Śrīda Viṭṭhala, go to prove that Vādirāja was certainly a student of Vyāsarāja.²

Date.

This makes it clear that Vādirāja must have flourished in the 16th century. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, following the late Dr. Bhandarkar, argued in his Introduction to the III Volume of his Southern Recension of the *Mahābhārata*, that Vādirāja died in 1339 A.D. This has been exploded by P. K. Gode and myself in the Annals of the B. O. R. I., Poona (Vol. xviii, pts. 1-2), on the basis of literary and epigraphic evidences. There are inscriptions relating to Vādirāja in the years 1571,³ 1582⁴ and 1593⁵ A.D. and seeing that he was also a disciple of Vyāsarāja

1. Except in the *Śrīpādarājāṣṭakam* attributed to him. See my paper on the Date of Vādirāja, Annals, B. O. R. I. xviii, 2, p. 194.

2. The relevant passages from these have been quoted by me in the above article, to which attention is invited. The *Śrīpādarājāṣṭaka* (iii, 6) S. M. p. 317, also supports the contemporaneity of Vijayīndra and Vādirāja.

3. Ep. Car. VII, Sb. 55, p. 10 (P. K. Gode, Annals).

4. The year of the consecration of the temple of Trivikrama at Sode.

5. Year of grant by Arasappa Nāyaka, chief of Sode, to Vādirāja.

who died in 1539, it seems proper to conclude that Vādirāja flourished entirely within the 16th century. This agrees with the "Caramaśloka", preserved in the Sode Mutt at Uḍipi:

Svasti śrī Jayaśālivāhanaśake sārḍhāt sahasrāt param
Dvāvimśe śaradām gate prabhavati śrī Śarvarī vatsare

Māse phālgunake sitetaratṭīyāyām tithau viṭḍine

Svātīharṣaṇasamyute Haripadam Śrī Vādirāja gataḥ ||
which gives 1600 A. D. as the year of Vādirāja's demise.
Life.

Vādirāja was a native of the village of Hūvinakere¹, in Kundāpūr taluq of the S. Kanara district. He is believed to have been a Tuḷu (Shivalli) Brahmin by birth², born of Deṇḍa Bhaṭṭa and Sarasavva³. Of his early life we know nothing. He became the Pontiff of the "Sode"-Mutt of Uḍipi after the death of Vāgiśa Tīrtha who was the fourteenth in descent from Madhvācārya, thro' Viṣṇu Tīrtha. A life of 120 years is traditionally ascribed to him. There is no doubt, however, that he enjoyed a long life and was Pontiff of the Mutt founded by him at Sode (N. Kanara, near Sirsi), for a very long time.

Vādirāja was a many-sided personality. He was a scholar, a great controversialist and a successful orator and a gifted religious poet, both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa. His favourite deity was Hayagrīva. He is invested by tradition with great spiritual powers and is believed to have held under

1. Which was granted by Vira-Venkaṭapatirāya to Vādirāja's father, Vedavedya Tīrtha, in 1614 A.D. (Ins. Madras Pres. ii, pp. 870-71), as evidence.

2. Others claim him to have been a Koṭeśvara Brahman and by birth, "Smārta" by birth, (with sympathies towards Śaṅkara's system). *Yuktimallikā* (i, 20) Vādirāja says that he became profoundly dissatisfied with the Māyāvāda, renounced it and became a follower of Madhva. This is a strong indication that he was not originally a Mādhva, by birth. A Kannaḍa translation of the Mbh. T. N. and his songs (paḍas) would tend to show that he was most probably a Kannaḍiga by birth (and therefore possibly a Koṭeśvara as claimed by some). It may be remembered that the Shivallis are speakers of Tuḷu, not Kannaḍa. There is also no doubt believing Vādirāja's proficiency in Kannaḍa to have been wholly an acquired one. It is also significant that the Koṭeśvaras are now Vaiṣṇava in allegiance to the Sode Mutt of Vādirāja.

3. H. G. Bengeri, *History of Dāsa-Kūṭa*, 1931. This writer is stating that Hūvinakere is in the Dharwar Dt.

control a mysterious goblin (bhūta-rāja), with whose aid he is said to have performed many miracles and overcome the many obstacles that were placed in his way by his religious persecutors. The system of "Paryāyas" now obtaining at Uḍipi, is generally believed to have been inaugurated by him. However that may be, there is no doubt that Vādirāja by dint of his great influence over neighbouring chieftains and by his outstanding attainments as a scholar, was able to further the interests of his co-religionists at Uḍipi, to a remarkable extent¹. He is believed to have made vast improvements to the Kṛṣṇa temple at Uḍipi, rebuilt it on an extended plan, erected the eight Maṭhas around it, secured endowments for them and brought the temples of Ananteśvara and Candramaulīśvara at Uḍipi also, under the control and management of his co-religionists after evicting the Smārtas in ascendancy there and made the Ascetics of the Kṛṣṇa temple a power to be felt in the country around².

Vādirāja seems to have encountered severe opposition to his religious propaganda from two powerful quarters in S. Kanara, the Jains and the Smārtas. The influence of the Jains was particularly strong in S. Kanara in the 15-16th centuries.³ And Vādirāja was evidently thrown into heated controversies with the scholars of the famous Bastis of Kārkāl and Mūḍubidri, and had altogether a very nasty time of it. His furious criticisms of the Jains in his *Pāṣaṇḍa-khaṇḍana* and other works, clearly indicate this.

1. Tradition says that it was during the time of Vādirāja that Acyuta-rāya of Vijayanagar visited Uḍipi and rebuilt the tank (Madhva-sarovara) adjoining the Kṛṣṇa temple. Vādirāja was most probably the "Pracaṇḍa-Mādhva-muni" (famous Mādhva ascetic) spoken of in the *Grāma-paddhati*, to whom is ascribed the reclamation of the Koṭeśvara (Koṭīśvara) Brahmins (*Vide* Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, pp. 444-49). In fact, tradition attributes the reclamation of the Koṭeśvara and of the "Maṭṭu" Brahmins of S. Kanara to Vādirāja and they are disciples of his Mutt.

2. It was evidently in virtue of these services that Vādirāja came to be looked upon as a "re-incarnation" of Madhva himself which soon gave rise to the view that he was one of the Rju-gaṇas (a class of souls destined to hold the office of Brahmā), and identical with the god (deva) Lātavya who is to be the future Vāyu and Brahmā: Bhāvi-Samīraṇa. See Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya's *Nayacandrikā*, p. 58, line 5). This has led to a schism among the Mādhvas.

3. The famous statue of Gomaṭa at Kārkāl was set up in 1432 A.D. Another was set up at Veṇūr in 1603.

The encounters with the Advaitins and Śaivas were sharp and protracted. There are certain covert allusions in *Yuktimallikā* of Vādirāja to the difficulty in obtaining recognition and patronage for his faith from neighbouring chiefs: (Vide: *Yuktimallikā*, i, 6):—

Adhunā vidhunā ruddham madhunāsīn madhuvrata |
Udite muditebje syāt aditer vidite sute (i, 26) ||

Tārṇe vaukasi pārṇe vā tāpaso bhūpa sovasat

Tithau te'tithiretadvad vidvān kvāgaṇyapūṇyadaḥ || (i, 27)

And the commentator Surottama Tīrtha (a brother of the author) remarks under the second verse:—Jainādyāgamadurāha-grhītarājapīḍāyām, tam prati vaktavyam padyamāha. Vādirāja was personally a contemporary of the Keḷadi kings Sadā Nāyaka and Doḍḍa Sankaṇṇa Nāyaka. In later years the Keḷadi rulers were ardent upholders of Śaivism. Venkaṭappa Nāyaka (1606–29) was the author of a commentary on the *Sūtra* (Madras R. No. 1879), in whose colophon he is styled: *Viśvadvaitasiddhāntapraṭiṣṭhāpanaikadurandhara*". And Basava, the last of the Keḷadi chiefs wrote a monumental work *Sivatattvaratnākara*.¹ But the grant of Hūvinakere, by Keḷadi Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, to Vādirāja's successor Vedavedya in 1611 is a clear indication that Vādirāja had already established reputation as a Defender of the faith of Madhva and gained footing at the court of Venkaṭappa's father.

Tradition says also that Vādirāja encountered Appa Dīkṣita, the great champion of Śivādvaita, in a debate. *Vādirāja-vijaya* (*Vṛttaratnasamgraha*² of Raghunāthācārya, 11 ab), S. M. Pp. 320–46, says that Vādirāja had many disciples and followers at Gujerat:—

Gurjarādiṣu deśeṣu śva-śiṣyān kṛpayā yutah |

Tātratyān eva kṛtavān Viṣṇudīkṣappravartakān³ ||

1. Vepery, Madras, 1927.

2. Evidently the same as the "*Ratna-samgraha*" noticed by K. S. the India Office Library Cat. (No. 6051) which is rather loosely described as "an anthology of the views of Vādirāja, by Raghunātha". The date of this Raghunātha is uncertain. It is interesting to note that he belonged to Vādirāja to have been a Tuḷuva (l, 11 ab), by birth.

3. The allusion (ādi) is perhaps intended to cover the Gauḍīya or Koṅkaṇi Brahmans of Goa and N. Kanara who are also to be found in large numbers in S. Kanara and Cochin and follow the system of Madhva.

Works of Vādirāja.

Vādirāja was a prolific writer and more than sixty works stand to his credit. Of these, however, nearly a half are in the nature of minor stotras of no great importance. His major works are about twenty in number, of which more than a dozen can be designated as "original works". The rest are commentaries on the earlier classics of the system, none of which has, however, been printed as yet. Of his original works, six are available in print, including his *magnum opus*, the *Yuktimalikā*. The "*Guru-rājīya*" attributed in some catalogues to Vādirāja, is in reality a commentary on the *Nyāyasudhā*, by Keśavācārya.

Commentaries on the Daśa-Prakaraṇas.

Commentaries on the *Khaṇḍana-traya*, known by the general title of *Upannyāsa-ratnamālā* have been attributed to him.¹ No Ms. of any of them has, however, been brought to light. (1) The *Upannyāsaratnamālā* (Mysore O. L. C. 1859) is a different work altogether, having nothing to do with the *Khaṇḍanatraya*. It is a short sermon on the threefold classification of souls and has for its text the verse "Karaṇapālanaśīla nate sthitim..." of the author's *Rukmiṇīśa-Vijaya* (xvii, 12).

(2-3) The Gurvartha-dīpikās.

"Gurvarthadīpikā" is the general title of two² of Vādirāja's comm. on the Sūtraprasthāna. In the Mys. O. L. we have Mss. of his Gurvarthadīpikās on (2) the *Tattvaparakāśikā* (C 1842) and (3) the *Nyāyasudhā* (A. 255). The first one is quoted and criticised on two occasions in the *Bhāṣyadīpikā*³ of Jagannātha Tīrtha. His running commentary on the *Sudhā*, in 4650 granthas is a crisp and brief one. The com. in the Mysore O. L. Ms. begins with the third adhikaraṇa of the I Adhyāya. There is a quotation from the *Nṛsimha-karāvalambana-stotra* attributed to Śaṅkara, which the author flings at the face of his Śaiva-Advaitin

1. M. M. Sangha List.

2. Mysore O. L. (C 1057) about a com. on the B. S. B. of Madhva, is incorrect for C. 1842.

3. One of these criticisms has reference to Vādirāja's interpretation of the Rgvedic term "Gharmā" in Gharmā samantā... Vādirāja reads 'Samantāt' (vyāptau) which is rightly rejected by Jagannātha as tortuous. It may be pointed out that the pada-pātha here has just "samantā", which is the old Vedic dual for 'samantān'.

opponent. There are no references to earlier commentaries in the field, either on the *Tattvapraśāṅgikā* or on the *Sudhā*. There is no indication of Vādirāja's authorship save the alliterative verses at the end : Vysāsāyāpratimetihāsaracanā...! characteristic of him. The com. on the TP runs to 2750 granthas and throws welcome light on many passages.

Upaniṣad-Prasthāna.

(4) A gloss on the Īśa Up. ascribed to Vādirāja, is attested by a Ms. from the Mysore O. L. (C 2277). Nothing is known about a gloss on (5) the GB. attributed to him by tradition.

Original Works.

Some ten to twelve original works are known to have been written by Vādirāja of which some two are yet to be attested in Mss.

(6) *Ekona-Pañcapādikā**

This was evidently meant to be a criticism of the *Pañcapādikā* of Padmapāda, on the B. S. B. of Śamkara. No Ms. has yet been discovered of this interesting work, which is, however, alluded to in one of the introductory verses in the *Vivaraṇa Vraṇam* of the same author.¹

(7) *Vivaraṇa-Vraṇam*(m).

This, as the name itself indicates, is an elaborate and bitter criticism of the *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇam* of Prakāśātman.² A Ms. of it is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C 1845). The work itself is referred to by name in the *Yuktimallikā*. It runs to over 2500 granthas and is written in the forcible and somewhat

1. Verse 9:—Tattvadīpanam ekonapādikām Pañcapādikām | reference is not, however, very conclusive. The lines beginning "Vyākurve Vivaraṇam" (see next page, f. n. 1,) may simply mean the author's refutation of the *Vivaraṇa* effectively disposes of the *Pañcapādikā* (its original) and the *Tattvadīpana*, (its commentary) in the same way. This seems to me to be the most plausible view. It is very unlikely that Vādirāja would have troubled to refute the *Pañcapādikā* afresh when he dealt with the *Vivaraṇa* once.

2. Vādirājo yatih soham Advaitāgama-kardame |
Gacchan pathi kṣiptapadaḥ tatsuddhyai spṛhayan muhuḥ |
Vyākurve Vivaraṇam tivravraṇam dustattvadīpanam |
Tattvadīpanam, Ekonapādikām Pañcapādikām || (verses 9-10)
Yaccoktam *Vivaraṇe* "Sādhana catuṣṭayasampannasya....."
Yaccoktam Pareṇa—"Vṛkṣasya svagato bhedaḥ....."(74b)

epigrammatic style of Vādirāja. The author quotes passages from both the *Vivaraṇa* and its commentary the *Tattvadīpana*¹, and passes severe strictures upon them. He does not even spare the benedictory stanzas in the *Vivaraṇa*, which he scrutinizes one by one and pronounces to be defective in various ways. Anent "Pālana vimalasattvavṛttaye..." (verse 1) of the *Vivaraṇa*, he opines that the author should have given precedence to "janma" over "Pālana", of the world.

(8) *Pāṣaṇḍa-Khaṇḍanam*?(m)

This is a short metrical tract in 127 verses, criticising the religious and metaphysical tenets of Buddhism and Jainism. The author ridicules the Jain doctrine of Ahimsā, asks how the Jains permit slow torture and suicide by degrees :

"Keśānām luṇṭhanam śokapradam kasmāt pravartitam" and why if putting down of one's enemies could be regarded as the proper duty for a king, the same thing should not be said of Vedic sacrifices :—

Rājñām śatruvadho dharmo yadi, tarhyāgataḥ pathi. |

Vaidhī himsā ca Viprāṇām dharma ityeva gṛhyatām ||

He expatiates upon the somewhat uncanny doctrine that like the doctor whose methods are painful at the outset, but give complete relief from suffering at the end, the sacrificer also is in fact a benefactor of his victim !

Agre'hitakṛdante sukhado arcyo yathā bhiṣak |

Tathā paśoḥ svargadānāt katham pūjyo na yājñikaḥ ?

There is obviously not much force in the argument :

Prāṇinam ca vṛthā hantum kim mūḍhāḥ pūrvasūrayaḥ ? "

The work winds up with a criticism of the Jain doctrine that the soul is of the size of the body it tenants and of Apavarga as a never-ending movement upwards (sadordhva-gamanam).

(9) *Yukti-mallikā* (p)

Yukti-mallikā is the *magnum opus* of the author running to 5379 ślokas. It is a monumental work in defence of the Dvaita system divided into five chapters called Saurabhas: Guṇa,

1. Yā ca Tattvadīpane—"Śāstrārthaśca Tattvam-pada.....(p. 4).

2. Also designated "Pāṣaṇḍa-mata-khaṇḍanam", but not as Pāṣaṇḍa-mala-khaṇḍanam", as stated on p. 316, of the Vij. Sex. Com. Vol. The work has been printed and published from Belgium.

Śuddhi, Bheda; Viśva and Phala-Saurabhas. It was commenced upon by the author's brother¹ Surottama Tīrtha, who stated the scope of the work in these words:

Adhunā śiṣyamanassamādhānāya Paramatanirākaraṇa-
samayapādoktam api samayanirākaraṇam prāk prastāvya,
samanvayādhyāyapratipādyam sarvagunaṇapūrṇatvam Guṇa-
bhasarvasve manahpriyam kurvan, tadanantaram avirodhādhy-
pratipādyam nirdoṣatvam Śuddhisaurabhasarvasvena rāṇi
punar etadadhyāyadvayepi sūtre sūtre pratipāditam Jīve-
bbhedam Bhedasaurabhasarvasvena pratipādayan, tadanu ja-
dyasya yata iti sūtreṇa pratipāditam jagajjanmādikāra-
lakṣanaparirakṣaṇāya Viśvasaurabhasarvasvena jagataḥ saty-
sthāpayan, punaḥ sādhanaphalādhyāyapratipādyam sād-
phalam ca Phalasaurabhasarvasvena samgr̥han, pramāṇa-
prameyasiddhiriti nyāyena, Pañcasaurabhoktaprameyānā-
pramāṇasāpekṣatvāt, Pramāṇeṣu ca prabalapramāṇab-
vedasya "Na vilakṣaṇatvādi" sūtre nityatayā pratipāditam
prāmāṇyam samarthayitum Vedāpauruṣeyatvam tāvad
sādhayitum upakramate " || (i. p. 33 b.)

The work combines great erudition with an incredibly simple and poetically the most charming style characteristic of Vādirāja.

Savinodam sāṭṭhāsam sasmitam sundarānvitam |

Sa-rahasyam sapramāṇam Vādirājavacomptam |

Nirduṣṭam rasavat spaṣṭam nānandayati kam janam |

(*Vṛtta-ratna-samgraha*, i. p. 4)

No wonder he obtained the title of "Prasangābharaṇa", for his surging eloquence.

The works of Jayatīrtha and Vyāsarāya were too learned and stiff to be of use to the average man. It was Vādirāja who first brought the wisdom of his predecessors within the grasp of all and in this respect, his works mark a new and necessary phase of development in the history of Dvaita Literature. He breathes the spirit of a new age which produced such champions as Purandara Dāsa, Kanaka Dāsa etc., who in this manner, endeavoured to translate the wisdom of the Ācāryas of the Dvaita system, into the language of the

1. *Vṛtta-ratnasamgraha*, iii. 28.

vince, viz., Kannaḍa,—an endeavour in which Vādirāja too took a leading part by his translation into Kannaḍa of the Mbh. T. N. and by his songs.

Vādirāja professes the greatest respect for Madhva and pays his homage to him a number of times in the course of his *Yuktimallikā* (iv, 793 ; v, 653 ; iii, 210). The views expressed by Śamkara¹ in his bhāṣya on the B.S., and those of Ānanda-bodha,² Śrīharṣa,³ and the *Tattvadīpana* are quoted and refuted in the course of the work. The sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and passages from the bhāṣya of Madhva are quoted off and on to show how naturally these authorities tend to support the dualism of Madhva.⁴ The author's originality is clearly seen in the many new topics for discussion⁵, introduced by him, the original criticisms passed by him upon the views of the Monists,⁶ and his novel and refreshingly original interpretation of texts from Scripture⁷ and quotations from several fresh sources not utilised by his predecessors.⁸

The last chapter of the *Yuktimallikā*, is specially important for its fulness of theological information about the Dvaitins' view of Mokṣa, its treatment of the question of Madhva's Avatār and vindication of the Śāstraic character of branding the body (tapta-mudrādhāraṇam), with the special symbols sacred to Vaiṣṇavism. The author refers in this connection, to a separate work of his entitled *Sudarśana-Mīmāṃsā*, dealing with this question. The work is available in the Mysore O.L. (C 723) and has been published in the S. M. pp. 212-21, under the name of *Cakra-Stuti*.

In essence the *Yuktimallikā* is an elaboration of the teaching of the Brahmasūtras, as deduced by Madhva. The author has given a complete rationalistic bias to his treatment and deserves credit for many original arguments and interpretations not found elsewhere in other works of the system. Chapters I

1. iii, 121.

2. ii, 126.

3. iii, 1097-1100.

4. iii, 121, 209 ; iii, 227-46.

5. iii, 168-9 ; v, 1331-79 ; v, 1398-1401 ; 1555 and 380-94.

6. iii, 130-131 ; ii, 218 ; iii, 107-8 ; iii, 138, 580 ; v, 1285-6 ; v, 771-77.

7. i, 567 ; 794 ; 964 ; iii, 227 ; 925 ; 1040.

8. i, 632 (Pādma) ; v, 451-2 ; 628 ; 638-9 ; 639-50.

and II establish the twin-principles of Madhva's Theism that Brahman is ever full of attributes and free from any kind of perfection. The III chapter establishes that the Jīva and Brahman can never be identical. The IV, the reality of the cosmos refuting incidentally, the doctrine of Māyā. The last is an outcome of the III and IV chapters of the B. S.

(10) *Nyāya-Ratnāvalī*¹ (p)

This is another metrical work of Vādirāja, criticising doctrines of the Advaita Vedānta and driving home those of Dvaita. It contains 901 anuṣṭubhs arranged into five chapters. The style is, as usual with the author, alliterative and epigrammatical. He tries to flabbergast his opponents by a clever and judicious mixture of theology and metaphysics. Homely analogies and persuasive rhetoric make an instantaneous appeal to the reader and therein lies his strength and popularity. At the very outset the author draws a lurid contrast between the limited self of man and the Infinite Lord of all creation and how the two can ever be identical. The doctrines of (1) phenomenal reality; (2) identity on the analogy of Bimbapratibha; (3) Adhyāsa; (4) temporary validity of scripture etc., are all thrown in the I Sara. Vādirāja argues that simply because it happens to be a text like *Tattvam Asi* one cannot literally follow its meaning, however absurd it might be, and has a fight with the Monist with the aid of texts like "*Tasmāt putro nitya svasāram vā adhirohati*" (A. Brāh. vii, 13, 12). The Ekajīva and Bahu-Jīvājñāna-vādas come in for criticism in the II Sara. No identification is possible unless there are two things to be identified and such duality is necessarily opposed to Monism (Sara iii). The fourth chapter seeks to confound the monist with his own texts. As interpreted by the Advaitin the text "*Ekam vādvitīyam*" does away with souls and there can be no further talk of this identity. The theory that by worshipping the Supreme one reaches the Nirguṇa, is ridiculed. Chapter V pursues the subject of identity still further and concludes with a plea for the supremacy of Dvaita.

1. Printed at the Prabhākara Press, Udipi, 1935, and published by the enthusiastic Svāmi of the Sōde Mutt.

(11) *Mādhva-vāg-Vajrāvali***

The title means 'the thunderbolt of the words of Madhva' and the work itself is in all probability an attack on the framework of the Advaita. No Ms. of it is, however, known.

(12) *Cakra-Mīmāṃsā* (p)

This is a small tract in 72 Anuṣṭubhs published in the S. M. and a Ms. is preserved at Mysore (C 723). Vādirāja's authorship of this tract is confirmed both by the *Yuktimallikā* (V, 649) and by Nārāyaṇa's com. on the *Tīrthaprabandha* :—

Yaścakre Cakramīmāṃsām yaścakre Yuktimallikām |
Mukundalīlām yaścakre tasmai kāvyakṛte namaḥ ||

It deals briefly with the question of "Tapta-mudrā-dhāraṇa" and cites passages from the *Pādma*, *Gāruḍa* and other Purāṇas¹. Vādirāja remarks also that the practice is current among the followers of Nimbārka, Viṣṇu-Svāmin and Rāmānuja as well as among a certain section of Śamkara-Advaitins :—

Nimbādityānugaiḥ prājñair Māyāvādyekadeśibhiḥ |
Viṣṇusvāmi-mataiscaiva Rāmānujamatāśrayaiḥ ||
Tattvavādi janācāraiḥ siṣṭhaśreṣṭhairanuṣṭhite || (ver. 5)

(13) *Bṛndāvanākhyāna* (p)²

This is an anonymous work of unknown date and traditionally believed to have been revealed to a disciple by Vādirāja himself in the course of a dream-seance. It deals with the question of Vādirāja's identity with one of the Ṛju-gaṇas and is looked upon as an authority by those who hold Vādirāja to be a Ṛju-deva.³ Its posthumous character detracts much from its probative value.

(14) *S'ruti-tattva⁴ prakāśika* (m)

This is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C 724) and (C 1870). It is a tract in 502 Anuṣṭubhs, vigorously assailing the doctrines of the Advaitavedānta. The concept of "Ajñāna" is elaborately

1. Pādma-gāruḍa-mukhyeṣu santyasmākam sahaśraśaḥ (31).
2. Belgaum.
3. It is said to have been commented upon by Vyāsācārya, son of Lingeri Śrīnivāsa (Vij, Sex. Com. Vol., p. 318).
4. Not "Śruti-tāla-prakāśikā" as we have it named on p. 316, of the Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.

criticised. The author denies that the identity of Jiva and Brahman has anywhere been taught in Scripture and examines favorite texts of the Monist: 'Tattvamasi' etc., in this connection. He says also that the denial of the world cannot be the intention of texts like "Neha nānāsti". He wields an effective and alliterative style, as usual.

(15) [Haribhakti]—*Kalpalatā* (m)

This is also preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C725). It is mentioned by Surottama Tīrtha, in his com. on the *Yuktimalikā* under the name of "*Kalpalatā*." It is a prose work in four chapters (Prasūna-mālā), dealing with the question of the Pramāṇa (Pramāṇa) of knowledge and devoted in the main to the establishment of the Apauruṣeyatva of the Vedas. It lacks the clarity of Vādirāja's exposition and is somewhat abstruse and meandering. A good deal of space is taken up with the refutation of the doctrines of the Jains, their objections to the value of Śabda-pramāṇa. Their view of jīva-pariṇāma, is adversely criticised (p. 24).

Mahābhārata Prasthāna

The Epic *Mahābhārata* occupies, as we have seen, a position of great authority in matters of religion and philosophy and has consequently been placed at the forefront of Śaiva pramāṇas (next of course to the Vedas), by Madhva, who has shown the importance he attached to it by writing an extensive commentary on it, bringing into relief its esoteric sense as he had conceived it. But no regular commentary on the Epic was written by Mādhva scholars till the days of Vādirāja. He was the first to attempt and execute the stupendous task of writing a running commentary on the entire Epic, from the point of view of Madhva. Apart from the inherent value of this admittedly learned commentary to the system of Madhva, it holds a special attraction for the historical student of the Epic. Those interested in the laborious task of reconstituting the *textus simplicior* of the Epic or of sifting matter for a genuinely South Indian Renaissance of the Epic, would find the "pratīkas" culled by Vādirāja of immense value¹. In addition to his commentary on the

1. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, who recently brought out his Southern Edition of the *Mbh.*, has justly appraised the historical value of Vādirāja's commentary.

he wrote another on Madhva's *Mbh. T. N.* His commentary on the Epic notices elaborately the *Sanatsujātiya*¹ and *Viṣṇu-sahasranāma*², which are sometimes treated as separate works. His com. on the former is being printed at Bangalore.

(16) *Lakṣālamkāra*(m)

Vādirāja's commentary on the *Mbh.* goes by the name of "*Lakṣālamkāra*" or "*Lakṣābharaṇa*". Uptil now only fragments of it have been published.³ It is an erudite performance, full of references and quotations from old lexicons.

(17) The com. on the *Mbh. T. N.* known as *Bhāvaprakāśikā*, is available in Mss. both at Madras and Mysore (O. L. C 1867).

Works on Kāvya Literature.

Vādirāja was gifted with real poetic talents,⁴ but unfortunately, he had not given them free rein and tried his hand at poetry for its own sake. What talents he had in that direction, he had early dedicated to the service of his creed. The result is that he has been able to leave us just a couple of religious kāvyas, cast in the mould of strict orthodoxy, but containing nevertheless many passages of enduring beauty. His position is thus analogous to that of Vedānta Deśika (author of *Yādavābhyudaya-kāvya*) in Viśiṣṭādvaita.

(18) *Rukmiṇīśa-Vijaya*. (p)⁵

This is the most important religious kāvya of the author, in 19 cantos, clothed in the gorgeous apparel of the kāvya style and having for its subject-matter, the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and his marriage with her. It is given the rank of a "Mahākāvya", in traditional circles. The descriptions are effective and natural. The style is deeply alliterative. Sense and sound match well and the imagery too is lofty. The author

commentary, tho' in his zeal to claim the authority and support of Vādirāja's com. to his Southern Rec., he has over-reached himself by pushing the date of Vādirāja three centuries earlier than his actual date. (Vol. iii, xi). For a refutation of his date see *Annals B. O. R. I. XVIII*, pp. 2-3.

1. Mysore O. L. (C2248) is not by Vādirāja.
2. MS. preserved at the Mysore O. L.
3. The com. on the *Sabhā Parva* has been published by P. P. S. Sastri in his *Southern Recension*.
4. In the colophons to his kāvyas etc., he is called "Kavikulatilaka".
5. Printed at Belgaum with a com.

revels in *double entendre*, *Citrabandhas*, *ekāśara* and *yamakas* partial and complete.

(19) His *Sarasa-bhārati-vilāsa* (p), is a metrical work in praise of Viṣṇu.

(20) *Tīrtha-Prabandha* (p)

This is another metrical work of Vādirāja in which he gives us an account of the various Hindu temples and centres of pilgrimage (including holy rivers and tīrthas) visited by him during his grand tour thro' India. Some historical importance thus attaches to this work,¹ which in a sense, resembles the *Devāram* and *Prabandha* songs in Tamil. The descriptions possess a good deal of poetic charm and felicity.

It is divided into four sections: the Northern tour, the Eastern, the Southern and the Western. Vādirāja starts his tour at Uḍipi on the west-coast, and his Western march includes visits to Madhyatāla, Cintāmaṇi-Narasimha, R. *Netrāvati* and *Kṛṣṇadhāra*, Subrahmaṇya, *Payasvinī Suvarṇā*, Kumbhāsi, the Sahyadrange, Harihar, the temples of Someśvara and Aśvattha-Narasimha at Bidrūr, Bankāpūr, R. *Varadā*, Banavāsi, and the temple of Madhulinga, Sode, Gokaṛṇa (Eṇabhairava), Kolhāpur, the temple of *Tapti* and *Narmada*: Prabhāsa-kṣetra, Dvāraka, Gomāṭī, Puṣkar (Ajmer).

The Northern tour embraces visits to *Kṛṣṇavenī*, Pañcābhairava (Viṭṭhala), *Godavari*, Jumna, Allahabad, Benares, the temple of Bindu-Mādhava and Viśvanātha there, Gayā (Gadādhara), Viṣṇupāda, Muttra, Bṛndāvan, Ayodhyā, Naimiṣa forest, Kurukṣetra, the six Prayāgas and Badarī.

The Eastern tour takes Vādirāja to Jagannātha (Pūrī), Aśvattha-Narasimha, the Nivṛtti-sangama, *Tungabhadra*, Vijayanagara (temples of Viṭṭhala and Virūpākṣa there), Pampā. Āṇegonda (temple of pati, Kāñcī, (Ekāmrānātha, Kāmākṣī and Varadarāja there), Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Tirukoilūr (Trivikrama temple), Kālam, Śrīmuṣṇam and Kumbakonam.

The Southern tour covers Srirangam, Darbhāṣayana, Someśvaram, Dhanuṣkoṭi, R. *Tāmraparnī*, Cape Camorin, Sate and Trivandrum, whence Vādirāja moves on to his native place.

1. See Mr. G. H. Khare's remarks on p. 194-5 of the *Vij. Sec. Vol.* It should, therefore, have found mention on p. 316 of the *Comp. Vol.*

STOTRAS.

(21) *Daśavatārastotra* (p)

This is the most popular of Vādirāja's stotras celebrating the ten Avatars of Viṣṇu, in 41 verses cast in the Āsvadhātī (horsetrot) metre. The alliteration reaches its climax in this piece.

Other minor stotras include (22) *Brahmasūtranibaddha-adhikaraṇa-nāmāvalī*¹; (23) *Stotramālā*; (24) *Naivedyasamarpaṇapra-kāra*; (25) *Mangalāṣṭaka* (8 verses, ascribed also to Rājarajeśvara),² (26) *Vāyustuti* (S. M. pp. 250-4), *Punaśaraṇavidhāna*; (27) *Hayagrīvapañcaka*; (28) *Keśavādi-caturviṃśatimūrtilakṣaṇa-stuti*; (29) *Trivikramastotra* (S. M.); (30) *Āpāda-stotra*; (31) *Kṛṣṇastuti*; (32) *S'rīśaguṇadarpaṇa*; (33) *Rameśa-stuti*; (34) *Haryaṣṭaka*; (35) *Venkaṭeśamaṅgalāṣṭaka*; (36) *Prārthanā-daśaka* (37) *Raupyapiṭhapura-Kṛṣṇastuti*; (38) *S'lokatraya*; (39) *Abhaya-stotra*; (40) *Navagrahastotra*; (41) *S'rīpādarājāṣṭakam*; (42) *Vai-kunṭhavarṇanam*; (43) *Praśnāvali*; (44) *Haribhaktisāra* etc. His works on Worship include (45) ac. on the *Tantrasārasamgraha* of which, however, no Ms. has been brought to light.³ and (46) a *Dinatrayanirṇaya* dealing with the fixing of the tithis daśamī, ekādaśī and dvādaśī, whose observance is an intimate feature in the religious life of the Mādhvas.

1. Ms. in the Library of the Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

2. A Pontiff of the Palimār Mutt, another of whose works is the *Rāmasandeśa*, a khaṇḍakāvya, printed at Uḍipi.

3. It is, however, mentioned as a work of Vādirāja on p. 316, of the Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.

PROBLEMS RELATING TO VERBAL TESTIMONY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DVAITA VEDĀNTA

SECTION I

(P. Nagarajarao)

Verbal testimony is the third and the last *pramāṇa* accepted by Madhva. Almost all the systems of Indian philosophy with the exception of the Buddhists, the Vaiśeṣikas, and Cārvākas accept *śabda pramāṇa*. The Vaiśeṣikas contend that verbal testimony gets included under inference. It cannot be done so, for verbal testimony depends on the meaning of words, and it cannot be said that words are 'characteristic marks' of meaning. If an assertion be made, inference would be possible as to the meaning with the 'words' as the middle term. Further in experience we have the cognition of the sentence sense with the recollection of the pervasion of the 'sentence' by its 'sense'.

'Defectless words' constitute valid verbal testimony. The defects of words are (1) non-intelligibility (*abodhakatva*) arising out of the two causes, (a) by the use of non-sense words (*nirabhidheyatvam*) and (b) by the use of words which have no syntactical relation (*anvayābhava*), (2) giving rise to erroneous cognition (*viparītabodakatvam*), (3) explaining the known (*Jñātajñāpakatvam*), (4) teaching the useless (*ajñājanatvam*), (5) having a non-intended use (*anabhimatjanatvam*), (6) stating that which is incapable of being accomplished (*aśakyasāadhanapratipādanam*), (7) teaching a difficult method when an easy one is available (*laghūpāye sati gururopadeśaḥ*). Words without such defects constitute valid verbal testimony. A group of letters with a case ending constitutes a word. A group of words, having expectancy, compatibility and proximity constitutes a sentence. Expectancy is the quality to know. It is a quality of the self. 'Compatibility' is the case of that where syntactical relation is cognised, is the non-existence of the conflict with any *pramāṇa*. It is an attribute of the 'word sense'. Proximity is the continuous utterance of words. It is an attribute of the words.

There are two kinds of sounds, (1) *dhvanyātmaka śabda* i.e. indefinite sounds e.g., the sound of a bell, and (2) *varṇātmaka śabda* i.e., articulate sounds. The letters (*varṇas*) are eternal and pervasive substances according to the *siddhāntin*. If the letters be eternal and all pervasive we must have their perpetual cognition, because the sense organ is always in contact with them. To this the *siddhāntin*'s reply is the cognition of the word is (*karṇa*), the instrument of verbal knowledge, and the '*vācyavācakabhāva*' is the *vyāpāra* i.e., the activity, and the knowledge of the object through word is the result. The *varṇas* though eternal manifest themselves through sounds (*dhvanis*), which are non-eternal and have to proceed from an individual. Like the waves of an ocean these reach the sense of hearing, and then immediately remind the hearer of the corresponding *varṇas*. So the mere presence and eternality of *varṇas* do not give their perpetual cognition. Further there is no possibility for the simultaneous utterance of word.

The only type of order that the *siddhāntin* recognises in the *varṇas* is the order imposed and cognised by the individual (*bauddhikakrama*). No other order is possible among letters because they exist in all places and always.

In a word we have a number of syllables (*dhvanis*). When the second syllable is uttered the first passes out of existence and all the syllables are not present to our cognition simultaneously. In a single moment we do not sense all these syllables together. How then is it possible for us to perceive the word as a whole?

The *Nyāya* school maintains that each syllable leaves its impression behind, and when we come to the last syllable the apprehension of it aided by the accumulated impressions of the past syllables presents the meaning of the word as a whole. This view the *siddhāntin* criticises as follows: Mere cognition of the 'word' does not in any way help us to cognise its denotation; e.g., a pundit who does not know the English language would not be able to cognise the denotation of a 'word' in English though he knows the 'word'. So the *Nyāya* view is inadequate.

The difficulty of this problem led the Grammarians to formulate the well-known '*sphoṭa doctrine*'. Jayatīrtha states the

sphoṭa doctrine and criticises it like other vedāntins. grammarians' argument is, 'If we assert that there is sentence apart from words and no words apart from letters there would be no cognition at all; because each letter itself cannot manifest the sense and a combination of the letters in cognition is impossible. For the cognition of each letter perishes momentarily, so it is impossible for their combination to exist simultaneously. Further, if a single letter gives rise to cognition of the word, other letters of the 'word' are of no use. If it be further contended that the co-existence of the impressions of the prior letters in memory gives rise to the cognition, it cannot be so. In memory also they cannot co-exist because they are produced in the particular order of experience. So there is no simultaneity of impressions; hence no cognition of word is possible. If it be still further contended that the strength of the last impression arises only by the accumulated impressions of the prior letters gives rise to 'the single word cognition' which has for its object all the letters of the word, then there is no need for sphoṭa. If so, there is no particular order observed, and it is the particular order that determines the word. There can be no spatial or temporal order for letters, because they are eternal and pervasive. The only order they can have is the order imposed by the individual mind. In a single memory cognition all letters co-exist. If it be further contended that order is of no use, then Sanskrit words like sara, rasa, navam, vanam, rajam, etc., turn out to be identical. The grammarians postulate the sphoṭa doctrine to explain the unitary nature of word: without it 'meaning' cannot be intelligibly comprehended. They regard the word as an unit and not as a composite of letters. The meaning as *sui generis* and revealed in impartite sphoṭa. The sphoṭa is an unit like the judgment of Logic. "The judgment is not compound of parts, it is subject, predicate and copula." Such parts are present in the verbal expression of the judgment, i.e., the proposition. The sphoṭa, like the judgment, is revealed in the proposition. Sphoṭa i.e., meaning which is manifested is a unit revealed by the particular sounds uttered in certain sequence. The succeeding sounds make more clear what was less

expressed by the preceding sounds, the latter provides sub-structure, and the former the superstructure, while all of them together reveal the one design which while prompting their utterance is certainly not produced by them."

The siddhāntin criticises the sphoṭavādin as follows: Does a cognised sphoṭa give rise to the word cognition or does its mere existence give rise to the cognition of the word? If the cognised 'sphoṭa' is responsible for the word cognition, is the sphoṭa cognised by 'presumption' or by any other pramāṇa? If it is cognised by 'presumption', then there is the defect of 'reciprocal dependence'. The cognised sphoṭa gives rise to the word 'cognition', and we presume the sphoṭa from the 'word cognition'. There is no other pramāṇa for sphoṭa. If the sphoṭavādin contends that he perceives the sphoṭa because of the cognition of the 'word' unit, then the siddhāntin desires to know the objects of perception. Has perception for its object the mere sphoṭa, or the sphoṭa together with the distinction of letters? In our experience we do not perceive the sphoṭa. Are the perceived letters along with the 'sphoṭa manifestors of the sphoṭa or originators? Is it be a case of manifestation, is it by a single letter or by the aggregate of letters? We have the same old difficulty of the non-intelligibility of the 'word cognition'. The letters cannot be the originators of sphoṭa, because it is considered to be eternal. If the grammarians somehow explain sphoṭa through some presumption, then let those functions be discharged by the word itself. If the grammarians further contend that sphoṭa reveals the cognition of word gradually and completes the revelation of the meaning with the last letter, such a function cannot be adequately attributed to the cluster of letters. To this the siddhāntin replies that in our experience we do not perceive the fact of partial revelation. If the grammarians contend that sphoṭa uncognised gives rise to the 'word cognition' it is a case of undue extension. Then we should all have the knowledge of all the words at all times. On these grounds Madhva rejects the sphoṭa doctrine as prolix.

The siddhāntin is of opinion that the last syllable in contact with the sense of hearing gives rise to the 'word cognition'. The sense of hearing is aided by two factors: (1) impressions

generated by the experiences of the prior letters and (2) apprehension of the prior letters and their denotation. In the absence of the apprehension of the meaningfulness of the word, one cannot have the 'word cognition'. The siddhāntin as the Vedāntins has taken up the position that the sounds by the mysterious laws of association give rise to the 'word cognition'. Meaning is purposive, and it is a unit. The process of pounding the letters can at best give us only an aggregate, not a word. The word i.e., 'a unit' has a plan and form. The sphoṭa is the meaning, i.e., unit of a word.

SECTION II

The Sentence and its Structure

According to Madhva there is no separate 'sentence' apart from the 'word senses' put together. The sentence is originated by the sense of hearing which has contact with the final word. The sense of hearing is further aided by the impressions generated by the experience of prior words. In a sentence we have not only words but also syntactical relation. We cannot have the sentence cognition without the syntactical relation. Now what is it that signifies this syntactical relation? The siddhāntins say that the word itself presents the individual sense and the individual syntactical relation. The argument runs forth thus: 'Words are uttered to communicate our ideas to others. And as soon as a word is uttered the hearer's expectancy is roused as to what he has to do with the object which the word denotes, e.g., when the word 'pot' is uttered the hearer's expectancy is unfulfilled.' On this ground we presume that the word conveys not only its own sense, but also the syntactical relation with a compatible object (yogyetarānvitārthabhāva-vam). Every word has a single potency which is in the nature of a universal, and has the possibility of being determined in a number of ways. The determination is effected by the presence of words. The proximate word is a saha-kāri; i.e., co-operative. Thus the single potency of a word denotes the syntactical relation with a number of objects. This doctrine is technically called 'anvitābhidhānavāda'. Prabhākara posits a number of tendencies in a word, and each word denotes several syntactical relations. This doctrine is called 'viśeṣānvitābhidhānavāda'.

Madhva criticises the Prabhākara view as being prolix, and posits only a single potency which has the possibility of getting determined in a number of ways. It assumes a number of attributes in accordance with the law of parsimony.

As against this view the Bhaṭṭa school holds that words cannot discharge both the functions ascribed to them by Prabhākara. The words of a sentence present their isolated meanings primarily which afterwards combine to produce the particular syntactical relation. The constructed meaning is obtained not directly from words but indirectly. 'Words' according to Kumārila are the 'invariable but not immediate antecedent condition for the understanding of the meaning of a sentence. Further the idea is explained by a comparison: 'Just as fuel is the indispensable condition of cooking, though cooking is done not directly by the fuel but through the flame generated by it; so also words are indispensable to the understanding of the meaning of a sentence but this understanding is not immediately caused by the words, but by the meaning they present to the mind. In our experience we sometimes understand the meaning of component words, but not the meaning of a sentence. This fact points out that some other condition is necessary for us to understand the 'sentence sense'. A sentence is 'words in syntactical relation'.

The siddhāntin criticises the Bhaṭṭa position as follows: Bhaṭṭa's assumption of two potencies, that is, the word potency and the potency of the word sense is prolix. The word-sense gives us the sentence cognition according to Bhaṭṭa. Is that cognition derived by perception or inference or verbal testimony? It cannot belong to any one of these because the necessary conditions are absent. Granting that there is some *pramāṇa* for the knowledge there is no propriety in bringing it under verbal testimony.

The grammarians explain the syntactical relation by the aid of the sentence *sphoṭa* (*vākyasphoṭa*). The *vākyasphoṭa* is itself the meaning of the sentence. It is revealed in the successive words of a sentence. 'Neither the words nor their sequence is futile, for the words are the tools of manifestation and the sequence provides the form.' The *sphoṭa* doctrine points out that meaning is a unit, and that the evolution of our knowledge is from the less clear to the more clear.

Madhva criticises the vākyasphoṭa as follows: He considers that there is no separate sentence-sense apart from the sense. Further the words denote their own sense as well as their syntactical relation. Madhva does not accept the vākyasphoṭa as a unit as Bhaṭṭa does nor does he admit the sentence as a unit as the grammarians do. 'Word' according to Madhva is the insipient sentence. The grammarians' vākyasphoṭa is another name for Madhva's word. What he has thrashed out has tricked into new words. Madhva's acceptance of 'word' expressing a syntactical relation points to the fact that it is a unit.

What does a word denote? The Bhaṭṭa school is of the opinion that words primarily denote the class, and secondarily the particular. The Vaiśeṣikas say that words denote particulars qualified by the class (Jātivīṣiṣṭā vyakti). The grammarians think that words denote sometimes class, and sometimes particulars. e.g., the word 'pot' denotes a particular object of the class. When the individual perceives similar object, subsequently he learns that such objects are called 'pots'.

Verbal testimony is of two kinds: (1) composition by no author; (apauruṣeya), (2) human composition (pauruṣeya). The Vedas are of superhuman or divine composition and not of the hand of any human. The difference between the two kinds is that the one has no author and the other has. The Śrūti is so called because they are learnt by the ear. Even the mantradrasidhāntas of the hymns declare that they only saw their masters. The argument is also expressed in the form of an inference. The Vedas are apauruṣeya because all have learnt them (sarvairśrutatvāt) and orally repeated (sarvairuccāritatvāt).

So the Vedas are considered apauruṣeya. The authorities for Madhva are the four Vedas, Mūla Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāṭya, Pañcarātra Āgama and such parts of the Vedas that are in unison with these. Revelation is the authority in the matters of spirit. Reliance on scriptural authority is unphilosophical on the face of it. Scripture has to be interpreted according to the six determinative marks of (1) the initial and (2) the concluding passages, (3) repetition, (4) novelty, (5) glorification by eulogistic passages, and

demnation by deprecatory ones and (6) intelligibility in the light of reasoning. Though reasoning is only one among the determinative marks of purport, still it plays a very important role. It is reason that has to settle which is the real beginning and which is the secondary. It is reasoning again that has to point which repetition is purportful and which not. So the authoritarianism of Dvaita Vedānta is only on the face of it.

SECTION III

The Problem of Validity

After an analytic study of the three pramāṇas Jayatīrtha examines the problem of validity and invalidity which in general may be stated thus : (1) Whether the validity (prāmāṇya) of the knowledge attained by the pramāṇas is originated (utpatti) by the very conditions which make the knowledge itself possible, or by any external condition; (2) 'Whether the validity of the knowledge is also ascertained (jñapti) by the very conditions which help us to ascertain the knowledge or by any external condition.' Indian epistemology clearly recognised the two-fold problems relating to the validity of pramāṇas : (1) the origination of validity (prāmāṇyasya utpattiḥ), (2) the ascertainment of validity (prāmāṇyasya jñaptiḥ), such a recognition clearly points out that they did not confuse 'mere psychological belief with logical certainty.'¹

Validity and invalidity are attributes that are present in cognition and its instruments : That validity which is produced without the help of any external factor other than those that produced the cognition is said to be intrinsic with reference to origin (utpattau svatastvam). The validity which is cognised without the aid of any external factor other than those which helped us to cognise the cognition is said to be intrinsic with reference to ascertainment (jñaptau svatastvam). That validity which is produced by factors other than those that give rise to cognition is said to be extrinsic with reference to origin (jñāna-japakātiriktakaraṇajanyatvam utpattau paratastvam). For example our sense organ of sight gives rise to the cognition of a pot. The very sense organ does not give rise to the validity in it. The guṇa i.e., the special merit of sense organ gives rise to the validity in it. So validity is not caused by the sense organ

1. *The Six Ways of Knowing* :—By Prof. Datta, pp. 329-335.

which gives rise to the cognition. Hence it is extrinsic validity which we cognise through an instrument other than one through which we cognise the cognition is said to be extrinsic with reference to ascertainment (*jñānajñāpakātiriktaprāṇpekṣatvam jñaptau paratastvam*).¹

Jayatīrtha codifies the opinions of different schools on this problem. The Nyāya school is of opinion that validity and invalidity are originated as well as ascertained by conditions external to the instruments of knowledge. This doctrine is called *prāmāṇyaparatastva-vāda*. The position is defended as follows :

'If the validity and invalidity of knowledge were intrinsic (*svatastvam*) then no knowledge could turn out to be false. If this is not the case we must assume that some external condition determines validity and invalidity. The validity and invalidity of knowledge are inferred and known through *saṁmat* and *viśamvāda* (agreement and disagreement with experience).

As against the *prāmāṇyaparatastva-vādin*s the *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Advaitins* hold that truth is organic to knowledge and that error creeps in as a result of some hindrance in the process of knowledge. They hold that invalidity is extrinsic and validity is intrinsic. If we accept validity to be extrinsic it leads in infinite regress. It is as follows: the validity of perceptual knowledge is ascertained through inference, the validity of the inferential knowledge is ascertained by a third type of knowledge, its validity is ascertained by a fourth, and so on *ad infinitum*. In order to avoid all these difficulties validity is accepted as intrinsic.³

The *Bhaṭṭa* school interprets the term '*Svatastvam*' as follows: 'The cognition as qualified by validity is intrinsic through the qualification 'cognisedness.' This definition of the term 'intrinsic' is only in name intrinsic. The very fact that validity has to be inferred is tantamount to the acceptance of the doctrine of *parataḥ-prāmāṇa* because validity is cognised by factors other than cognition.³

1. *Prāmāṇyapaddhati* :—Chap. III, sec. 12, p. 448.

2. *The Six Ways of Knowing* :—By Prof. Datta, pp. 332-35.

3. '*Prāmāṇya-viśiṣṭam jñānam jñātātā-viśeṣeṇa anumīyata itī Svatastvam*'.

Prabhākara is of opinion that cognition qualified by validity results from its own light, and there is no invalidity at all. The position that there is no invalid cognition is refuted in the fourth chapter.¹

Śrī Madhva is of opinion that validity is intrinsic with reference to origin and ascertainment. The validity that is present in cognition is produced as well as ascertained by the very instrument which produces and ascertains the cognition (Svāśraya-jānaka-jñeyatvam, svāśraya-grāhya-grāhyatvam). The instruments that originate the cognition also originate its validity. The cognition and its validity are cognised by the witness consciousness (sākṣin). As for invalidity it is originated by the defects associated with the instruments of knowledge. The sākṣin cognises the cognition aspect of invalid cognition, and invalidity in it is inferred.² The invalidity in the instruments of knowledge (karaṇas) is originated by the very potency that gives rise to the instrument. As for invalidity it is originated by external defects. Hence it is extrinsic. The cognition of the instruments of knowledge and the potency in it that is responsible for valid knowledge (karaṇa-gata-prāmāṇya) are ascertained by different factors. The instruments of cognition such as the outer sense organs are cognised through inference, with the help of the probans like colour, taste, sound, etc. The Manas is cognised by sākṣin (witness consciousness). The instruments like the probans, and words are cognised by the sense organs of sight and sound. The potency i.e., being responsible for valid knowledge is cognised by inference with tests like workability as the probans. Hence the potency in the karaṇa is said to be extrinsic with reference to ascertainment (jñātau paratastvam).

Pramāṇapaddhati :—Chap. III, sec. 12, p. 448.

The criticism of Madhva does not hold water. The Bhaṭṭa school recognises that cognition as well as the validity are both inferred by the same probans, viz., 'cognisedness'. Hence it follows that one and the same pramāṇa cognises validity and the cognition. Validity and cognition are both in the same boat. The Bhaṭṭa interpretation of term svatastvam is different from Madhva's. This difference arises because of the distinct feature of the Mīmāṃsā school i.e., the acceptance of jñātātā (cognisedness).

1. Chap. IV, pp. 32-33.

2. *Pramāṇapaddhati* :—Chap. III, sec. 13, p. 461 and Commentary of Rāghavendra, p. 462.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARĀT

(D. B. Diskalkar)

(Continued from the third issue)

(11)

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬAṆA INSCRIPTION OF BHĪMA (II) OF V. S. 125 +

This inscription is engraved on a yellow stone slab lying the Fauzdārī-Utārā at Verāval, an important port in Kāthiawar at a distance of three miles from Somanātha Pāṭaṇa, where it was originally found. The left-hand portion of the inscription slab is broken away so that a number of letters in each line are lost. It is also broken a little in the right-hand lower corner causing a loss of the unit figure in the date. The inscription on the whole is in a fairly good condition. In its present condition it measures 1-2½" in length. Its height is 1-5½". It contains 25 lines of writing. The letters are well engraved in perfectly straight lines and the writing is practically free from grammatical mistakes. The *characters* are *Nāgarī*. The *language* is *Sanskrit* and the record is in poetry. As regards the orthography it is only to be noted that a consonant following *r* is doubled in a few cases.

Since a considerable portion of each line is lost it has become difficult to give the contents of the record though it is once seen that it is one pertaining to Jain religion. Nothing definitely can be said of the deity which is praised in the first line. The second and the third line give a description of [A]lapāṭaka, the famous capital of Gujarāt. It had become very rich under its famous sovereigns. The fourth line mentions King Mūlarāja, and in the sixth line the name of Bhīma (II) is given to whose reign the record belongs, without the mention of the intervening rulers. From the seventh line to the fourteenth line an account is given of a Saṅgha or rather Cakka of Jain preceptors of whom Nundakunda was one. In that time there was Kīrttisūri, who with a view to making pilgrimages to the sacred place of Nēminātha (i.e. Girnār) started from Cakka-kūṭa and went to Aṇahillapura. He was much honoured

by the king. The Sūri caused to be made there a Jain temple called Mūlavasantikā. After him Ajitachandra, Chārukīrtti, Yaśaḥkīrtti, Kshemakīrtti and Hēmasūri became successively the Sūris. From the 17th to the 24th line an account is given of a new Jain temple caused to be built by Hēmasūri in the place of the old and ruined one. It seems from the 22nd line that he had built also a tank, a bath in which was supposed to cure white leprosy (Kuṣṭha). As the inscription is found at Somanātha¹ Pāṭaṇa it can be said that the Sūri had built these things there, but nowhere the name of Sōmanātha Pāṭaṇa is found in the preserved portion of the inscription beyond the mention of the western sea in l. 23. The last line says that the *praśasti* was composed by Pravarakīrtti. At the end is given the date of the record, the unit figure in which is destroyed. It is 125. +

It will be seen from these contents that our inscription does not give us any important historical information. The account of the Jain Gachha is, however, rather interesting.

TEXT²

१.[च्छ]ञ्चिव स्नाति नित्यमद्यापि वारिधौ ॥ [^३श्रे]यादभीष्टसंसिद्धयै
मुखं चंद्रप्र[भं].....
२.^४ल्लपाटकाख्यं पत्तनं तद्विराजते ॥ ३ मन्ये वेधा विधायैतद्वि-
धित्सुः पुनरीदृशं । शि.....
३.रेंद्रैर्त्रयमंत्रज्ञैर्यत्र लक्ष्मीः स्थिरीकृता ॥ ५ तन्निःशेषमहीपालमौलि
वृष्टांघ्रि.....
४.सौ नृपः । तेनोत्खातासुहृन्मूलो मूलराजः स उच्यते ॥ ७ एकैका-
धिकभूपालाः सम.....

1. A place called तेजःपुर is mentioned in a Ms. of Kshiraswamin's commentary on Amarakosha (See Vol. I p. 26 of this Journal). Sir Jadunath Sarkar proposes to identify it with Tejapurā in Katosan subdivision of the Mahikantha District (ibid Vol, II, No. 2). But it is an insignificant place and has no gain antiquities. It is better to identify Tejapurā with its synonymous Prabhāsapāṭana, which is the same as Somanātha Pāṭaṇa and which as the present inscription shows was an important place of the Jains also.

2. From an impression in the Bhavnagar Museum.

3. Read भूयाद.

4. It may be seen that the town is called here as Apahillapāṭaka and in the 11th line as Apahillapura.

present inscription seems to have been issued by some one staying in Bhūmalikā.

Only three more inscriptions of this king are known which give the dates V. S. 1308,¹ 1311² and 1317³. The prime minister Nāgaḍa, mentioned in the present inscription is also mentioned in the copper plate inscription of V. S. 1317 and in the *Kaśī-praśasti* of the poet Nānāka.⁴ That he was a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa is seen from Harshagaṇi's *Vastupālacharita*. Nāgaḍa must have been appointed in the post some time after V. S. 1303. For that year Tejaḥpāla was the chief minister as is mentioned in a manuscript⁵ of *Āchārāṅgasūtra*. He seems to have continued in the post at least upto V. S. 1328, the date of the *Kaśī-praśasti* where it is mentioned.

TEXT⁶

१. ओं संवत् [१३] १५ वर्षे भाद्रपदश्रदि ५]...चेह श्रीमदणहिल[प]
२. काधि[ष्टित]समस्तराजावली विराजित महारा[ज]श्री[वी]स.
३. [ल]दे[व*] कल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महा[मा].
४. त्वश्रीनागडे समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान्परिपंथयत[ति] एवं का
५. ले वर्त्तमाने श्रीसुराष्ट्रमंडले[म]हं० श्री [वि-रापारा],
६. श्री[सिंहप्रभृति] पंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [वामक ?...द पुत्र
७. [श्री] जयदेवस्य [स्थितकै...ति...] श्रमिह श्री
८.मलिकासक्त ? समस्तप्रति.....
९.धाम.....
१०. द्र ४ पत्र?.....द्र ४.....राष्ट्रके द्र ४ पत्रे
११. ...टके द्र ४ क...पट्टके द्र ४ सकल?...स्थित
१२. ...रविकारं ? भूमलिकायां.....
१३. ...बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिःसगरादिभिःयस्य
१४. यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । मंगलं महाश्री :

1. Above Vol. V, p. 102.
2. Ibid Vol. I, p. 25.
3. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI, p. 210.
4. Ibid Vol. XI, p. 100.

5. Peterson's Report of Search for Sanskrit MSS. 1882-83, p. 40.
6. From rubbings in the Rajkot and Bhavnagar Museums.
7. Expressed by a symbol.
8. Read भाद्र.

9. This stands evidently for भूमलिका.

KĀṆṬELĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADEVA OF V. S. 1320

This interesting inscription is engraved on a black granite stone fixed below an image of Gaṇapati in the southern wall of a Śiva (Mahākālēśvara) temple on the bank of the Rēvatī Kuṇḍa in the village Kāṇṭelā under the Porbandar State in Kāthiāwār. The village is at a distance of 7 miles to the north-west of Porbandar and a mile from the sea-shore.

The inscription was published in Gujarāṭi by the late Mr. Tansukhram Mansukhram Tripathi in the *Buddhi Prakāśa* of 1915.

It measures 1', 9" in length and 11½" in breadth and is in a fairly good condition. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the whole of it is in verse except the last line which contains the date. The characters are *Nāgarī* and are well engraved. As regards *orthography* it is to be noted that a number of archaic forms are used throughout the inscription; e. g. in *th* (ll. 3, 4, 7 and 8), in *y* at the end of a conjunct consonant (ll. 1 and 5). *Jy* in two cases where it is used (ll. 4 and 5) looks quite like *dy*. *B* is expressed by putting a very small point in the centre of the hollow part of *v*; as a result of this many times when the point is not clear we cannot distinguish between the two letters. The vowel *u* of *ju* (l. 4) is added to the left-hand portion of *j* and not to its perpendicular line as is usually done. The *Prṣṭhamātrās* are used throughout.

In the first verse the poet expresses a desire that the tree of religion, protected by the God Viṣṇu, the enemy of the Daityas, be flourishing. He then tells us that there was in the Śrīmāla family one Udaya who was a minister. His son was Chāhaḍa. His son was Padmasimha, whose wife was called Prathimadevī. Three sons were born to them named Mahāṇasimha, Salaksha and Sāmantasimha. Salaksha was first appointed a viceroy over Saurāṣṭra by the sovereign Viśaladeva but was afterwards transferred to the Lāṭa province, where he died on the bank of the Narmadā (Revā). Sāmantasimha for the merit of his brother caused to be made an image of Vishnu named Salaksha Nārāyaṇa. He also built a temple of Pārśvanātha in front of the temple of Neminātha on the Raivata (Girnar)

mountain.¹ Arjunadeva confirmed him in the post of the Vice to which he was appointed by Viśaladeva. The inscription further states that Sāmantsimha heard that the Revatī Kūṭa situated on the sea-shore on the way to Dwārakā was long out of repairs. In the forest where it was situated Revatī used to go with her husband in ancient times. Considering it, therefore, to be a holy place he caused a new flight of steps to be built to Revatikūṇḍa. He also caused to be made images of Śiva and Viṣṇu (as Jalaśāyin) together with those of Gaṇeśa, Kṣhetrapāl, Sūrya and Chaṇḍikā, and also an image of Rēvatī and Balārāma. He moreover caused to be dug a well with a water trough attached to it. A bath with that water was supposed to protect children from the evil influence of the Rēvatī planet.

This *praśasti* was composed by the poet Harihara, son of Paṇḍita Mōkshārka. He is said to have been honoured by the family of Sāmantasimha. The last line contains the date of the record, Wednesday, the 4th of the bright half of Jyēṣṭha in the (Vikrama) year 1320.

I am first inclined to identify this Harihara with the one referred to by Sōmeśvaradeva, the Rājapurōhita of the Chāyā in his poems Kirttikaumudī. (canto I, v. 25) and Surathī (canto XV, v. 44). But the poetry in the inscription is of a different order and does not seem to be the work of a good poet praised by Sōmeśvaradeva. One Mōkshāditya (which name is synonymous with Mōkshārka) is said to have composed the Bhīmarājanīyāyōga in V. S. 1329. Our Harihara who was the son of Mōkshārka as the record tells us may be his son if the date allows that.

Udaya mentioned in our inscription was the famous Udaya who was intimately connected with Kumārpāla and his preceptor Hemachandra as related in Jain chronicles. He came from Srīmalā for business purposes in Gujarāt during the time of Karṇa and was made one of the ministers. He was made governor of Stambha-tīrtha (Cambay) by Siddharāja Jaiśimha. Kumārpāla, when he was in distress and had the

1. It was built in V. S. 1305 as an inscription of that date on the temple shows (Cousin's List of Ant. Ren., p. 358). Salaksha must have been born before, died some time before this date.

Cambay for fear of Siddharāja,¹ was very much helped by this Udayana, whom out of gratitude Kumārapāla made his prime minister when he got the throne. Udayana was sent against Sausara, king of Saurāṣṭra, but in the fight Kumārapāla's army was defeated and Udayana was mortally wounded.² We have found no inscription where Udayana is mentioned as Kumārapāla's prime minister. His earliest minister we know of from inscriptions was Mahādēva.³ Besides the present one there are some more inscriptions⁴ found on the Girnar hill which give an account of Udayan's family. He had four sons, Vāhaḍa, Āmbada, Chāhaḍa and Salaksha. In Jain chronicles various confusing accounts are given of the first three brothers and it is difficult to elicit trustworthy account of them. It is sufficient to note that Vāhaḍadēva, Kumārapāla's prime minister mentioned in the Nāḍol plate⁵ of V. S. 1213, is most probably the eldest son of Udayana.⁶ Chāhaḍa's son Padmasimha had three sons, according to the present inscription, but one more according to another inscription.⁷ His wife's name is generally given as Prathimaḍēvi.⁸ But it is given as Bimbiḍēvi in the above mentioned inscription. If Prithima is a corruption of Sanskrit Pratimā which is very likely the case then Pratimā and Bimba

1. History of Gujarat p. 182 ff.

2. Ibid p. 186.

3. Nos. II and IV above.

4. Cousen's List of Antiquarian Remains in Bom. Pres. pp. 351 and 358.

5. Ind. Ant. Vol.

6. But I take this opportunity of correcting three mistakes occurring in the History of Gujarat p. 186 ff. in their account. The building of steps on the holy Girnar hill is attributed by Prabhāvakacharita and Prabandhachintāmaṇi to Vāgaḍa or Vāgbhaṭa. But we know from two inscriptions on Girnar of V. S. 1222 and 1223 (Cousen's list of Antiquarian remains in Bom. Pres. p. 359) that the builder of steps was Ambāka who was the son of Rāṇiga. That Ambāka is also not to be confounded with Ambada, son of Udayana. A third mistake is that Udaya's son Chāhaḍa is supposed to have gone over to the side of Arnorāja and fought against Kumārapāla. But the rebel was a different man named Chāhaḍakumār who was, as the Prabandha Chaturviṃśati says, a Mālava prince.

7. Cousen's List of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, p. 351.

8. As in this Kantela inscription and in the Girnar inscription of V. S. 1305. See ibid p. 358.

are synonymous. One of her four sons named Sāmantasīma the cause of our inscription.

Our inscription helps us to know of the religious history of the time. The fact that the images of both the Brahmanical faith and the Jain faith were established by the same individual who was a Jain, speaks of the very friendly relations between the followers of the two faiths. The two other inscriptions on G above referred to mention that Sāmantasīma had established Jain images also. It is well known that the famous minister Vastupāla, who lived only a few years before the time of this inscription had built both Jain and Brahmanical temples.¹

As regards the calculation of the date given in the record it is to be noted that the week-day does not correspond with that given in the record. The day given is Wednesday while on the 4th Śudi 4 of V. S. 1320 the day is seen to be Thursday and the corresponding Christian date was 1st May 1264 A.D. It is possible to explain this discrepancy by supposing that the *tithi* given in the record is the true astronomical *tithi*, which is employed for certain ceremonies. The astronomical *tithi* generally begins on the day preceding the civil *tithi*, and in fact gives its number the latter being that counted at sunrise on the civil *tithi*. In the present record the ceremony may have actually taken place on Wednesday, 30th April 1264 after the astronomical Śud 4 commenced, which it did about 10 minutes after sunrise on Wednesday.

TEXT²

१. ओं^३ ॥ स्वस्तिमानस्तु दैत्यारिगुप्तो धर्ममहीरुहः । महेन्द्रादिपदं यत्नं
ज्वलं फलं ॥ १ श्रीश्रीमालकुले मंत्री प
२. वित्रीकृतभूतलः । उदयो नाम शीतांशुसितकीर्तिरजायत ॥ २ जं
गभीरस्ततः श्रीचाहडोऽभवत् । प ॥ ^४
३. प्रसिंहं कुलद्योतिसुतरत्नमसूत यः ॥ ३ बभूव पद्मसिंहस्य गुरुभक्त
प्रिया पृथिमदेवीति मैथिली ॥

1. See Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI, p. 494.
2. From an impression in the Watson Museum, Rajkot.
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. These strokes in this line as in some of the following lines engraved by the engraver simply to fill up the space.

४. व रघुप्रभोः ॥ ४ तयोन्नयोऽभवन्पुत्राः सुत्रामगुरुवामिनः । मिथः प्रीतिजुषां
त्रेपां न त्रिवर्गोपमेयतां ॥ ५ ज्या
५. यान्महणासिंहोभूत्सलक्षस्तेषु चानुजः । लेभे सामंतसिंहस्तु कनिष्ठज्येष्ठतां^१
तयोः ॥ ६ श्रोवीसलमहीपालः श्री ॥
६. सलक्षकरांजुजम् । चक्रे सौराष्ट्रकरणस्वर्णमुद्रांशुभासुरं ॥ ७ स लाटदेशाधिकृतः
प्रभोस्तस्यैव शासनात् । दधौ दिव्यां
७. तनुं रवात्यक्तभूतमयाकृतिः ॥ ८ श्रेयसे प्रेयसस्तस्य भ्रातुः सामंतमंत्रिणा ।
सलक्ष[ना]रायण^२ इत्यस्यापि प्रतिमा हरेः
८. ॥ ९ रैवताचलचूले च श्रीनेमिनिलयाग्रतः । प्रांशुप्रासादमस्थापि विंशं पार्श्व-
जिनेशितुः ॥ १० यथा वीसलभूपा
९. लः सुराष्ट्राधिकृतं व्यधात् । सामंतसिंहं सचिवं तथैवार्जुनभूपतिः ॥ ११ स
जातु जलधेस्तीरे पथि द्वारवतीपतेः । शु ॥
१०. श्राव रेवतीकुंडमिदं कालेन जर्जरं ॥ १२. निजप्रभावबीजेस्मिन् पूर्वं हि किल
रेवती[।*] चिक्रीड सह कांतेन वेलावनवि
११. [हा]रिणी ॥ १३ अत एतन्महातीर्थं जननीश्रेयसेमुना । नवैरुपलसोपानैः सुर-
वापीसमं कृतं ॥ १४ गणेशक्षेत्रपाला ॥
१२. कंचंडिकामातृभिः समं । कारितौ कृतिना चेह महेशजलशायिनौ ॥ १५ किं
चात्र सच्चरित्रेण रेवतीवलदेवयोः [।*]
१३. अस्थापि मूर्तियुगलं नवायतनपेशलं ॥ १६ अकारि कूपक्रोव्याःस्मिन्नरघट्टमनोहरः ।
धयंति धेनवो यस्य निपाने ।
१४. बु सुधासखं ॥ १७ रेवतीग्रहमुज्झंति शिशवो यत्र मज्जनात् । तदेतदस्तु
कल्पांतसाक्षि सामंतकीर्त्तनं ॥ १८ ख
१५. नेत्रानलशीतांशुमिते विक्रमवत्सरे । ज्येष्ठे सितचतुर्थ्यां जे मूर्त्तमेतत्प्रातिष्ठितं ॥ १९
प्रशस्तिमेतां सा
१६. मंतमंत्रिगोत्रस्य पूजितः । मोक्षार्कधीमतः सूनुश्चक्रे हरिहरः कविः ॥ २० ॥
मंगलं महा श्रीः ॥
१७. संवत् १३२० वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि ४ बुधे । प्रतिष्ठा

1. Read कनिष्ठज्येष्ठतां.

2. The metre is incorrect here.

(14)

BHARĀNĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADEVA OF V. S. 1327

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇapati at the village called Bharāṇā in the Khambhājia of the Navānagar State in Kāthiāwār. It was once published in the Pkt. and Skt. Inscriptions of Kāthiāwār p. 204, but its date and the name of the Chaulukya sovereign to whose reign it belonged, were wrongly read. It was supposed to be dated 1275 and hence to refer to the reign of Bhīma (II). But I think that it is a clear mistake. The name of the sovereign is Arjunadeva and the date is 132 [7]. The unit figure in the date is doubtful but there is no doubt about the other figures. The last lines in the record are very indistinct.

The language of the inscription is *Sanskrit*, and the characters *Nāgarī*. Nothing requires to be noted of the orthography. The word *Sīha* is used throughout for *Siṃha*.

The record opens with the date, the year 132[7] of the [Vikrama] era. The *tithi* and the month cannot well be ascertained but it looks to be the third day of the bright half of the month of drapada. It then refers itself, as said above, to the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Arjunadeva, the sovereign ruler of Anahilavāḍa. Then are mentioned the names of two officers, (Pālha) Sāmantasimha, who were appointed to rule jointly over Saurāshṭra.

Two officers under these named Arisimha and [Jaya]simha who were appointed to govern Bhadrāṇaka, which must be modern Bharāṇā, where the inscription was found, made a gift by a charter of a well of Mātārādēvi (?) for the provision of water to the cattle and of some *drammas* every year for some purpose which is not clear.

From the Kāṇṭelā inscription of V. S. 1320, of the same king, published above, (No. XIII) we know that Sāmantasimha was appointed viceroy over Saurāshṭra. By the time of this inscription it seems that a senior joint officer was appointed to rule over Saurāshṭra along with him. His name cannot be clearly read, if it is Pālha, he must be the same viceroy mentioned in the following inscriptions.

It may be noted that four other inscriptions of the king have been discovered, two of V. S. 1320,¹ one of 1328² and one of 1330,³ which last from Girnar is published below. One more inscription of the king of V. S. 1320 is found in the Sirohi State but it is not certain whether it belongs to this Arjunadēva.⁴

TEXT⁵

१. आ^६ [संवत्] १३२[७] वर्षे [भाद्रपद ? शुदि ३]... येह श्रीमदणहि
२. लपाटकाधिष्ठितसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहारा
३. जाधिराजश्रीमदर्जु[जुन]देवकल्याणविजयराज्ये श्रीसौ
४. राष्ट्रदेशे नियुक्त म[हं०]श्री [ठ०पाल्ह?] ठ० श्री साम्ब[त]सीह
५. यो[:*] आदेशेन भ[द्रा]णके महं० श्री अरिसीह ठ० श्री [ज]
६. [य]सीहाभ्यां श्रीमातरादेवीवापिकायाः पत्रशासनं का
७. रितं । [गवां पानी ?] य पि-नार्थ भद्राणकमंडपिका[यां]—
८. —के द्र० ८ !श्री.....वर्ष प्रति
९.

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1. Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI, p. 147; ibid Vol. XI, p. 242.
 2. Antiquity of Kaccha by Khakhar p. 89.
 3. No. XVII, below.
 4. Gaurishankar Ojha's History of Sirohi State, p. 141.
 5. From two impressions in the Bhavnagar Museum.
 6. Expressed by a symbol.
 7. Read सामंत.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE VEDAS
WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE 33rd CHAPTER
OF THE

AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆAM

(R. N. Sūryanārāyaṇa)

The ever increasing passion for learning has pressed scholars to dive deep into the unparalleled sacred books of Brāhmaṇa land. The modern scientific principles and inventions can also assist us to interpret properly the vedic texts, expound the hidden meaning conveyed by them and understand by the ancient sages.

As science and religion appear, *prima facie*, to be contradictory to each other to those who are not well versed in both, much care has to be taken in making attempts to understand the truth of the Brāhmaṇadharma. As science is a *phases* Religion, those modern scientists who fail to realise the ultimate truth revealed in the Vedas should be cautious in giving to the public the results of their finite attempts made to penetrate the infinite. Of all the sciences psychology pretends to be the most related to Religion; therefore Psychologists form the first rank among scientists whose proud and successful experiments conducted in the laboratory make them obstinate about the real truth. Even the psychological subtleties can never be demonstrated in the laboratory and the questions like 'how' and 'why' remain, even to-day, unanswered.

Though Brāhmaṇadharma is beyond the reach of psychology and allied sciences, they are not antagonistic to each other. Science can be compared to the children's play which is ever changing in its limited province but which is delightful and interesting to those who take part in it.

Many branches of modern sciences have not yet come to a definite common understanding, regarding the truth of natural phenomena and therefore of the Brāhmaṇadharma. The so-called modern Sanskrit scholars have not, unfortunately, been endowed with modern scientific out-look. Such scholars who are familiar with certain branches of sciences as well as Sanskrit language have been pouring out their erroneous

to grasp the reality of the situation but to interpret it in their own way which may not be true in its entirety. Mr. V. G. Rele has taken much pains and trouble—for which we should thank him—to view the Vedic Gods from the biological point. No doubt, Mr. Rele has correctly interpreted things as they are, but his speculations are entirely blocked by the material out-look, and therefore, they do not reflect the universality and divinity of the things in question. Most of the learned translators like Dr. A. B. Keith etc., have taken the superficial meanings of the Vedic Texts in the same manner as they would do in the case of ordinary classical Sanskrit literary pieces. The Vedic Texts are abstruse and never yield, under ordinary circumstances, their intended right meaning, to the prejudicial alien minds, whether oriental or occidental.

I would suggest, therefore, that some scholars, learned in several branches of modern sciences, arts, Sanskrit, Philology etc., that are the several phases of the rational aspect of the Brāhmaṇadharma and of Acāras that are the practical aspect of the same, should gather together to interpret the Vedas and enlighten the world with their many-sided and infallible explanations and interpretations. Mr. H. A. Shah's astronomical interpretation of Vedic Gods too has been a guide to us¹.

Here I wish to offer my humble quota before this august assembly of erudite and recondite scholars of Oriental learning.

The question of the date of the Vedas has been purposely omitted here as it is premature to take it up now when the great majority of scholars appear to have presupposed certain things for practical purposes or otherwise irrespective of the truth of things.

Similarly the authorship of the Vedas has been disputable. The great Sāyaṇācārya and his predecessors have tried their utmost to explain away the complications in a manner known and suited to them. Many of the present-day modern scholars appear to have disagreed totally with them without entering into their depths.

The incomprehensive problems may be comprehended and solved in this age of modern science by modern scholars aided

1, Vide Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XVII, pt. II.

by the principles of the material radio and other inventions and discoveries, which enable us to apply the same to know the mystery of the Apauruṣeyatva and Śrutitva of the beginningless, all-pervading and omnipresent eternal Vedas.

It is cited and admitted by ancient commentators and several sages realised certain portions of the Vedas on the ground that those portions contain a reference to the (seemingly) names of the seers—or composers according to some scholars—to-day—of Hymns. The Pūrvamīmāṃsakas never admit that the Vedas were originated even from the Almighty as opposed to the view of the Uttaramīmāṃsakas. The Modern radio and other inventions of the past, present and future may lead us in the right path to prove, to a considerable extent, the doctrine of both the Mīmāṃsakas.

Mr. V. G. Rele has already paved the way of interpreting the Vedas from the biological standpoint. Though his explanation is dreadfully silent about the divinity and the universe (Brahma-māṇḍa) as a whole, its method of interpretation serves as a model to us.¹ Similar attempts can be made to understand the mystery of the Vedas from several scientific points of view backed up by the religious wisdom. Even a deep study of æsthetics, fine arts, psychology, philosophy, physics, chemistry, biology etc., may fail to let us imbibe anything about the divinity of Brāhmaṇadharma that is beyond their capacity to understand. However, an ardent student of Brāhmaṇadharma with a knowledge of philology may conveniently be assisted by various branches of sciences to understand and explain the nature and mysterious ways of Brāhmaṇadharma as revealed in the Vedas.

The episode that goes by the title of Sunaḥśepa Upaśruti narrated in the 33rd chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇam portion of the Vedas may enlighten us on the genuineness of the sacred texts, provided it is commented upon with deep insight. A superficial survey over the texts does not only suggest a peculiarity peculiar to the most ancient books of the world, but does considerably mar the dignity and merits of the same. The object of this paper is to place before the public the exegesis of the Vedas.

1. Mr. H. A. Shah, B.A., of Bombay has ventured to give an interpretation of Vedic Gods. (Vide B. O. R. Institute, Poona, Vol. I, pt. II.)

a special reference to a single episode mentioned in the 33rd chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇam. The story runs as follows when viewed as an ordinary piece of literature.

THE STORY

There lived a king by name Hariścandra Vaidhasa, the Aikṣwāka. Though he had one hundred wives he was issueless. In his house, there lived two sages known as Nārada and Parvata. Being requested by the king, Nārada disclosed in a discourse the advantages of begetting children and advised him to pray to Varuṇa for a son whom he would offer, in return, to the deity. Accordingly the king offered his prayers to Varuṇa and was blessed with a son Rohitāśwa by name. The king did not like to part with his son soon after his birth and put off sacrificing him under reasonable and convincing excuses each time when Varuṇa demanded a sacrifice, until the boy was allowed to pass his 16th year. Whereupon the secret was disclosed to him. He ran away from the palace and migrated into the forest. While he was roaming in the jungle, he came to know that his father was suffering from dropsy, consequent upon his failure to keep his promise. Whenever Rohitāśwa made up his mind to return to his father's abode, Indra, the lord of Heaven, disguised himself as a Śrotriya and advised him to keep on wandering, eulogising at the same time the great benefit that one may derive from travel. Thus the prince attempted five times to return but each time he was prevented from doing so. While he found himself as a traveller for the sixth time, he saw accidentally a hermitage where he interviewed a sage called Ajigartha, son of Suyavas, who had three sons known as Śunaḥpucchah, Śunaḥśepah and Śunolāngūlah. The prince proposed to pay one hundred and get rid of his distress through one of the sons of the sage. Ajigartha conceded to the proposal and gave away the middle son after deliberate consideration of Dharma and the instinct of his wife regarding the choice of the son. Rohitāśwa accompanied by Śunaḥśepa approached his father who made preparations to perform a Soma sacrifice with the Brāhmaṇa boy as the victim. The priests were invited and the sacrifice began. When the victim was about to be tied and dissected, neither the authorised priest nor any man in the

assembly stood up to bind the human being and draw out life. Ajigartha himself rose, and demanding one hundred each service he bound him to the sacrificial post and was ready with sword in hand to dissect his body. Then Śunaḥśepa observed the crisis and began to offer his final prayers to Prajāpati and several deities at the instruction of each deity in turn. While he was reciting concluding prayers to Uṣas his ties were loosened and he as well as the sacrificer were released from their bondages. Then the sacrifice had to be abruptly closed at a miracle, violating the formal injunctions of the Veda. At the request of the priests Śunaḥśepa conducted the rest of the ceremony and brought it to a close in the method thought of by him in conformity with the rational perspective of sacrifice.

Śunaḥśepa then, considering what family he should approach, approached Viśvāmitra who honoured him. Ajigartha desirous of getting his son back appealed to the higher sense of Śunaḥśepa who in his turn being backed up by Viśvāmitra rejected the request of Ajigartha and made his seeming criminal offer clear to him and snubbed him. Next, Śunaḥśepa asked Viśvāmitra to expound the process of changing from one family to another which he had himself undergone. Viśvāmitra offered both his spiritual and material wealth to him besides giving him the station of the eldest son. In order to have his proposal confirmed by his own sons he asked, at the request of Śunaḥśepa, his one hundred sons to endorse his opinion. Fifty elder sons disagreed with their father and were consequently cursed to enter into births in the last Niśad class, which comprised Pundras, the Pulindas, the Śabarās, the Mutibas, etc., and grew issueless. The fifty younger sons submissively agreed and were blessed by Viśvāmitra and lived happily with Śunaḥśepa at their head who inherited the characteristics of both old and new families.

The merits and uses of the episode form the concluding portion of this section. According to which this episode is to be recited by the Hotṛ, approbated by the Adhvaryu before the sacrificer, invariably in all the sacrifices performed by him. The honorarium is to be paid by the sacrificer befitting his capacity and wealth. The listener of this episode will surely be blessed with issues and success.

Such is the simple story related in the 33rd chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Though it is in the form of a story, it cannot be admitted that it is a narration of the past events. The verbs used in the past tenses should not be commented upon literally in accordance with the rules of classical grammar. In the Vedas past tenses are used in the place of present tenses, Pāṇini, the great grammarian and philologist has not forgotten to make mention the peculiar usages of the past tenses in the Vedas. Bearing this in mind, one may presume that this narration of events that generally occur in life, guides and sets an example to the adherers to the Brāhmaṇadharma so that one may commit this to memory, know such psychological and instinctive tendencies of human life,² draw lessons on methods of adjustments, and amendments and cultivate tolerance and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

In this small section there are a great many problems relating to sacrifices solved by wisdom of the quintessence of the Upaniṣads that have been appended to-day as the third or fourth division of the Veda. It is a fact that all the four divisions of the Veda and all the four Vedas are inter-related and inter-dependent. There is nothing like Saṃhita, Brāhmaṇa, Aranyaka and Upaniṣads being different from one another. The chronological classification of the Vedas into Rgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda is not a genuine one. These divisions and classifications of the Vedas were first attempted by Vedavyāsa for practical purposes of learning and reciting them easily by several individuals who were unable to commit to memory the whole of the Veda. Since then it has been conventionally followed by later generations. Yet, from the point of view of Yajña and the practical aspects of Brāhmaṇadharma, no Śrotriya could dispense with any particular branch of the Veda. The Purvakāṇḍa and the Uttarakāṇḍa are interdependent so as to present a rational interpretation of the Brāhmaṇadharma.

Though this episode is included in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas it is not free from references to Saṃhita or Upaniṣads. It is quite obvious that Jñāna and Karma go hand in hand. Both are intertwined. It is explicitly stated in the Gitā that Jñāna is also a kind of Yajña. The very word Karma Yoga reveals that

Karma and Jñāna are the two terminals of the same Dharma united by devotion 'Bhakti' or love. The great sage Apastamba who advocates the cause of Śrotriya-karma does not forget to dilate upon Atmalābha which is indispensable to the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. people) in general. It is his impartial treatment of Karma-kāṇḍa and Jñāna-kāṇḍa which are, in his view, interdependent, that has conferred on him the highest distinction on earth.

Most of the Vedic texts are in the form of Aphorisms (Sūtras). The exposition of the meaning of a single condensed form of composition runs into several volumes. The rules, interpretations and explanations are also framed by certain sages who were conscious of the intentions of Sacred injunctions in their sayings.

The names referred to in the Vedas are not at all really names of persons that were once in the mortal world. They possess both denotation and connotation. They are the symbols of a genus, the supreme Universal soul, and chosen here to present certain characteristic features of the Self in different conditions. They may serve as algebraical symbols for purposes of illustrating by means of Arthavāda such of the principles of the Brāhmaṇadharma and of the way of life as are difficult to understand directly from the general injunctions of the Vedas. If psychology coupled with philology could enable us to interpret them as representing the activities of the individual soul and mind, it will be a glorious achievement. The knowledge of physics, chemistry, biology, economics, law, politics etc., is essential to understand the spirit of the sayings of the sages who work on Brāhmaṇadharma.

The word Hariścandra is like an algebraical symbol. It may represent any man or king possessing a clear conscience and religiously bent of mind. His being the son of Vasiṣṭha and born in the race of Ikṣvāku indicates that generally kings are understood to have directly sprung from the Creator, Ikṣvāku etc., (cf. Nāviṣṭu Prithivīpatiḥ). In later ages we find kings styling themselves as belonging to the races of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun and the Moon represent also characteristic features of those kings. They are the primary symbols or emblems as it were.

It is said that Nārada and Parvata resided in his house (Gr̥hē ūṣatuḥ). Nārada and Parvata mean simply the nature and activities of the mind of the person. In other words it may be said that the mind of a hariścandra man is endowed with steadiness or firmness of mind (Parvataḥ, Sthitaprajñatā) and imagination, flashing intellect or intuition (Nārada). If he devotedly and seriously considers an intricate problem he will be able to find out correct solutions for himself as though they are intuitively perceived by him (cf. Yam Rakṣitumicchanti Buddhya saṃyojayanti tam). This may be both subjective or internal and objective or external. Wherever Nārada is introduced in Sanskrit literature we can positively take it in the sense of activity of the mind within or without. Rohitāśwa too is symbolic and general. Etymologically it means a person having or representing red rays. This may correspond with the term Bālasūrya that can be applied to any baby resembling the glory of the Sun.

Ajigartha may point out a sage who sleeps over the material comforts (cf. Yasyām jāgrati bhūtāni tasyām nidrāti Saṃyamī). He may look distressed with poverty as depicted here. Suppose he is a household man possessing three sons who are equally glorious, learned, noble and self-sacrificing. In consistency with their blissful nature and character they may be named Śunaḥ-pucchaḥ, Śunaḥśepaḥ, Śunolāngūlaḥ. The terms are significant and clear in their meanings. The word śunaḥ denotes bliss and 'Puchcha' etc., mean piece or little. The Vedas describe here a family of learned men of divinity to be found in all ages and places, capable of dealing with extraneous problems of life and sacrifices, that could spare even their lives for the sake of humanity and divinity. There may be even to-day many living beings imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice.

The so called names of priests too are to be taken as signifying terms. The words like Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Ayasya and Vasiṣṭha clearly point out the distinguishing features of persons who could be entrusted with several posts in a sacrifice at all times and in all places. The etymological explanations too are very clear to us. A Viśvāmitra is one who pleases the world as well as the divine beings with proper prayers or Hymns.

A Jamadagni is one through whom the fire god has to come the offerings. One who does not labour hard and who is singing happily and with ease the Hymns of the Veda is called an Ayasya. That sage who commands control over all branches of knowledge or several subordinate learned men with mastery over all theoretical as well as practical portions of knowledge is called a Vasiṣṭha.

The term Devarāta is like Devadatta standing for any person in similar circumstances. The hotṛtva of Viśvāmitra enable us to explain the idea connoted by the word Madhuchchanda, used in a sense of being his son. A Madhuchchanda man is one who has a sweet voice or one who possesses a special aptitude for metres, or who recites sweetly the metrical stanzas. Madhuchchanda is invariably connected with Viśvāmitra. Many Hymns in the Vedas cite a reference to this word as well as many other words taken to mean the names of persons. In reality they do not denote any seer or composer but connote peculiar qualities of the Absolute Self manifesting Himself in various conditions reflected in several Vedic Hymns. These terms may throw light upon certain minute psychological and logical factors etc., well founded on divinity.

To say that Viśvāmitra was once a king who changed his royalty to divinity in course of one and the same life is to impress us with the idea that a rajas soul may strive to exercise its pauruṣa (power) to attain the next higher, sattva stage, by means of reciting the hymns or mantras just as a sātṛwika soul rises to the highest stage of divinity by means of devoted prayers. Viśvāmitra's possession of hundred sons is also problematical. The fifty-first son is called Madhuchchanda. The rest are unknown. Who they are and what they are, is not mentioned. This may also suggest that all of them are to be interpreted as qualities. As soon as a divine man (Deva) joins him he casts aside all his auxilliary qualities and assumes them considering that they are befitting the nature of his characteristics, comprising the Pundras, the Pulindas, Śābaras, the Andhras, the Mutibas etc., varieties that are of the nature, the proper substratum of such qualities as greed, disobedience, worldly attachment etc. But this is very

to be realised. Even if we take it for granted that a man may actually have one hundred sons, it will be clear to us that he will be ready to dissociate with unworthy sons, and the sons who care more for worldly possessions notwithstanding their learning and dignity will fall down degraded and degenerated and change to a life of lowest class in this very life or in a life to come.

The relative merits of things, a man may possess in this world are expounded in this section. The possessions like Annam, Vāsaḥ, Hiraṇyam, paśavaḥ, Jāyā, duhitā, and putraḥ are spoken of as prāṇaḥ, śaraṇam, rūpam, vivāhaḥ, sakhā, kṛpanam and jyotiḥ respectively. All these are in ascending or descending order in accordance with points of view of their intrinsic or extrinsic values. Duhitā is said to be kṛpanam which many commentators and translators take to mean misery or sorrow. Our limited experiences may prove what we mean. But in reality our experience may be disproved. A woman is described in the following gathas as 'ēṣā ābhūtiḥ ēṣā vō janani punaḥ' which show her high position. The Vedas look very highly upon ladies. A duhitā is as essential a factor as a putraḥ for the existence and continuance of life and the world. Therefore the Vedas can never be partial to putraḥ alone and ridicule the duhitṛ saying that she is misery incarnate. The parents without courage, endurance and wisdom may attach themselves closely to their daughters and be disappointed of their ambitions, and consequently they may inflict misery on themselves. In the eye of the Veda or the Almighty both the son and the daughter are equal. Of course there may be some difference between them. But the disparity should not be too extensive. When the wife is taken as friend by the husband, what should the position of his issue through her be? A female child is Kṛpanam and a male child is jyotiḥ. In the group of things characterised here the latter ones are associated always with all the previous ones together with their merits. For example vāsaḥ indicates not only itself but annam too. Jāyā may be considered independently and also being associated with annam, prāṇaḥ; vāsaḥ, śaraṇam; hiraṇyam, rūpam; and paśavaḥ, vivāhaḥ. While all possessions are extolled, there

can be no reason why a duhitṛ who is enumerated as the owner of the possessions, should be devoid of her merits. So it is clear that the word should not be interpreted in a sense common to imperfect human beings and scholars. I cannot say that the great Sāyaṇāchārya too was not in favour of duhitṛ and lay down upon her. As the term duhitṛ precedes Jyotiḥ it must be associated with jyotiḥ which includes also kṛpaṇa. Etymologically speaking 'kṛpaṇa' is derived from the root kṛp. Kṛpā as kṛpām anithī meaning a thing which draws out mercy or a similar feeling or emotion. According to Bhavabhūti 'eko rakṣaṇa ēva' manifests different sentiments like śṛṅgāra, etc. Kṛpā may be taken here, to represent some of the merits and kṛpaṇa as rasavat. Consequently kṛpaṇa may without complication mean rasavat or rasapada, pleasurable or delightful. An adjective appropriate with 'duhitṛ = (rasam) dogdhi iti'.

The comprehensive meaning of the word Brāhmaṇa may also be attempted likewise. Many are under the impression that the Vedas do make mention of the people of the four classes in a sense in which the people at present are led to believe. It must be admitted that the universal sacred text books as the Vedas never intend saying that x, y or z belong to particular classes. In the Vedas, all the people of several classes and communities are impartially treated. It is clearly pointed out how the diversified universal soul could choose a particular variety in consistency with its desire and enjoy learning, physical power, trade, servitude and animal passion etc. severally or jointly. So the five words like Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. may primarily denote the chief characteristics of all beings both animate and inanimate (for we find them in trees, plants, planets, deities etc.) and secondarily the ways and conditions of all mortals.

Creatures are wont to embrace all the five characteristics in the main, and specialise any one of them in the various process of involution. Therefore, for the practical purpose of civilisation (vyavahāranīti) the specialised characteristics are considered to be determinating factors. Notwithstanding this classification it should be remembered that each in its nature is not wholly free from other characteristics. The motto

arms, the thighs, the feet and outskirts represent the five-fold functions of souls. All are indispensable to the conditioned souls. That the divine service of making the victim lifeless has been undertaken by a great sage and it is spoken by another as a function befitting a person of the characteristics of servitude is clearly expressed in this episode. The refutation of the young sage does not attempt to accuse the great sage, but it suggests that such functions are considered as divine, and from that divine service no one should retire or violate. (Shaudrāt nyāyāt nāpāgāḥ.) This clearly supports that the five-fold characteristics stated above are common to all five-fold specialised classes. The story of the religious hunter narrated in the Bhārata evidently endorses this view-point.

In the episode it is mentioned that Rohita is instructed by Indra in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa. The word Brāhmaṇa means a Śrotriya according to the statement made by R. who has been prompted by the Almighty as it were. (R=Rohita)

In the statement 'putram brāhmaṇa icchadhvam,' brāhmaṇa has been rightly interpreted as vipra kṣatriyādayāḥ so much so the word brahma applies to all persons on earth.

In regard to the fifth class of people, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa enumerates certain tribes possessing such characteristics as pun-draḥ, Pulindaḥ, Andhraḥ, Mūtibāḥ etc. that may form the species of the whole niṣāda characteristics a section of those pancajanāḥ mentioned in the Veda. The formation of these tribes has been due to certain vices on the part of the individuals. The high-souled man may fall down at any moment, in this very life or in a life to come, and be born as any low-souled man in proportion to his commissions and in consistency with his choice, conscious or unconscious, active or passive and ignorant or illusory.

The present births of people in any class are liable to change. People of high births in the scale may not be proud of their superiority. A lawful inferior is thousand times better than a lawless superior. If both the superior and the inferior act lawlessly they go down deeper and deeper into darker infernal regions. A niṣāda is as good as a śrotriya and the like. We may conclude that the word Brāhmaṇa is a common word comprising all human creatures on earth, especially all those that follow the Vedas or the Brāhmaṇacāra.

P. O. 4-4

The Vedas are not partial to any one of the Āśramas. The apparent superiority of other Āśramas to Gārhastya has been questioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇam, which reflects on the glory of Gārhastya. (Kinnu malam, kimajinam, kimu sma- kim tapaḥ, putram brāhmaṇa icchadhvam sa vai loko'vadāva-

In conformity with this observation Āpastamba too concludes judiciously saying 'natajjyaiṣṭhyamāśramāṇām', meaning the last āśrama can never claim superiority over the āśramas of a grhastha.

Thus we see how we can attempt to elicit beautiful clear meaning from the texts and be enlightened. It is easy to say that such an interpretation is rather spasmodic. But a deep insight can never fail to grasp the beauty and precision of such interpretation of the universal texts that hold for all times and places. The authors of rules of interpretation (paribhāṣā) do admit certain peculiarities of interpretation. With the help of their works and methods we will not go wrong in our endeavour to take things from the point of view of modern revealed scientific methods and principles. This present episode is a treasure of gems of both spiritual and material lessons.

ITS TEACHINGS

(i) *The Glory of Begetting Issues*

The first and the foremost thing that rises before our mind is the glory of begetting issues. The Creator Himself wanted to become many and He has so arranged that He could accomplish His desire by constructing a most wonderful and miraculous mechanism introduced in the body of all living beings.

A perusal of the text brings before us three sets of different families in different circumstances:—(a) A parent without issues and anxiously awaiting the birth of a son that it be for sacrificing him. (b) Another in the forest has been bestowed upon with three blissful sons of whom preferably the middle one—in harmony with the precepts of the Veda and natural instinctive laws—is liable to be given up by the parent voluntarily for the sake of divinity and royalty. The son is sent forward without any complaint on his part. (c) The third parent possesses one hundred sons but in addition to these

inclined to take dispassionately one more as his own son giving him the status of the eldest son and disinheriting his one hundred sons. A close and keen observation of the circumstances of these three sets of families may drive home to the mind of men that the invaluable treasure that one can have in this life is an issue, a son, a glorious son of outstanding attainments. The first man aspires to procure a son even though he is to perish soon after his birth. The second family is proud of three blissful sons and at the same time is ready to part, without any hesitation, with one of them. The third man welcomes heartily a god-given man of supernatural power, neglecting the prosperity of his numerous sons.

(ii) *The Spirit of Self-sacrifice*

Viewing the same from different angles of vision, we see how the first man grows passionate about his son and cherishes side by side the thought of sacrificing him to the deity through the blessings of whom he begets him. His failure to keep up his promise results in his illness as a punishment for not having kept his word. The second man disposes of his son first and next he tries to fulfil the cause of sacrifice by offering his services to see that his son is finally given away to the deities in a sacrifice. His readiness of purpose and his deep insight together with the blissful character of his son elevate the son to the highest stage of divinity itself. The third man exchanges as it were a more glorious man with his fifty disobedient sons whom he sacrifices (necks out from his family) and who are terribly punished for having not realised the value of self-sacrifice. All these events are commendable and nothing is to be contemptuously looked down upon. The proper ways of gaining and losing sons are painted very well to teach the people the glory of self-sacrifice.

(iii) *The Object of Self-sacrifice*

Another lesson we imbibe from this is that a sacrifice can be performed with some definite object in view. The injunction *vyotistomena svargakāmo yajeta* may mean that *vyotistoma* should be performed by an authorised person desirous of *svarga* i.e., happiness, bliss or any desired object. It also suggests

that it can be performed, without any desire, for the good prosperity of the public at large or for pleasing the self. The institution of sacrifice reveals the truth that the Vedas are impregnated with optimism.

It has been inculcated that self-sacrifice is the underlying principle of all sacrifices. It is well founded on the theory of causation. Unless a person sacrifices himself in advance as a condition of investment or determines to do he cannot attain the good here and hereafter. It is the surest of remedies for one's suffering or suffering which is due to his own action and which disappears the moment one undertakes to perform "sacrifices" through which the presiding deities of all kinds of activities of man are pleased and set the conditions of the sacrificer at right. It is the same as saying that the sacrificer becomes pure and free from calamities or misery or obstructions. If we do any wrong to an individual intentionally or unintentionally our duty is to entreat him if we wish to be unstained from sin or injury. Suppose the same crime was committed in our previous life and we passed away without remedying it. Now in this life we are going to appease the injured souls with our offerings to the deities through whom the inflicted souls are pleased and get redressed our grievances which proceeded from our previous action of previous life.

A hariścandra man who is destined to be issueless or whose procreative faculty has been hindered by some cause could give a son on condition that he should, according to this episode, offer him to the deity in a sacrifice. That is, he should sacrifice himself; Ātmayajña or Ātmārpaṇa is the highest thing that a man could undertake to attain either spiritual perfection or material objects or both. To get life, life is to be given. But it is known that the deities are fond of human flesh and blood. What the deities demand from a mortal life is purity or sincerity in thought, speech and deed. Had the hariścandra man adhered to his promise, surely the divinity would have been pleased to restore his son back to life. As he failed to do so he suffered from serious illness which can also be cured by religion of psychology and of physiology, and he suffered separation from his son which in

amounts to the loss of his son. It is the law of nature, of cause and effect. Whether he be a student, merchant or any other man he has to forego his comforts (living) in order that he should earn his livelihood. In other words it means labour. It is a kind of sacrificing one's self. The spirit of self-sacrifice evinced forth by an ajigartha sage as well as a śunashēpa young soul is exemplary. An account of dadhici sage is also as good as this. Men of self-sacrificing nature are ready to help others as well as themselves. It is with mutual concord or concomitance between persons of various dispositions, the world can roll on smoothly for ever. If a man is wanting in something, there are others to comply with his desire. In fact the Bountiful Nature Herself may provide him with the necessaries.

(iv) *Substitution*

There are certain subtle problems of life when a person cannot sacrifice himself. Under such circumstances what one should do has been clearly set forth in this episode. The filial love towards his father on one side and love of his own life on the other, trouble Rohitaśwa very much. He is not wrong in cherishing simultaneously such opposite propositions, in his mind. Being pleased with sincerity of this individual soul, the great Almighty characterised as Indra, as it is in this instance, so arranges that the despondent man could solve the problem with the help of a sage and get over the conflict. The keynote of this is that a sacrifice may be performed by substituting another for one thing. This shall be disclosed to any man at any time under similar circumstances. The question of substitution is of paramount importance. Upon this fundamental principle the whole of economics, politics, sciences and arts are founded. Employing representatives, agents and the like is revealed first in the Vedas.

(To be continued)

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8. **Oriental and Linguistic Studies**: The Veda; The Avesta; The Science of Language by W. D. Whitney. New York 1874. Rs. 16

REVIEW

(1) *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka. Edited with a complete Translation into English, Introduction, Notes and Appendices. By R. D. Karmarkar, Principal and Professor of Sanskrit, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona. First Ed. Poona, 1937, Pp. I-XXXIII, 1-518. Demy price, 3/8/-.

(2) *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti. Edited with a complete Translation into English, Notes and Appendices. By D. R. Karmarkar, Principal and Professor, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona. 1935. Demy. price Rs. 3/-.

Principal Karmarkar's name is a house-hold word in the Student Community. His editions of various *Nāṭakas*, *Mahākāvya*s, philosophical texts, Vedic Selections, *Kāvya prakāśa*, etc. have immensely benefitted the student and teacher alike. His edition of *Mṛcchakaṭika*, therefore, is most welcome, for there was no other good edition printed before it and the Students found it very difficult to understand this drama which has

problems of its own. It is a drama of the people and not of royalty as other Sanskrit dramas are. Hence, many strange idioms and words describing the ordinary life of a gambler, a courtesan, etc., are a peculiarity of this drama. Again, the different kinds of *prākṛta* enhance the difficulty of a commentary. But Principal Karmarkar has tackled his task most successfully. In his learned introduction he deals with the authorship, date, etc., of the *Mr̥cchakaṭika* briefly. He has promised to give the detailed arguments in favour of his thesis that *Mr̥cchakaṭika* is a work of Daṇḍin. This theory was started by the late Prof. Pischel and upheld by the late Prof. Macdonell. But it found very strong opposition, as it was mainly based on two points that (a) the verse लिम्पति तमोऽगानि, etc. is found in *Mr̥cchakaṭika* (I. 34) and *Kāvyādarśa* (II. 226) both. Starting with the assumption that Daṇḍin has given only his own verses as illustrations in his *Kāvyādarśa*, *Mr̥cchakaṭika* was assigned to him; and (b) the State of society depicted in *Mr̥cchakaṭika* is similar to that depicted in *Kāvyādarśa*. Prof. Karmarkar advances 7 points in favour of his contention. But, unless we have an opportunity of examining the detailed exposition we cannot correctly judge the position. The late MM. Haraprasād Śastry, Jibanand Vidyasāgara, Prof. Konow, Keith, etc. have entered the arena of date, etc. and we are waiting for Prof. Karmarkar's paper in the Trivandrum Oriental Conference with great eagerness. The introduction further discusses the merits of the play and gives its critical appreciation and time-analysis, describes the state of society and examines the principal characters.

The Sanskrit text is accompanied by English translation on each page and critical notes are given after the text. The notes are thorough, elucidating all difficult points, giving parallel expressions and verses from classical Sanskrit works, allusions, etc. And they do not make a dry reading. For instance, the personal experience given by Prof. Karmarkar (p. 385) very well illustrates the irresistible craving for *Samvāhaka* for gambling. The five appendices at the end give definitions of dramatic terms, a collection of sayings from *Mr̥cchakaṭika*, a note on metre, a *pratika* index of verses and a list of difficult words.

The edition of *Mālatīmādhava* follows the same lines adopted in the *Mr̥cchakaṭika*. It shows the same amount of scholarship, care and solicitude for students' good as other works of Prof. Karmarkar.

The printing and get-up of both the works leave nothing to be desired and we heartily welcome these excellent editions by Principal Karmarkar.

The Editor

THE POONA ORIENTALIST

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Edited by

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अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ॠ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r	l	e	ai	o	au
इ	ब्	ण	न्	म्	च्	छ	ः	श्	ष्	स्	
ñ	ñ	ṇ	n	m	c	ch	m	h	ś	ṣ	s

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[No. 1

UṢṢIṢA AND CHATRA TURBAN AND UMBRELLA

(Ananda K. Coomaraswamy)

I have discussed the Buddhist *uṇhīso-sīso* in JRAS. 1928, pp. 829-838.¹ It was found that *uṣṣiṣa* in Brahmanical and *uṇhīso* in canonical Pali literature means invariably "turban".² For example, AV. XV. 2 where, in the description of the costume provided for the Vrātya, "day is the turban (*uṣṣiṣa*), night the hair";³ VS. XVI. 22 where Rudra is "turbaned" (*uṣṣiṣin*),⁴ and XXXVIII. 33, where "Aditi's girdle (*rāsnā*, probably=*raśanā*, cf. *raśmi*) is a turban (*uṣṣiṣa*) for Indrāṇi"; and M. II. 119 where King Pasenadi lays down his turban (*uṇhisan*) before approaching the Buddha, thereby acknowledging a greater king than himself. In D. III. 145 (*Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*) the Tathāgata as Mahāpurisa is *uṇhīso-sīso* = *uṣṣiṣa-śīrṣā*; and whatever this may mean, this *lakkhaṇa* has all the force of an iconographic prescription in the

1. With further references. See also *Technical Studies*, III. 76, note: and cf. Mus. P., "Le Buddha paré" in B'EFEO, 1928, pp. 153-278 and "note additionnelle."

With reference to the *lakkhaṇas* generally, T. W. Rhys Davis justly remarks that "Most of the marks...are probably mythological in origin, and three or four seem to be solar." (*Dialogues...*, 3, p.)

2. As we know from inscriptions, *uṇhīso* can also mean the "coping" of a railing.

3. We take this to imply that the Vrātya comes forth as Varuṇa (*para* Brahman) and assumes the character of Mitra (*apara* Brahman), i. e. that of Agni and/or the Sun, in the same way that Agni is "Varuṇa at birth, Mitra when kindled" (RV. V. 3. 1. cf. AV. XIII. 3. 13. "This Agni becomes Varuṇa in the evening, in the morning he becomes Mitra"). For the Vrātya as the inoperative (*avṛata*) Godhead now proceeding to operation (*vrata*) see my "Janaka and Yājñavalkya" in IHQ. XIII, 1937, pp. 274-277.

4. This description is realised in the turbaned Śiva of JRAS. 1928. Pl. V, fig. 6, facing p. 840.

later Buddhist art. It is not easy to see why this should have been taken to mean "with a head like a turban"; such analogous words as *vajra-bāhu* and *padma-pāṇi* meaning "an arm bearing a *vajra*" and "hand holding a lotus". We should, therefore, expect in art a realisation of the prescriptive *unhiso-siso* in the form of a "head provided with a turban", or possibly "crown". We meet in fact with turbaned Bodhisattvas (JRAS, 1928, Pl. V, fig. 5, facing p. 840) and with early references to the adornment of Buddha figures with jewels (*Mahāvastu*, XXXVIII, 62-64); and finally with a well-developed "Crowned Buddha" type, that of the Buddha as Cakravartin in the sense of the King of the World, the significance of which has been so admirably analysed by M. Mus (BE'FEO, 1928). It is, however, the monastic type of the Buddha, for which as such the insignia of royalty would be inappropriate, that forms the basis of the iconography. From this point of view, if the *unhiso* was to be represented, it had to be in some other way than as a turban or crown. What we actually find is that the earliest images are provided with a spiral hair-lock of the Kapardin type, and that a little later on, in the second century A.D., there comes into use a type with many short curls, corresponding to the tonsure described in J. I. 64-65 where the Buddha cuts off and casts into the air the "Jewel-crested turban" (*cūḷā-maṇi-veṭṭhanam*) which had been bound on his head by Vissakamma, and with it his hair, leaving only the short locks, curling to the right, which remained unchanged throughout the Buddha's life. In the *Buddhacarita*, VI. 57 the headdress is a "bright crown" (*citram mukutaṃ*), but the description of the trailing strands (when it is cast up into the air) shows that a turban is thought of. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikā*, text p. 467 it is asked "by reason of what gnosis is it that the Tathāgata's¹ *mūrdhny-uṣṇīṣa* shines" (*vibhāti*). The turban or crown cast into the air was received by Sakka (Indra) and kept in the "Shrine of the Jewel-crest (-ed Turban)" called the *Cūḷāmaṇi-cetiya*, in the Tāvātimsa heaven. Numerous representations occur of the "Enshrinement of the Turban-relic", showing the turban itself upon its altar (cf. JRAS. 1928, Pl. IV, figs. 2, 3, facing p. 840).

1. Viz. Jaladhara-garjita-ghoṣa-susvara-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusitaḥ, a name that combines the characteristics both of Cloud and Sun.

In the established iconography, the short curling locks are represented as covering, not merely a normal skull, but also a rounded protuberance which surmounts the skull; and it was understood that this protuberance represented what had been intended by the words *uṇhīso-sīso* and at a later date, we meet with references to a cult of the *uṇhīso* relic, represented by pieces of bone.¹ The interpretation was a mistaken one. I naturally dislike to say this, as much as I should dislike to emend a text; in general, Indian iconography is meticulously "correct", by which I mean consistent with itself and with the metaphysics on which it rests. In the present case, however, we have the ineluctable fact that *uṇhīsa* and *uṇhīso* had always been a headdress and not a part of the head;² and we can also see why and how, once the Buddha had been thought of as "a man" amongst men, rather than as the Universal Man and Sun of Men and Gods, and once, therefore, the monastic type of the figure had been established, it was not convenient to represent a turban or crown upon his head. Difficulties of this sort are always created by the humanistic interpretation of myths; considered as a man, for example, the only crown that could be worn by Christ was a crown of thorns (which thorns are analogically rays of solar light). On the other hand, once it had been, so to speak, decided to interpret the prescriptive *uṇhīso-sīso* in some manner consistent with the monastic type, and, therefore, as a peculiarity of the skull itself, the further development of which this protuberance became the source and seat of a flame of light was perfectly logical; and this aspect of the symbolism has been admirably studied by Dr. Kramrisch,—the *brahma-randhra* is now raised from its position in a normal cranium to a slightly higher position in the protuberance.³ At the same time, that the Bodhi-

1. To judge from the Mahākapi Jātaka (No. 407), in which the Bodhi-sattva receives royal obsequies, and a shrine (*cetiya*) is built for his skull, which receives honour (*pūjā*), the Buddha's skull-relic should have been called the *sīsa-kapāla dhātu*.

2. The head had indeed been thought of as "like an umbrella":—but we must emphasize that the terms *uṇhīsa-śīrṣā* and *chattrākāra-śīrṣā* are not grammatically comparable, and that we nowhere meet with any such expression as *uṇhīśākāra-śīrṣā* which would mean "with a head like a turban".

3. Kramrich, S., "Emblems of the Universal Being" in *Journ. Indian. Soc. Or. Art*, III. pp. 148-165, Dec. 1935.

sattva, who might have been "either" a teacher or a king, rejected the temporal power (offered to him by Māra,¹ as the kingdom of this world was offered by Satan to Christ) did not and could not alter the fact that as the Sun of Men and Eye in the World, he was essentially (and like every other Messiah and Avatar) "prophet, priest and king": and M. Mus has admirably shown that a cult of the royal Buddha as Cakravartin in this sense restored to the monastic figure those attributes of royalty which were inconsistent only with a historical interpretation of the myth. In this restoration of royal attributes, the original turban becomes, for the most part, a crown, without change of significance.

The word *uṣṇīṣa* is derived, according to Pāṇini VI. 1. 94, Vārtt. (*uṣṇam iṣate hinasti*) from *uṣṇa*, "heat" and *iṣ* in the sense of *hims*, to "strike". Supposing a turban worn by the Sun as a protection, as implied in RV. X. 27. 13 discussed below, this could mean either "that which radiates heat", or "that which repels heat".² It may be that both meanings inhere: a turban

1. Similarly by Mṛtyu to Naciketas in the Kāṭha Upanisad.
2. We assume that the first is the primary meaning. *iṣ* is a transitive desiderative from *i* to "go" and closely related to *iṣ* "let fly", whence *iṣu*, "arrow": the sun's rays are often thought of as arrows. Cf. RV. II. 71. 6 *āsadam deva eṣati*, "the God hurries to his seat" (the strewn *akāśa*). *Hinasti* is not necessarily "injures", but rather "strikes" in the sense of "sends forth", as for example, in Chaucer, *Boke of the Duchesse*, 1312, "the gan to strake forth", but transitive, governing *uṣṇam*. It is often overlooked that Skr. *hims* is not merely to "injure", etc., but embraces almost most of the connotations that belong to English "strike" and also "stroke" in obsolete or dialectic use: a "stroke" not necessarily being destructive of, but in some cases actually productive of, the things "struck", as for example when one "strikes a circle". *Hinasti* is certainly in this sense "sends forth" or "projects" in Sāyaṇa's gloss. on RV. X. 27. 13, where he has *svadīptim...hinasti*, i.e. "emits his own light". Similarly when Śaṅkara comments on KU. IV. 1. *khāni vyatṛṇat* paraphrasing *himsitavan* as *hananam kṛtavān ity-arthaḥ*: where *himsitavan* is no more "injuring" than Latin *secare viam* means "to cut a road to pieces". Hence we hold that *uṣṇīṣa* is primarily that which sends forth heat; and such an "emission" is appropriate to the Sun who needs no shelter from any heat other than his, but himself is *uṣṇa-kara*, *uṣṇa-bhās*, *uṣṇa-bhṛt*, *uṣṇa-ruci*, *uṣṇa-vān*, etc. *Uṣṇīṣa* is properly, or usually, a turban, but can be also a crown; as interpreted as above is, in effect, a "crown of glory". When, as

as worn by the Sun being that which radiates heat, and a turban as worn here below being that which protects against heat. In the same way a distinction can be made between an umbrella representing the sky, with its ribs as rays of light, and the umbrella of which a practical use is made, as a protection against the light, a "sunshade" or "parasol". Turban and umbrella alike are primarily the attributes and prerogatives of royalty, and will be considered here as such, rather than as utilities subsequently appropriated by the commons. A turban is worn indoors as much as out. An umbrella is rather carried behind or held beside a king than held over his head as a protection against anything above him; it pertains to occasions of state, when the king may be indoors or otherwise not in need of any protection from the sun (he is much rather himself the "Sun"). To this day a Raja does not permit the use of an umbrella by his subjects when in his vicinity. Turban (or crown) and umbrella do not supply a need on the king's part, but pertain to the character of kingship.

In the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 2, 58, 99 etc., we meet with the expression *chatrākāra-śirāḥ*, which seems to mean "with head (i.e. crown or cranium) like an umbrella," in a stereotyped list of the beauties recognizable at birth, in the case of the distinguished persons referred to. The formula running *abhirūpo darśanīyaḥ prasādiko gaurāḥ kanaka-varṇa chatrākāraśirāḥ pralambabāhur vistirṇa-lalāṭaḥ saṃgata-bhrus tuṅga-nāsaḥ* includes several of the Buddha's actual *lakṣhaṇas*, and others implied or appropriate, and it would seem as though *chatrākāra-śirāḥ* takes the place of *uṣṇīṣa-śirṣā*, with like application but somewhat different meaning. In the cosmic application which really underlies the *Divyāvadāna* descriptions, the expression "with a head, or rather, cranium, like an umbrella" has a definite meaning: it is an assimilation of the top of the head to the Sky or Roof of the Universe, "with its rays" (*raśmīvatīm* in VS. XV. 63, cited below), represented in Buddhist contexts, the turban is a *cūḷā-maṇi-vethana*, it is the bright "crest-jewel" that sparkles as would be the gold of a metal crown.

When, on the other hand, a turban is worn by an ordinary mortal, its function is, so to speak, reversed, its folds protecting against, rather than emitting light or heat. The analogous term *uṣṇa-ghna* and *uṣṇa-vāraṇa* denoting an umbrella, *chattra* = *chāyā-mitra*, appear in the same way to refer to the practical use of the parasol as a defence against the heat or light (or rain); but even these words are not altogether unambiguous.

sented by the "ribs" of the umbrella, of which the stick is the spine of the Universal Man and the Axis of the Universe.¹ But we can only think of this in actual iconographic effect either as amounting to "with an umbrella overhead", or "provided with an aureola, glory, or nimbus".² And this corresponds to the facts of the iconography, where we find an umbrella in connection with the earliest Yakṣa figures, the Bodhi-tree, and many images of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas; or also in early Indian representations of the Sun, or the Buddha, a circular nimbus.³ An earlier history of both umbrella and nimbus can be followed in Western Asia.

While, then, *uṣṇīṣa-śirṣā* seems to mean logically a "turbaned head", there can be no doubt the *chattrākāra-śirāḥ* and related expressions must be rendered by "with a head like an umbrella". Some other examples may be noted.⁴ In the *Saundarānanda*, I

1. In the *Daśakumāracarita*, invocatory verse, *brahmāṇḍa-chatra-dṛṣṭvā* "Staff of the umbrella of the Brahma-egg" i. e. of the universe, of which the roof is called the "skull" (*brahmāṇḍa-kapāla*): it is precisely to this *kapāla* that the designation *chattrākāra* is appropriate. For the *brahmāṇḍa* see-Cu. III. 19.

2. The word "nimbus", cognate with "nebula", is the etymological equivalent of Skr. *nabhas* (mist, cloud, sky) and Hittite *nebis* (sky). Cf. Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *varūtham* in RV. X. 27. 13 cited below. *Chāyā* is etymologically "sky" as well as "shade".

3. How closely related are the ideas of the umbrella and the nimbus will be realised if we reflect (1) how conspicuously an umbrella held just behind the head suggests a nimbus (*śirāś-cakra*), and (2) that while the Sun's "umbrella", the Sky, is above and about his Disc or "Eye" we think of him as looking, not sideways from under, but as it were down away from his "umbrella", the Sky, which is thus behind his "face", as is an umbrella when held as suggested.

With *cakra* in *śirāś-cakra* = nimbus, compare the wheel (*cakra*) on which the sacrificer seats himself, symbolically in the Eupyrean beyond the Sun TS. I. 7. 8 and SB. V. 1. 5. 1. The wheel is here placed on a pole, and is manifestly like an umbrella; in effect, the sacrificer takes his seat on the top of the solar umbrella, and that is to say beyond the cosmos.

4. I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Walter Eugene Clark and also for the following references: *Divyāvadāna*, 23, 3; 330, 19; 408; 523, 18; and 588, 2. Cf. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, 291-4; Burnouf, *Lotus...*, pp. 588-605; Fr. Weller, *Chinisme et Dharmasaṃgraha*, p. 46; and references in my "The Buddha's *cūṭā*, *uṣṇīṣa*, and Crown" in JRAS. 1928, and Mus, P., "Le Buddha pur" in BEFEO. 1928.

51, xv, p. 72), where the tonsure of Nanda is described, we find *vyajayat...keśa-śriyam chatranibhasya mūrdhnaḥ*, "He (Buddha) caused to be separated the glorious-beauty of the hair from the umbrella-like head". In the *Jātākamālā*, X. 32, where the Bodhisattva is a *dīkṣitaḥ*, and the Bodhisattva's hair when dressed accordingly is as beautiful as it had been when he had been arrayed as king, we find *mūrdhnaś-chatranibhasya keśaracanaśobhā tathaiva*, which can only mean "the beauty of the dressed hair was exactly equal to that of the head itself that was like an umbrella".¹ In several other texts the royal head appears to be directly likened to an umbrella: e.g. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, XXV. 77 *chatrākāraiḥ śirobhis tu nṛpaḥ*; *Mahābhārata*, XII. 333. 11 *chattrākṛti-śirṣā*. *Mahābhārata* XIII. 343. 58 *ātapatreṇa sadṛṣe śirasi* recalls the *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa* of Iśā. Up. 15. Our conclusion so far is that the Sun, or king as the Sun of Men, is both *uṣṣiṣa-śirṣā*, and in some sense *chatrākāra-śiraḥ* = *chatranibha-mūrdhā*; that the wearing of a turban and the use of an umbrella, in other words, are alternative rather than identical attributes of royalty.

That the Buddha's head was "like an umbrella" has a far more interesting significance than has hitherto been realised. For in the early Buddhist aniconic iconography (e.g. Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XVI, centre), an iconography that is far more abstract than the corresponding literature, it is not merely a worship of the *vestigia pedum* (*pāduka*, footprints) that is represented, but of the whole Person. The *pāduka* are the symbols, not of the whole Person, but only of his "feet". What is depicted by the whole icon consisting of footprints, altar, and umbrella, is the whole cosmic or "mystical" body of the Great Person in a likeness, in the same sense that the cosmic body of Prajāpati is described in Maitri Up. VI. 6. The parts of this "mystical" body corresponding to Earth, Air and Sky are represented by the footprints, altar, and umbrella (as in *Divyāvadāna*, passim, *chattrākāra-śiraḥ*). The altar is the "body" in the same sense that the Vedic altar is the "body" of Agni; and also because it is the "navel of the earth" and as in Maitri Up. VI. 6 "the navel is

1. Speyer's rendering is "embellished with the splendour of the royal umbrella", but this is scarcely literal. We agree with Speyer in reading *keśaracanaśobhā* as one word.

the air". The umbrella is as much the head of the Great Person in a likeness as in the Vedic ritual the Mahāvīra vessel is the "head of the Sacrifice."

We shall now attempt to analyse the problem of turbans and umbrellas by a consideration of the underlying ideas that may be expressed in these symbols of the royal power. We take as our point of departure RV. X. 27. 13 *śirṣṇā śiraḥ prati dadhm varūtham*, literally "he (the Sun) with a head-gear put on his head a defence", with this may be compared VS. XVI. 22 where Rudra is addressed as *uṣṇīṣin*, and XVI. 35 where he is addressed as *varūthin*, and RV. IX. 71. 1 where Soma (described with solar qualities) "makes the cloud his fillet" (*opaśam*).¹ It may be inferred that *varūtha*, *uṣṇīṣa* and *opaśa* are all types of solar head-gear, with related, if not necessarily identical values. In explanation of RV. X. 27. 13 Sāyaṇa contributes: *śirṣṇā=śirṣṭhāniyena raśmi-jālena*, "with a network of rays about the head-region."; *śiraḥ=sarvasya lokasya mastakam*; the skull of the universe"; and *varūtham=varṇīyam vṛṣṭi-lakṣaṇam udakam*, "covering, or defence, of water in the form of rain". The last is suggestive of IX. 71. 1 *opaśam...nabhas*; Sāyaṇa contributes *nabhas=nabhasa ādityasya svabhūtam udakam*. "the water of the cloud, produced by the Sun" (it is well-known that the Sun is

1. Sāyaṇa, derives *opaśa* from *ā-upa-sī*, to "rest against"; Grassmann from *ava-paś*, to "tie down". Sāyaṇa explains *opaśam=ā samantād aśeta ity opaśaḥ*, "enclosing on all sides". In RV. I. 173. 6 "Indra wears the Sky as his fillet" (*bharti...opaśam-iva dyām*); Sāyaṇa seems to indicate rather that *opaśa* here alludes to the "horn" (s.) of the Bull (Indra), with which he "supports the Sky", and while this does not seem especially plausible, it does bring to mind the wearing of a horned headdress, either by a king, or in ritual.

2. *Śirṣṇā* seems to have an adjectival value, with some such word as "gear" implied, and qualified by *śirṣṇā=śirṣṇya*. Cf. RV. I. 162. 8 where *śirṣṇyā raśanā* is the "bridle" of the sacrificial Sunhorse (which "bridle" together with the rest of the harness, is to be taken up into heaven when the sacrifice has been consummated). Bearing in mind that *raśanā* implies both "strap" and "ray", it might not be too far-fetched to think of the Sun's head-gear as in some sense a "bridle", with which the Sun is "yoked" (*yukta*): it is actually by his rays that the Sun is connected with (connected in the sense of BG. XIII. 26, cf. Svet. V. 10) all things. The word *śirṣṇā* itself derives either from *śrī* (Grassmann, "insbesondere Licht verbreitend über etwas") or from *śrī*, to "be glorious".

thought of as the source both of light or heat, and moisture; cf. Indra as Parjanya). *Varūtha* (like *chāyā*) is common in RV. in the sense of "protection" or "shelter" (*śarma*). For example, I. 58. 9 "Be a defence, a shelter, unto the singer; O radiant Agni, protect the singer from distress" (*bhava varūtham grṇate vibhāvo bhava...śarma, uruṣyāgne aṇhaso grṇantam*); I. 23. 21 "O waters, teem with medicinal defence (*bheṣṭjam varūtham*) unto my body, that I may long behold the Sun" (*jyok ca sūryam dṛṣe*); V. 49. 4 "Sending the defence (*varūtham*) for which we ask, Savitṛ", which amounts to "Shine upon us, O Savitṛ", or "Rain upon us, O Savitṛ". The latter meaning agrees with Sāyaṇa's interpretation of X. 27. 13. So far it would seem as though the turban is as it were an ornament of cloud, and the umbrella an ornament of light; the two together amounting to the expression "Clouds and lightning were round about him".

Returning now to RV. X. 27. 13, we find in the second line "Seated in the lap (of Aditi), what is above he striketh downward (*ūrdhvām.....kṣiṇāti nyan*), and follows outspread earth". Sāyaṇa contributes: *ūrdhvām*=*udgatām svadīptim*; *kṣiṇāti*=*hinasti*; *aloka-karaṇāya*¹ *pratikṣipatīty-arthaḥ* ("he casteth forth his own

1. I. e. "that He may see" in us; this ray passing outwards through the eye being "God's eye wherewith He sees in Me" (Eckhart); "Other than Him there is no seer" (BU. III. 7. 23). Hence the traditional concept of intelligent vision as dependent, not upon a light reflected from the object seen, but on a light projected from the eye. In the same way for other senses; the objects of the senses are prior to the senses themselves, which latter come into being for the sake of the former (KU. III. 10 *indrebhyaḥ parā hy arthāḥ* and IV. 1 *parāñci khāni vyatṛṇat svayambhūḥ*). In BU. III. 2. 5 accordingly "The eye is indeed a grasper (of forms. But how?) Inasmuch as one sees forms (*species, exemplata*) with the eye when it is grasped (i. e. controlled) by form (*intentio, exemplar*) as super-grasper"; cf. St. Thomas, on *De anima*, II lect. 14, *Species recipitur in organo sensus... per modum intentionis et non per modum naturalis formae*. Similarly in the much debated BU. III. 2. 2 (rightly translated by Hume) "it is by the expiration (*apānena*) that one smells a scent" (all that inspiration effects being to bring the physical support of scent into contact with the nostrils, whereas it is that sense-power which goes forth through the nostrils which recognizes "scent"; apart from this sense-power nothing but a chemical reaction would have taken place; and as implied in BU. III. 7. 33 "Other than Him there is no smeller").

Closely related to BU. III. 2. 3-9 (on the *atigrahas*) is BU. I. 5. 3. They say: 'My mind was elsewhere; I did not see. My mind was

light that is above, that is, projects for the sake of seeing"), and *nyaṇ* = *raśmi-sammūha-rūpeṇa nīcāir-añcitā gantā san*¹ (downwards, i.e. descending in the form of a downwardly directed sheaf of rays"). This extension of a sheaf of rays, which is also a spiration and an utterance (Light, Breath, and Sound coinciding in *divinis*) is the act of Divine Procession, whereby "dividing himself, He fills these worlds" (*ātmānam vibhajya pūrayaty imān lokān*, MU. VI. 26), and at the same time the generation of all beings, Children of the Sun, for "Many are these rays of the Sun; they are his sons" (JUB. II. 9. 10, cf. II. 5).² Conversely, when these

elsewhere; I did not hear'. It is with the mind, truly, that one sees. It is with the mind that one hears...Even if one is touched on the back, he discerns (*viñānāti*, French 'il constate') it with the mind," (the mere sensation being devoid of any mental content). Eckhart's "subtract the mind, and the eye is opened to no purpose" implies in the same way that the eye of the flesh is an *automaton* as defined by Aristotle, *Phys.* II. 4. ("in itself to no purpose"). Cf. also from Professor Cornford's Introduction to Aristotle, *Physics* Vol. I (Loeb Library, 1929, p. lvii), "Neither the eye nor the visual sense can see or visualise its vision, nor can the hearing ear hear its hearing; but the thinking mind can think upon its thought." Further, *atigraheṇa* in BU. III. 2. 6 = *grahaṇena* in II. 4. 4. "It is as when a harp is being played, one could not grasp the external sounds, but by grasping the harp or the harpist the sound is grasped": i. e. the ear alone, apart from the exemplars, ideas, or intentions of the notes inherent in the intellect before the notes are heard, and for the sake of which the ear exists, would receive vibrations only mechanically without being *aware* of them, there would be sensation, but *no perception*. Hence the saying already cited, "It is with the mind (*manas* = *now*) that one hears". Similarly Kauś. Up. VII. 2. To resume, the sense organ apprehends (*grah*): it is another power that comprehends (*atigrah*). The distinction is of observation from experience, or, in the Platonic sense, "reollection". For example, in so far as the scholar merely observes and records ("objectively"), and does not experience ("subjectively"), we can say of him that he apprehends (*grhṇāti*) and is alive (*lebt*), but cannot say that he comprehends (*atigrhṇāti*) or is really living (*erlebt*). Cf. "Witelo", *De intelligentiis*, XVIII-XIX, *delectatio, in quae est vita cognoscitiva in substantia simplici operatur vitam, in aliis autem non*: and Math. XIII, 15.

1. RV. I. 34. 7 *nīcīnāḥ sthur upari budhna, eṣām asme antarikṣi ketavaḥ syuḥ*: JUB. I. 6. 1 *dūrādvā eṣa etat tapati nyaṇ*.
2. SB. II. 3. 3. 7, VIII. 7. 1. 16-17, X. 5. 2. 13 and 16. *Nīruhta* IV. 2. MU. IV. 26 and VI. 30, etc. Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI. 4. 3. "souls are described as rays: "Witelo", *Lib. de intelligentiis*, VI-IX (with IX. 1 *unumquodque quantum habet de luce, tantum retinet esse divini* cf. SB. X. 2. 6. 5 where

"rays" or "feet" or "breaths" of the Sun, who is also Death, are withdrawn, the being is "cut off" and dies (SB. X. 5-2-13 etc.). So that as formulated in AA. III. 2. 4, "When these two are opened up (*vihīyete*)¹ the Sun looks like the Moon, and the rays are becoming invisible (*na raśmayah prādur bhavanti*)...a man should know that his spirit (self-same with the solar Spirit, as has just been stated) is passing over (*samparetyasātma*)² and that he has not long to live...Then when the Sun is seen like a hole (*yatra chidra ivādityo drśyate*) and looks like the nave of a chariot wheel (*ratha-nābhir iva*)³ or he sees the Shadow⁴ cloven (*chidrām vā chāyām paśyet*), he should know the very same". In the same way BU. V. 5. 2 "He sees the Orb clear; those rays reach him no more" (*nainam ete raśmayah pratyāyanti*), and V. 10 "He goes to the Sun, it opens out (*vijihīte*) there for him, like the hole (*kham*) of a drum, through it he ascends".

What the dying man expects and hopes for is that he may be able to pass through the midst of the Sun to an immortality above

Savitṛ distributes the immortal light amongst separated beings, to some more and to some less i. e. according to their powers of reception); Bonaventura, *De scientia Christi*, 3 c, *Ipsa divina veritas est lux* (JUB. I. 5. 3 *satyam haiṣā devatā*), *et ipsius expressiones respectu rerum sunt quasi luminosae irradiationes*.

1. *Tau yatra vihiyete* evidently corresponds to *sa tatra vijihīte* (repeated for Sun and Moon) in BU. V. 10; this disposes of Keith's difficulty involved in his rendering "Where these two are separated", which as he admits "is not very logical". It is curious that Keith should have thought of the exact formulae of AA. as "old folklore ideas pressed into service." For the symbolism of the Sundoor is not even merely Vedic, but quite universal, for example old Egyptian, Christian, and Islamic.

2. With *samparetaḥ* here (*Ānandatīrtha*, *saṁnikṛṣṭa-nigamaḥ*; *Sāyapa*, *mṛtaḥ*) cf. *sāmparāya* in KU. I. 29. and *upasaṁharati* in BU. IV. 4. 3. The Spirit withdraws itself, together, when the man "expires", or "gives up the ghost." (*apānati, ucchvasati*).

3. Cf. RV. VIII. 91. 7 *khe rathasya*, etc.

4. Keith has "his shadow", but no word in the original text corresponds to "his". The "shadow" is the light of the Sun, "for under his shadow is all this universe" (SB. VIII. 7. 3. 13 citing VS. XV. 63); (the *chāyā* here is (as also etymologically) "Sky"; what the dying man sees is the *divāśchidram* of JUB. I. 3. 5. The man's own shadow does not enter into the question at all; in the first place, the Sun is no longer shining for him, and secondly, it is to be presumed that the dying man is recumbent.

(JUB. I. 6. 1, etc.).¹ If it be so, if he is qualified (*arhat*), then "when he has reached the full term of life (*sarvām āyus eti*)... ascending these worlds...he escapes through the midst of the Sun (*ādityam samayātimucyate*); that is the hole of the sky (*divya chidram*); verily like the hole in a cart or chariot-wheel, even so is the hole of the sky; it is all covered up by rays (*raśmibhiḥ samchannam*). There he should place both himself and the sacrificer" JUB. 1. 3-7: "he", i.e., the priest; the text referring to the ritual ascent of the sacrificer, in which the ascent at death is anticipated, cf. SB. I. 9. 3, and V. 2. 1, AB. IV. 20. f. etc., with JUB. as cited above, *chidram...raśmibhiḥ samchannam...tad...yād...yajamānam*, cf. VS. XV. 63 *āyos tvā sadane sadayāmy, arhat chāyāyam...raśmivatīm*, "I set thee (the Svayamatṛṇṇā brick) in the seat of Life, in the shadow of the helper (SB. VIII. 7. 3. 13 adding

1. The Judgment takes place at Death; "As quickly as one could direct the mind to him, he (the deceased) comes to the Sun...the world-door, i. e. door of the heavenly world (*loka-dvāram*) here like *svargasya loka-dvāra* in AB. III. 42 and JUB. IV. 15. 2). The deceased is measured by the Truth of the Sun, and can enter only as like to like (JUB. I. 3 etc). In the same way in Egyptian eschatology, the "soul" of the deceased arrived at the Sun-door is weighed in scales against the Truth (*Ma'at*). Psychostasis survived in Christian literature and iconography, cf. *Mal. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth century*, p. 376). The Egyptian books provide us with remarkable representations of the Sundoor, both open and closed, and with the Sun on guard as its keeper (see Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutiger Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter*, 1928, p. 101, figs. 22-24, alter Naville).

2. *Chidra* etymologically, "chine": the equivalent *kha* is etymologically "chaos" (see my "Kha and other words denoting Zero" in BSOS. VII, pp. 487-497, and "A study of the Kaṭha Upanisad" in IHQ. XI, pp. 570-594). The condition of entry is a perfect self-naughting (JUB. III. 14. 3-5; AA. II. 2. 4; *Acts of John*, 100; *Hermes*, Lib. V. 11; Rūmī, *Mathnawī* I. 3062-3; Tauler. *Following*....., 16-17; Cusa, *De fil. Dei.*, *ablatis omnibus alteritatis et diversitatis*, etc.): "This is the sign, of liberation, this is the opening of the door there (*etat mokṣalakṣaṇam...eṣo'tra-dvāra-vivaraḥ*)...breaking open the Sundoor, he departs on high (*sauram dvarām bhitvā ūrdhvena vimarṣati*)" MU. VI. 30). That is, as Hermes expresses it, "breaks out of the cosmos" (*Lib. XI. ii. 19*). In case, that is, he "is qualified to pass through the midst of the Sun" (*ādityam arhati śamayaitum*, JUB. I. 6. 1). It is just inasmuch as they are in fact *arhats* that so many Buddhist saints are described as "breaking through" the roof or roof-plate of the palace, analogically the cosmos, as for example DhA. III. 66, *kaṇṇikā-maṇḍalam bhitvā ākāśe uppatitvā*. That the Buddha himself had broken down the roof is stated in

"For in his shadow is all this universe", thee full-of-rays": according to the comment on VS., *chāyāyam*=*āsraye*, "in the shelter of". This "naturally perforated brick" (*Svayamātrṇṇā*)

the *gahakulaṇi visankhitam* of J. I. 76 and often referred to by the epithet *viraṭa-chado*. The Buddha (*Parinibutto*= "Deus absconditus") has gone before, "the doors of immortality are open" (*aparulā...amatassa dvāra*, D. II. 39, etc.). RV. IV. 11. 2 calls upon Agni to "open the gate" (*vi sāky agne...kham*; *Sāyaṇa puṇyalokasya dvāram...vimuñca*); who indeed ascended up to Sky and opened the door of the heavenly world, Agni indeed is the lord of the heavenly world" (*divisprg udasrayat sa svargasya lokasya dvāram aroṇod, agnir vai svargasya lokasyādhipatiḥ*, AB. III. 42). Similarly Micah, II. 13 *ascendet enim pandens iter ante eos: dividenti, et transibunt portam, ei ingrediuntur per eam* (= Muṇḍ. I. 2. 11 *sūrya-dvārena prayānti*) with St. Thomas on this text, "Christ by his Passion...removed the obstacle; but by his Ascension he, as it were, brought us to the possession of the heavenly kingdom" (*Sum. Theol.* III. 49. 5 and 4 and see the whole article). To those who think that Agni, Buddha, Christ, are the names of persons of entirely different nature (for example, physical, human, and divine respectively) we may remark with Eckhart that "He to whom God is different in one thing from another and to whom God is dearer in one thing than another" (e.g. by one name rather than another), "that man is a barbarian, still in the wilds, a child".

1. There are three such "bricks", one representing the Earth, one the Air, and one the Sky; and these are set centrally in the lowest, third, and fifth (uppermost) layers of the Fire-altar, and thus with their openings one above the other, through which opening; the Golden Person is thought of as moving up and down these worlds (SB. VII. 4. 1. 18), and likewise the Devas, for whom the *Ṛtavyā* and *Viśvajyotis* "bricks" are "stepping-stones" (*samānyayah* SB. VIII. 7. 1. 13 and 23, cf. SBE. XLI, p. 155, note 8). It is in the same way that one ascends these worlds "as one would keep climbing up a tree by steps" (JUB. I. 3. 2), or descends in the same way (AB. IV. 21). It is thus also that the *Kāmācūrin* "goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires, and assuming what aspect he will" (TU. III. 10. 5). The symbolism of Jacob's ladder is unmistakeable. Otherwise stated, the holes in the "bricks" are for the upward passage of the breaths, and for the vision of heaven; what is said of the lowest *Svayamā amātrṇṇā* (representing Earth on which Agni is kindled, the kindling being his Passion) applying to all (TS. V. 2. 8. 1 *svayamātrṇṇā bhavati prāṇānām utsṛṣṭyai aṭho svargasya lokasyānukhyāyai*, cf. CU. 2. 24 *loka-dvāram aparārṇu tvā vāyam*, and *Īśa Up.* 15 *dṛṣṭaye*).

Eggeling (SBE. XLI, p. 155, note 8) speaks of the bricks as "porous", but there can be no doubt that single perforations are meant, as in AA. III. 2. 4 *rathu-nābhir iva* and JUB. I. 3. 6. *yathā kham vānasah*. The "bricks are "naturally perforated", *svayamātrṇṇā*, for Indra, indeed, *vajreṇa khāny*

is set (SB. VIII. 7. 3. 13 with VS. XV. 63 ; cf. TS. V. 3. 7) above the uppermost Viśvajyotis brick which represents the Sun, "the uppermost (*uttarā*) Svayamātr̥ṇṇā is the Sky (*dyaus*)¹ and the uppermost Viśvajyotis is the Sun... So that the Sun glows only and generation takes place only on this side of the Sky" (SB. VIII. 7. 1. 17).² The uppermost Svayamātr̥ṇṇā is at the same time the head (*śiras*) or rather skull of Agni-Prajāpati, whose cosmic body has been completely integrated ritually when it has been set in place (SB. VIII. 7. 3. 15-17), the Sun in relation to this "head" or "skull" being the Eye.³ The prayer is addressed to the Sun, "May Sūrya guard thee with the safest roof (*chardiṣā*). The two bricks in close contact thus represent the Sun in the Sky, just as in the former piling the Gold Plate and Gold Man represented the Sun and the Person within the Sun. And this skull or roof of the world is perforated, but thought

atṛṇan nadīnām (RV. II. 15. 3), *khāni vyatṛṇat svayambhūh* (KU. IV. 1). The bricks are not necessarily made of baked clay (SB. VI. 1. 2. 30); in the present context the "bricks" are assuredly "naturally perforated stones" (*Śarkarāḥ*, SB. VIII. 7. 4. 1), i.e. such "ring-stones" as are significantly called *mukṭi-dvāra* (see my *Darker side of Dawn*, Washington 1935, note 21) and with which we are familiar in India from prehistoric times onward.

1. CU. III. 15 *dyaur asyōttaram bilam*, "The Sky is its (the cosmicist's) uppermost outlet". In both passages *uttara* is "uppermost" and "northern".

2. Thus "on the back of the Sky" (*divas-pr̥ṣṭhe*, VS. XV. 58 and SB. VIII. 7. 1. 21 and VIII. 7. 3. 18), i.e. on what we should think of as the "face" of the Sky. In the same way AV. X. 7. 38 *salilasya pr̥ṣṭhe* then "on the face of the waters" of Genesis. In Indian cosmology, the heaven above and the waters below are thus thought of as back to back, intervening cosmos. The Sun is the Janus of the sky, and faces both ways: as is explicit in SB. VII. 4. 1. 17-18 where the gold plate is the Sun's disk, and the Golden Person in the Sun is laid down backwards on the plate, so that "the Golden Disk glows hitherward with its rays (*raśmibhir arvāṇe tapati rukmaḥ*) and that Person (tendeth) upward with his breaths" (*prāṇair eṣa ūrdhvaḥ puruṣaḥ*).

3. "The head is the skull of the universe" (*śiraḥ sarvasya lokas mastakam*, Sāyaṇa on RV. X. 27. 13). "The skull (*mūrdhā*) of that Universally-human-spiritual-self (*ātmana vaiśvānarasya*, i.e. of the Cosmic Man, of Agni) is the Most-fiery (*sutejāḥ*), i.e. the Sky); the Omnipotent (*viśvarūpaḥ*, i.e. the Sun) is his Eye" (CU. V. 18. 2, cf. RV. X. 90. 5). Cf. Edda, *Vafthrudhnismāl* 21, *himinn ór hausi*.

as seen from below, and from within the worlds, its opening would be invisible, because of the intervening Viśvajyotis: in other words, the "hole" by which one is "altogether liberated" (*atimucyate*) and which is commonly called the "Sun-door" (Mund. I. 2. 11; MU. VI. 30; SB. XI. 4. 4. 7), or "World-door", i.e., Gate of Heaven (CU. VI. 8. 5. *loka-dvāra* = *svargasya lokasya dvāra*. AB. III. 42 and JUB. IV. 15. 2), through which none can pass into the solar Paradise, but those who are qualified to enter into the Sun, who is the Truth and Light *satyam*, (JUB. I. 5. 3, *sva*, JUB. III. 14. 3), as like to like, as truth to Truth and light to Light (JUB. *ib.*)

Thus the way-in is all covered over and concealed by the rays of the Sun; the brilliance of the manifested truths concealing the darkness of their source beyond the Sun, "where no Sun shines" (KU. v. 15; BG. xv. 6; Rev. xxi. 23). The Sun, the Angel with the Flaming Sword, stands on guard at the Gate (JUB. I, 3), and this is a stopping place for the Ignorant, but a forwarding for the Comprehensor (CU. xv, 8. 5, where *nirodhaḥ* corresponds to *avarodhanam divaḥ* in RV. ix, 113. 8). The Pilgrim, before the Gate, makes his prayer accordingly, "Do thou, O Pūṣan, open for me, in whom is truth (*satyadharmāya*),¹ that door (*mukham*) that is closed by the golden disc:² O Pūṣan, one and only Prophet, Yama, Sun, Kinsman of Prajāpati, disperse thy rays (*vyūha*³ *raśmīn*), gather up thy fiery-energy (*sammūha tejas*),

1. Hiranyagarbha, Prajāpati, is *satyadharmā* in RV. I. 121. 9.

2. I. e. by the manifested, and intelligible, truth, or actuality: cf. BU. I. 6. 3 "That Immortality (within, or beyond the solar orb) is covered over by the Truth (*tam amṛtaṁ satyena cchannam*, where *satyena* corresponds to *raśmibhiḥ* and *hiranyena pātreṇa* in our texts); the Breath is the Immortal (*prāṇo va amṛtaṁ*), form and aspect are the truth (*nāma-rūpe satyam*), by them this breath is hidden (*channam*)". This truth of the revealed Brahman (who descended into these worlds by means of form and aspect, SB. XI. 2. 3. 3 *pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmnā ca*) is a truth, not simply to be envisaged, but to be penetrated (*veddhavyam*, Mund. II. 2. 2): cf. I John V. 20 "him that is true... Jesus Christ, with John X. 9 "I am the door" and XIV. 6 "No man cometh to the Father but by (*per*) me".

3. Hume reverses the meaning of *vyūha*, which he renders by "spread forth". For the sense "disperse" or "dissipate" required in the present context, cf. JB. III. 7 where Prajāpati *pāpmānam vyūhate*, "disperses evil" or "dispels evil"; and Gaṇḍa-vyūha, the title of a well-known Buddhist Sūtra, with somewhat the sense of "Bursting the Bubble" or "Cutting the Knot"; Sukhāvati-vyūha, "opening up of the Land of Bliss".

that I may see that fairest form of thine.¹ He who is yonder, Person, He am I!" (Īśā. Up. 15-16). The Sun, indeed, has no power to reject him who thus invokes the Truth (JUB. I. 5.3 *neṣe yad enam apasedhet*) but "disperses the rays for him" (*raśmīḥ ...etasmai vyūhati*, JUB. I. 6.2).

As we have already seen, the Sun is besought to protect us "with the safest roof" *chardiṣā* VS. XV. 64, SB. VIII. 7. 3. 19). It is in fact "by the Sun that the Sky is upheld" (*sūryeṇottīhate dyauḥ*, RV. X. 85. 1) which Sky is the roof of the universal Chariot his vehicle (*dyaus āsīd uta chadiḥ*, *ib.* 10). The analogy of roof (*chadis*, *chardis*, *chadana*) to umbrella (*chattra*), alike in form (both being ribbed) and function (both affording shade and shelter *chāyā = śarma*), is conspicuous, nor is it without sufficient reason that these terms derive from a common root, *chad*, to "cover". It may be safely assumed that the floor (*budhna*, R. V. x 135. 6) of the solar chariot is thought of as square (or possibly rectangular) and its roof as domed (or barrel-vaulted); the box² (*kośa*, R. V. VIII, 20. 8; 25. 7) of the chariot corresponding exactly to the cosmic box (*kośa*, CU. III. 15) of which the floor is Earth, the enclosure Air, and the lid (significantly called a *bila*, which implies an "outlet") the Sky. In other words, the symbolism of the umbrella is precisely that of a domed roof, constructed of ribs meeting in a central *karṇikā* by which they are supported and without which they would fall, and which is, furthermore, a "perforated" (*vijihitvā* J. I. 201) orb (*maṇḍala*).³ In the case

1. "Fairest form" (*rūpaṁ kalyāṇatamam*); the "pleasing form" (*ramyāṁ tanūṁ*), or rather "golden form" (*hiranyāṁ tanūṁ*), viz. the *Prāṇam* (*prāṇam*), of SB. VII. 4. 1. 16. Gold is the recognized symbol of light and immortality (TS. V. 2. 7; SB. III. 2. 4. 9, V. 1. 5. 28, IX. 4. 4. 8, etc.).

2. Cf. our expression "box-seat" of a coach. The Sun or Agni is the driver of the cosmic chariot, and occupies this seat.

3. For further details see my "Pali *kaṇṇikā* = circular roof-plate" in JAOS. 50, pp. 238-243, and "Symbolism of the dome" to appear in *IEJ*. Guy le Strange's description of the structural supports of the domes of the Gur-i-Amir in Samarkand ("The ribs converge above and unite in a central piece of wood", quoted by Chaghtai in IAL. XI, p. 90) might have been said in the same words of the old Indian domes described in the Pali text, the "centre-piece of wood" being the *kaṇṇikā*. The form of the roof is almost exactly that of an umbrella; and Havell was on the right track when he compared such roofs to wheels. Chaghtai's argument for Central Asia

of the umbrella its central axis penetrates (as in Mund. II. 2. 3-4 the arrow "penetrates", *vidhyati*, its mark) meeting-point of the ribs, radii or rays of the wheel-like sun-"shade"; the extension of the handle beyond the fabric corresponding to the finial above a domed roof and to the mast of a stūpa. In the case of a hypaethral temple (a *bodhighara* for example) the trunk of the Tree (emerging from an opening which, however large, is strictly speaking the "eye" of the dome) branches above.¹ In the case of a square or circular hut with a domed roof there is no visible interior pillar² supporting the roof-plate and rafters or beams,³

influence fails at this point: it does not, however, follow that an Indian influence must be presumed in Central Asia, for in all probability such a form of construction must have been widespread even in prehistoric times, and certainly long before the period with which he deals.

1. See my "Early Indian Architecture, II Bodhigharas" in *Eastern Art*, II, 1930. Cf. *Volsunga Saga* "So says the story that King Volsung let build a noble hall in such a wise, that a big oak-tree stood therein, and that the limbs of the tree blossomed fair out over the roof of the hall, while below stood the trunk within it, and the said trunk did men call the Branstock", i. e. "Burning Bush" (version by Magnusson and Morris, 1870, p. 5). In the case of the Siberian Shaman shrines, the tree is a birch, and "Its crown of branches, projects from the luffer in the roof. This birch symbolises the 'Door-God' *udeśi-burchan*) who opens for the Shaman the way into Heaven...The trunk itself is treated as holy, as if it were a god. Below the trunk a primitive stone altar is erected...The luffer...seems to have its prototype in Heaven. The Ostajaks speak of the 'House of Heaven' adorned with a golden luffer" (Holmberg, U., "Der Baum des Lebens" in *Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn.*, B. XVI. Helsinki, 1922-23, pp. 28, 30; cf. p. 142). The Shamans furthermore employ as an earth-symbol a perforated annular disk (*ib.* p. 31, fig. 13) corresponding to the lower *Svayamātr̥ṇṇā* of the Vedic rite. The Chinese jade *pi*, also a perforated annular disk, is the symbol of heaven, and corresponds to the uppermost *Svayamātr̥ṇṇā* of the Vedic rite (cf. Schlosser, R., "China's Münzen as Kunstwerke", in *OZ. NF.* II, 1925, pp. 283. 305, interpreting "ring-money" accordingly). The whole symbolism of rings, and even of finger-rings, has to be interpreted on these lines. Cf. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro*, Vol. 1, p. 62.

2. There may in some cases have been a central pillar; this seems to be suggested by the *śālā-vāṁśa* of SA. VIII=AA. III. 2. 1 where "Just as other beams rest againsts the hall-beam, so the whole self rests upon this Breath". (In JAOS. 50, 243, note 7, I erroneously thought of this "hall-beam" as a ridge-pole.)

3. The homonymy of "beam" as ray of light, and "beam" as transom or rafter represents one of the many cases of the survival, in modern English, of expressions based upon the ancient metaphysics of light.

P. O. I-2

just as in the case of the stūpa, the mast is not extended downwards to the ground level; but in each case, nevertheless, the form of the whole structure depends upon the vertical axis which is only theoretically present; just as the Sun in the Sky is thought of as supported by a pillar which is none the less adamant and "exemplary" because it is invisible,—it is in the same way that RV. X. 85. 12, the axle-tree (*akṣa*) of the cosmic chariot is but a "Separating-breath" (*vyāna*)¹ and in JUB. I. 20 "Air" (*antarikṣa*), explained as *antary-akṣa*. "No visible pillar", we said: but supposing our hut is a Fire-temple (*agny-āgāra*), or the house of the universe, the hearth in either case being at the centre of the navel of the Earth and immediately below the "eye" or luffer of the vault above, it is Agni himself whose "pillar of smoke" ascending supports the Sky (RV. I. 59. 1. *nābhīr asi kṣitīm-śthūṇeva janān upamid yayantha*; IV. 6. 2 *metā iva dhumān stabhyaḥ upa dyām*).²

We have said enough, perhaps, to establish the general character of the values that are represented by the turban and the umbrella or nimbus. The distinction of *uṣṇīṣa* from *chakra* is important; the former corresponds to the cranium and hair, the latter is that which envelopes these. The turban (*uṣṇīṣa*, *varāṇas-opaṣa*) is primarily a wreath or cloud that conceals or moderates the dazzling glory of the head, and the umbrella or roof (*celestrichardis*, etc.) primarily a scapular canopy³ of rays of light.

1. *Vi* is disjunctive, as in the *vidharaṇa* and *vidhṛti* of BU. IV. 1. 1 (*ātma...setur vidharana eṣāṇ lokānāṁ sambhedāya*, "The Spirit the separator bridge to hold the worlds apart") and CU. VIII. 4. 4 (*ātma sa setur vidhṛti*, etc.), where the bridge (*setu*) = Axis (*akṣa*) = Greek Gnostic *stauron*; cf. Apocryphal Acts of John, 99 "This cross, then is that which fixed all things apart". At the same time, like the cosmic Axle-tree, the Bridge is that which connects the worlds with one another, and the way of crossing over from the higher to the farther shore; and He, who is the Keeper of the Gate is also the Bridge across the moat (RV. X. 61. 16 *apas ca viprasa svasetuḥ*; Sāyaṇa, "*svasetuḥ*, inasmuch as *yasya svabhūta rāsmayo jagat-bandhakā santi*" cf. CU. VIII. 6. 2).

2. And thus holds Heaven and Earth apart (TS. V. 1. 5. 8 *yad agnī agn'ā yāhi vitāye iti, vai imau lokau vi etām*, cf. RV. I. 140. 3 *kr̥ṣṇaśvavivije*).

3. What has been said about umbrellas will apply for the most part also to canopies and baldachins, and partly to arches, especially *trionphe*.

provided with a central opening through which the supporting shaft (*daṇḍa*) passes, which shaft is analogically the Axis of the Universe and central column of the cosmic "house", while the opening is analogically that of the *brahma-randhra*, *simā* or *vidṛti*. In *divinis*, turban and umbrella denote His Majesty who wears them, and protect the privacy of the interior operation, but are not so much a protection and a shelter for himself as they are for those on whom he rains or shines. In the case of an earthly Sun of Men, the functions are primarily the same, but also of practical utility, since the king is also a man. In the case of his subjects, if they are also permitted to make use of turbans or umbrellas, to which they have no more "right" than they have to be addressed politely as "Mahārāja", their function is primarily self-protective and sheltering, and secondarily honorific. Finally, inasmuch as turban and umbrella are both of the nature of insignia, and at the same time are protections from rain or sun, we recognize in them what can always be seen in the artefacts of normal men, an indivisible linking together of use and meaning, physical structure and metaphysical reference.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARĀT

(D. B. Diskalkar)

(Continued from the fourth issue)

(15)

RAV (CUTCH) INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADEVA OF V. S. 1328

This inscription was published by the late Mr. Zalpatrar Pranjivan Khakhar in 1879 in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India-Report on Architectural and Archaeological Remains in the Province of Kach*. But as the book has become completely out of print I make the inscription accessible to scholars by this. As Khakhar did not publish its facsimile and I find it almost impossible to procure an impression of it I have to remain content by merely reproducing the text given by Khakhar.

The inscription is dated Friday, the second day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of the [Vikrama] year 1328 and refers it to the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Arjunadeva ruling at Anahillapataka and to the regime of his prime minister Māladeva. The object of the inscription is to record that one Ravisirṇha built a well at a cost of 1600 *drammas* in front of the temple of the goddess Ravechi in the village of Rav.

This inscription was evidently inscribed on a slab built at the well at Rav, which is about sixty miles east of Bhuj.

TEXT

१. ॥ संवत् १३२८ वर्षे श्राव
२. ण सुदि २ शुक्लेऽष्टमे श्रीम
३. दणहिल्लपाटकाधिष्ठित समस्तरा
४. जावलीसमलंकृत महाराजाधिराजश्री
५. मदर्जुनदेवकल्याणविजय
६. राज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहामात्यश्रीमाल
७. देवे श्रीश्रीकरणादिसमस्तमु
८. द्राव्यापारान् परिपंथयति सती
९. त्वेवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने घृतप
१०. चां मंडलकरणप्रतिबद्धरव

११. ग्रामे देवी श्रीरवेचीपादानां पु
१२. रतो घाघर्णाया क्षत्रीय बाई
१३. थरीया सुत रविसिंहेन आत्म
१४. श्रेयोर्थ वापी कारापिता का
१५. रापने दत्ता द्र० १६०० शुभं भवतु ॥

(16)

GIRNĀR INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADEVA OF V. S. 1330

This inscription¹ is found engraved on a slab of stone fixed in a wall to the north of the Gaṇadhara Maṇḍapa situated in the west of the Nēminātha temple on the famous Girnār hill in Kāthiawar. The engraved portion measuring 9 inches in length and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth is in a good state of preservation. The inscription is in *Sanskrit* prose engraved in beautiful *Nāgarī* characters. In respect of orthography the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r* (see ll. 2, 5, 6).

The inscription is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1330 and refers itself to the reign of (the Chaulukya sovereign) Arjunadēva and to the regime of his viceroy Pālha over Saurāṣṭra. It is very interesting as it records an unusual secular grant of the right of engraving inscriptions in all the temples including that of Nēminātha on the sacred hill Ujjayanta (i.e. Girnār) to an engraver named Haripāla, son of Gōga belonging to the Mēvādā community, by the (Jain) Āchāryas, Udayaprabhasūri and others and by the *Pañchakula* headed by Mēhētā Dhāndhā. The right was given not only to Haripāla but it was to be enjoyed by his lineal descendants, as is stated in the usual copper-plate grants.

With a view to see how far the privilege of engraving inscriptions on Girnār given by this grant was enjoyed by the grantee when I began to examine the inscriptions on Girnār I found only one inscription that was engraved by Haripāla.²

Pālha seems to have been appointed viceroy over Saurāṣṭra some time after V. S. 1320, for in an inscription of Arjunadēva from Kāṇṭelā (No. XIII above) the viceroy is mentioned as

1. See *Quarterly Journ. Mythic Sec.* XIV. 242.

2. Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in Bombay Presidency, p. 351.

Sāmantasīmha. Pālha continued to be in the same post at least up to V. S. 1333 in the time of Arjunadēva's successor Sāranga-dēva as the Āmarāṇa inscription of that year (No. 16 below) mentions him as the viceroy Saurāshṭra.¹ Our inscription is later by two years than the latest known inscription² of the time of Arjunadēva from Rav in Cutch dated V. S. 1328.

The christian date corresponding to the one in our record is Sunday, the 22nd April 1274 A.D.

TEXT³

१. भ्रातृ.⁴ नरसिंह सूत्र० गोगसुत सू० हरिपालः ॥ तन्नायां सू० रूपिणी
सू० पदमलः
२. सं० १३३० वैशाख शु० १५ श्रीमदज्जुनदेवराज्ये सुराष्ट्रायां तक्षि
ठ० श्रीपालहे
३. श्रीमदुदयप्रभसूरिप्रभृत्याचार्यैर्भहं० धांधाप्रमुख पंचकुलेन समस्तश्रीसिंहे
४. नाथ मेवाडाज्ञातोय सू० गोगसुत सू० हरिपालस्य श्रीउज्जयंतमहातीर्थे
५. श्रीनेमिनाथप्रासादादि धर्मस्थानेषु सूत्रधारत्वं सप्रसादं प्रदत्तं ॥ इदं
६. सूत्रधारत्वं सू० हरिपालेन पुत्रपौत्रपरंपरया आचंद्रार्क यावद्भोक्त०⁵
७. व्यं ॥ अन्यसूत्रधारस्य कस्यापि संबन्धो न हि ॥ शुभं भवतु सूत्रधारस्य

(17)

CUTCH INSCRIPTION OF SĀRANGADEVA, DATE NOT KNOWN

It is not known at what place in Cutch this inscription was found. An impression of this taken by an ordinary person was in the possession of the late Diwān Bāhādur Ranchhodlal Udayarāy who kindly gave it to me in January 1923 a few months before his sad death. The inscribed portion seems to cover a space of

1. The same Pālha is probably mentioned in an unpublished inscription of V. S. 1334 found at Porbandar. This inscription will be published in my edition, 'Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Kathiawad.'

2. Antiquarian remains in Cutch by Khakhar, p. 89.

3. From an impression in the Watson Museum.

4. This line which ought to be at the end of the inscription is engraved here at the beginning perhaps for want of space in the proper place.

5. Read रूपिणी.

6. Read तीर्थे.

7. Read इदं.

8. The word यावत् is unnecessary here, so also the zero after त्.

in length and 1', 9" in height and to contain 14 lines of writing. The lower six lines are quite illegible.

The date of the record is not given at the beginning as is done in the two other inscriptions found in Cutch.¹ If it was given at the end it is lost to us in the weather-worn and indistinct portion. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Sārangadēva, the Chaulukya (Vāghēlā) sovereign of Aṇahilapāṭaka, of whose reign we have a fragmentary inscription of V. S. 1332 found at Khōkhrā in Cutch.² Then the name of his minister Māladēva is given. It may be noted that the same minister is mentioned in an inscription of Arjunadeva of V. S. 1320 and in the other Cutch inscription of V. S. 1328. We may therefore assign this inscription to the early period of Sārangadeva's reign. As nothing useful can be made out of the lower indistinct portion, the object of the inscription and other details are not known.

TEXT

१. ओं^३ स्वस्ति[। *] श्रीमदणहिलपा
२. टके राजाधिराजश्रीसारं
३. गदेवप्रौढपताप श्री [मालदेव]
४. व^४ श्रीश्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्रा
५. व्यापारान् पर(रि)पंथ[य*]ति सतीत्ये
६. वं काले प्रवर्तमाने श्री देव ?
७. रूपग.....
८. वडीरदेशे राणक स

The rest of the portion cannot be read.

(18)

AMARAN INSCRIPTION OF SĀRANGADEVA OF V. S. 1333.

This inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring 3', 8" in length and 1' in breadth and fixed on a wall of the *Kotho* of the Darabāragadha at Āmarapa, the chief town of a Khavas Jagirdār in the Navanagar State in Kāthiāwad. The place is 42

1. From Rav of V. S. 1328 published in Khakhar's *Antiquities of Cutch* p. 89 and from Khokhrā of V. S. 1332 published by Buhler in *Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI*, p. 277.
2. See *Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI*, p. 277.
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Drop this व unnecessarily inscribed.

miles to the east of Jāmnagar and 18 miles from the Mor Railway Station.

The inscribed portion containing five lines of writing measures 3 feet in length and 6 inches in breadth, and is comparatively in a good state of preservation. A few letters at the beginning of each line are lost but they can mostly be filled up by reference to the context. The only serious loss is at the beginning of the fifth line of the name of the person who made a grant by this inscription. The inscription is in *Sanskrit*. The characters are *Nāgarī*. As regards orthography no special remarks are necessary.

The record opens with the date, Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Jyeshṭha in the year 1333 of King Vikrama and refers itself to the reign of Mahārājā Śrī Sārangadēva, who bears the following epithets—a comet to the Mālava country, a boar (incarnation) in upholding the earth of Gujarāt, the seven emperor, and a gymnast by the power of his arms. It further tells us that during the *regime* of the *Pañchakula*, headed by Pālha, who was appointed governor over Saurāshṭra, the son of Rānā Bhojadeva of the Chapotkṣa family granted for the religious merits of his mother सोयना (?) a garden near the river Dadhina for the worship of Sumatisvāmi.

As regards Sārangadēva's first epithet given above expressing of his enmity towards the ruler of Mālava it can be said that the hereditary fight between the Chaulukaya rulers of Gujarāt and the Paramāra rulers of Mālava begun since the time of the Chaulukya Mularāja, and the Paramāra Siyaka (or Muñja) was regularly continued upto the reign¹ of Sārangadēva.

The epithet *Saptama Chakravartti*, a seventh emperor as he were, was many times used by some kings in old times.² As used with Sārangadēva it is, as far as I know, found in this inscription only. It was used many times with another Chaulukya sovereign Bhīma II.³

1. His Chintra-praśasti dated 1287 A. D. also speaks of his defeat of the Mālva king (E. I. I. 281, v. 13). See also No. 18 below.

2. For its meaning see above Vol. VIII p.

3. See Ind. Ant. Vol. VI pp. 199, 201, 203, 205, 207 and 208.

The governor Pālha is, it may be noted, mentioned in another inscription of Arjunadēva of V. S. 1330 published above (No. XV).

The fact that there was still a petty holding of a Chāvaḍā family in the north of Kāthiāwār requires to be noted.

Sumatisvāmi is the 5th Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. Chāvaḍā Bhōjaraja's son seems to have become a Jain or was inclined towards that faith. No trace is now left in Āmaraṇa of this Jain temple. It may possibly have been destroyed by the Muhammedans in the time of Dāvar-ul-mulk (about 1510 A.D.) who was a very bigoted Muhommedan and was appointed Fauzdar at Āmaraṇa by Sultan Mahmud Begḍā¹ of Gujarat.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription it can be said that Āmaraṇa where the inscription is found is more than 600 years old as it is mentioned in the present inscription but it can be supposed to be older than that if a place named Ambarēṇu mentioned in a Valabhī grant² of G. S. 252 can be identified with the present Āmaraṇa. The river Dadhimatī is no doubt the modern Dēmai which flows at a distance of 1 mile to the west of Āmaraṇa.

The equivalent Christian date is Sunday the 9th May of 1277 A.D.

TEXT³

१. [स्वी]स्त श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १३३३ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि ५ रवौ मालवधरा-
धूमकेतुगूर्जरधरणोससु ॥^४
२. [द्वरण] वराहसप्तमचक्रवर्तिभुजबलमल्लमहाराजश्रीसारंगदेवकल्याणविजय
३. [राज्ये तन्नि]युक्त सौराष्ट्रदेशाधिकारि मह० श्रीपालहप्रभृति पंचकुलप्रभृति
प्रतिपत्तौ अद्येह श्री आं
४. [वरणे]चापोत्कटवंशसरोवरराजहंसचापोत्कटप्रजापरिपालकराणकश्रीभोजदेव-
सुतराज०
५. [...तेन मातृसोयना (?)]श्र (श्रे) योऽर्थं श्रीसुमतिस्वामिदेवपूजनाय
दधिमतीनदीसमीपे वाटिका प्रदत्ता ॥

1. See Kathiawad Gazetteer p. 356.

2. Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute Vol. V, Part I.

3. From an impression in the Watson Museum.

4. These strokes are engraved by the mason only to fill up the space.

5. Omit this word repeated through mistake.

(19)

VANTHALI INSCRIPTION OF SĀRANGADEVA OF V. S. 1346

The subjoined inscription engraved on a yellowish stone was found along with five memorial stones¹ of V. S. 1469, in Vantthali, mahāl of Junāgadh State. The inscription is very finely and correctly executed. It is tolerably in a good state of preservation. The inscribed portion measures 10½" in length and 6½" in height. As regards the *orthography* no remarks are necessary beyond that the Pṛsthāmātrās are throughout used in the inscription.

The inscription opens with an obeissance to the God Rēvanta followed by the date, Monday, the 6th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the (Vikrama) year 1346 and refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja S'rī Sāraṅgadēva. Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vijayānandadeva was a governor at Vāmana Sthali. He was, as the seventh line tells us the son of Kshēmānanda. Two verses containing beautiful poetry give an account of a Rāṣṭrakūta family in which Haripāla, son of Malla was born. When Vijayānanda wishing to fight with Bhānu invaded Bhūbhṛit Palli, Haripāla accompanied him there. Seeing wicked men striking the son of Kēdāra (?) he fought with them and lost his lief. His brother thereupon prepared this (battle) pillar containing his brother's image, and built a canopy in front of Rēvanta, the son of the sun. A Brāhmaṇa named Mādhava, son of Muñjiga, and belonging to Chamatkārpura prepared this poem containing seven verses. It was written by Rāvala, son of Arisimha and was engraved by Vīraka son of Sāntala.

Bhānu whom Vijayānanda attacked was most probably the well known warrior Bhāṇa Jēṭhavā. Bhūbhṛitpalli was equivalent to Bhumalikā or modern Ghumali, the ancient capital of the Jēṭhavās, which is now in ruins in the Baradā hills. Vāmanasthali, at which the viceroy of the Chaulukya sovereign was ruling, is the old or rather Sanskritic name of the present Vantthali where the inscription was found. Chamatkārpura was the old name of present Vaḍanagar in North Gujarāt, the home of the famous class of Nāgara Brāhmans. The following is stated

1. All these inscriptions refer to the reign of a Chūdāsomā king called Meligadeva, and are soon to be published in my edition of 'The miscellaneous inscriptions of Kathiawad.'

on p. 6 of the history of Gujarat (Bombay Gaz. Vol. 1 P. 1). "According to the popular story in each of the four cycles or Yugas Ānandapur or Vaḍanagar had four different names, Chamatkārapura in the first or Satya Yuga, Ānartapura in the second or Treta Yuga, Ānandapura in the third or Dvāpāra Yuga and Vriddhanagara or Vaḍanagar in the fourth or Kaliyuga. The first name is fabulous. The city does not seem to have ever been known by so strange a title." Now the present inscription is at least one instance though of not very old time, which gives the first name Chamatkārapura. We have again reason to suppose that Mādhava, the Brāhmaṇa from Chamatkārapura, belonged to the Nāgar Brāhmaṇa community with whom it is a general custom to give along with their names that of the town they formerly belonged to and hence expressions like आनन्दपुरदिज, आनन्दपुरदिज etc. are frequently found.

Mādhava was no doubt a good poet as is seen from even the one verse, the second in the present inscription.

From another inscription¹ from Vanthali preserved in the Watson Museum, Rājkot, we know that Vijayānanda the viceroy over Sōrath of the Chaulukya sovereign Sāraṅgadēva was the son of the daughter named Primaladēvī of Viradhavala, son of the Vāghelā king Lavaṇaprasāda. It is thus clear that the Gujarāt sovereign and his Sōrath viceroy were related to each other. In the inscription I speak of the name of Vijayānanda's father is given as Kshemānanda as in the present inscription and that of his grand-father as Arisimha. Now we are told that Viradhavala's wife's brothers were Sāngan and Chāmunda who were ruling at Vanthali but for refusing to pay tribute were slain in a fight by Viradhavala. We have to suppose therefore that Viradhavala after killing his wife's brothers appointed Kshemānanda (or perhaps his father) to rule at Vāmanasthali and gave his daughter to Kshemānanda in marriage. Unfortunately neither of the two inscriptions gives us the name of the family to which Vijayānanda belonged.

The mention of a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling in Kāthiāwār is interesting. We have no other record showing the existence of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the peninsula. They were of sufficient importance

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute Vol. VI, Part II, p.

to have marriage connections with the family of Vijayananda and even with the sovereign family of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, as the other Vanthali inscription shows.

The Christian date corresponding to the one given in the inscription viz. Vaiśākha Vadi 6 of V. S. 1346 is 2nd May 1290 A.D. But the week day differs. The inscription gives Monday but on the 2nd May the week day was Tuesday. It may, however, be supposed that the tithi may have actually commenced astronomically on Monday.

TEXT¹

१. ओं^२ नमः श्रीरेवंताय ॥ सं १३४६ वर्षे वैशाख वदि ६ सोमे महाराज-
धिराज[श्री]
२. स[रंग]देवकल्याणविजयराज्ये श्रीवामनस्थ[ल्यां महा]मंडलेश्वरश्रीविजय
३. ददेवप्रतिप[त्तौ] ॥ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयमौलिरत्नं श्रीमल्लनामाजनि शौर्यसिन्धुः ।
तस्या
४. त्मजः श्रीहरिपालनामा [धन्यो म]हासाधनिको बभूव ॥ १^३ शृंग-
भंगिसुभग[ः शु]भ
५. गानवीचिवाचालकंठकुहरा [मुहु]रात्तवीणाः । [गायन्ति]...[गि]-नगराजं
६. गमारुह्य गुह्यकचकोरदृशो यशोस्य ॥ २^४ वीरः[श्री]विजयानंदः क्षेमानंद
७. नंदनः । विप्रहीतुमना भा[नुं]भूभृत्पल्लीमगात्किल ॥ ३ नृपकायाहृतस्तत्र
८. रिपालः कृपालयः । केदारपुत्रं पिशुनैर्हन्यमानमुदैक्षत ॥ ४ तैः स[मि]
[त]न्व ॥
९. तस्तस्य समीकमसवो ययुः । तन्मूर्त्तियुक्तं तद्भ्राता [रण]स्तंभमिदं व्यधा
१०. ॥ ५ सहस्रधाम्नस्तनुजन्मनः श्री[रे]वंतनाम्नः पुरतो नवीनं । अची-
[न्म]डपम
११. द्वितीयमहो महासाधनिक[ः]स षष्^५ ॥ ६ श्रीमुंजिगसुतः श्रीमच्चमकारपु
१२. द्विजः सप्तश्लोकीमिमां चक्रे माधवो विश्व[मा]धवः ॥ ७ ॥ लिखित
१३. मिदं महं अरिसिंहसुत महं राउलेन ॥ उत्कीर्णं सूत्र सांतलसुतसूत्र वीराने

(To be continued)

1. From an impression in the Watson Museum.
2. Expressed by a symbol.
3. Indravajrā.
4. Vasantatilakā.
5. Upajāti.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA

(Prahlad C. Divanji)

The above title itself indicates that this paper is a sequel to the one previously written by the present writer on the same subject. That paper was the one entitled "The Date and Place of Origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha" read before the seventh session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Baroda in December 1933 and published in the proceedings of that session of the Conference. In the earlier part of that paper I propounded the view that the most probable date of composition of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in two volumes as printed by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press of Bombay in 1918 on collating a Ms. obtained from the collection of Pandit Jyestharam Mukundji and the edition printed by the G. K. Press must be the second or third or at the latest the fourth quarter of the tenth century A. D., that this did not mean that there was no work of that name in existence prior to that period but meant that there was an old work of that name containing a philosophical disquisition in the form of a dialogue between Rāma, the eldest son of King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and the sage Vasiṣṭha and that it had been recast and considerably enlarged by a subsequent writer of the tenth century by adding other interlaced dialogues beginning with that between Sutīkṣṇa and the sage Agastī, the whole of the Uttarārdha of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa and certain intermediate episodes and minute philosophical discussions. That view had been based upon two grounds namely (1) that the great Vedāntin Śankara's views on several important topics had been referred to and criticised in that work and some others which had not been discussed by him and his predecessors had been discussed therein and (2) that there were distinct and unmistakeable references to a King of Kāśmīr named Yaśaskara-deva who ruled over that province from 939 to 948 A.D., to his minister Nṛsimha, to a story composed by the latter &c. I considered therein all the *pros* and *cons* of the issue and showed that all the *cons* were not entitled to be given a preponderating weight as against the *pros* except one namely that this work has

been found to have been abridged by Gauḍa Abhinanda, who according to the view of Sten Konow expressed in his Introduction to the Karpūramañjarī, had been living in the middle of the ninth century A. D. With regard to that objection I reserve my judgment as I had not till then read Gauḍa Abhinanda's work and had not seen the grounds on which Konow's said view had been based. I have since then not only read a printed edition of the Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha but also compared it word for word with the N. S. P. edition of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and examined 16 Mss. of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra from the collection at the Sanskrit Library at Baroda and compared four of them, which satisfied my requirements, with the printed edition. I have also read Sten Konow's "Essay on Rājaśekhara's Life and Writings" forming Part III of his edition of the Karpūramañjarī translated by Charles Rockwell Lanman in Harvard Oriental Series No. 4 on which the said objection had been based. Lastly, I have compared certain philosophical passages occurring in the Rāmācarita of Abhinanda with the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha and carefully and critically studied some of the works on Kāśmīr Śaivism published in the Kāśmīr Series of Texts and Studies. I am, therefore, now confident enough to express an opinion as to the date of the said work and am glad to announce that the fact of the Yogavāsiṣṭha having been abridged by Gauḍa Abhinanda does not come in the way of the conclusion that the work in the form in which it has been printed by the N. S. Press must have been composed in the second or third or at the latest the fourth quarter of the tenth century A. D. This announcement is supported by the following reasons:—

The author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha has stated in Book II Sarga 17 that this is a work containing 32000 stanzas distributed as follows:—Vairāgya 1500, Mumukṣu 1000, Utpatti 7000, Sthiti 3000, Upaśama 5000 and Nirvāṇa the remaining 14500, but as already stated in my previous paper the book as printed by the N. S. Press contains 29289 stanzas only including prose passages out of which the Vairāgya has 1146, Mumukṣu 807, Utpatti 6314, Sthiti 2414, Upaśama 4322 and Nirvāṇa 14296, of which there are 5331 in the earlier and 8965 in the latter part. Each of these Prakaraṇas is made up of several Sargas separately numbered.

Thus the Vairāgya consists of Sargas 1 to 33, Mumukṣu 1 to 20, Utpatti 1 to 122, Sthiti 1 to 46, Upaśama 1 to 93, Nirvāṇa Pūrvārdha 1 to 128 and Nirvāṇa Uttarārdha 1 to 216. The total number of Sargas in the work upto the end of Nirvāṇa Pūrvārdha is 442 and that upto the end of Nirvāṇa Uttarārdha is 658.

Turning to the Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha, the edition thereof perused by me was that published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, in Samvat 1944 corresponding with Śake 1810 and with A.D. 1888, at the request of Paṇḍit Pitāmbar Mahārāj and Śarīf Saleh Mahomed on getting a press copy thereof prepared on collating a Ms. in the possession of Śrī Trilokirāmji Swāmi and another in that of Śrī Jaykrṣṇa Jīwanrām. It too consists of six chapters bearing the same names as the Yogavasiṣṭha with this difference that the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa is not sub-divided therein into the Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha. As regards the sub-division of the Prakaraṇas into Sargas there is this major difference that the Sargas therein have been continuously numbered irrespective of the division into Prakaraṇas. There is also some confusion in their numbering in the colophons as four Sargas succeeding the 37th have not been assigned any numbers, the next nine have been numbered 37th to 45th and the tenth which should have been numbered 46th according to the latter calculation has been numbered 48th and there is a remark at the end of the last that the work ends there. If the Sargas had been numbered consecutively, the four unnumbered ones would have been 38th to 41st, the next nine 42nd to 50th and the last 51st. Out of these 51 Sargas Nos. 1 to 3 are comprised in the Vairāgya-prakaraṇa, 4 only in the Mumukṣu, 5 to 13 in the Utpatti, 14 to 18 in the Sthiti, 19 to 28 in the Upaśama, 29 to 51 in the Nirvāṇa. The total number of stanzas therein is not 6000 as stated by the commentator Ātmasukha in his introductory remark but only 5013, distributed as follows :—Vairāgya 359, Mumukṣu 110, Utpatti 1008, Sthiti 541, Upaśama 1123 and Nirvāṇa 1872. One further anomaly noticeable in the book as printed is that there are two more Sargas after the 49th, which is entitled Phalanirdeśa [Statement of the Fruit (of studying the work)]. Lastly, it is remarkable that the commentary of Ātmasukha ends at the 48th Sarga, which has been entitled Yogasaṭtabhūmikopākhyānam (The Episode of the Seven Stages of Yoga). Such was the edition of

the work of Gauḍa Abhinanda which was available to me for comparison with the big work of Vālmiki.

I, therefore, examined all the Mss. having any connection with the Yogavāsiṣṭha which were found in the Mss. collection at the Sanskrit Library, Baroda. They were in all 16 in the Itihāsa and Purāṇa Section marked 1c. One of them numbered 10747 was in the Telugu characters. With the help of a Tamil Pandit at the Library I could gather that it was a Ms. of the first 16 Sargas and a portion of the 17th of the Vairāgya-prakaraṇa of the big work together with the commentary of Ānandabodha No. 6615 a Ms. in Grantha characters was found to contain the Sthiti and Upaśama Prakaraṇas with the commentary of somebody whose name could not be gathered. Of the remaining 14 Mss. were found to be the Mss. of a Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra or Vāsiṣṭhasāra extracted by somebody whose name was not mentioned in any of them. 9 of them were also found to contain the commentary of one Mahīdhara. It was a small work in ten chapters only containing stanzas varying in number from 208 to 229 only. Out of them No. 10192 was in the Bengali characters while the remaining 9 were in the Nāgarī. From amongst the remaining 5 which were Mss. of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra or Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha Gauḍa Abhinanda, No. 6394 was found to be an incomplete and damaged Ms. in Grantha characters. The first 12 folios there were found missing also. But the colophon at the end of the 43rd Sarga showed that the work ended there. No. 9809 was another Ms. in Grantha characters of a commentary on Gauḍa Abhinanda's Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra called Saṁsāratarāṇī composed by a Vedavidācārya and incised on 252 palm leaves. It too showed that the work ended at the 43rd Sarga. No. 12810 was a Ms. of the work of Abhinanda in the Devanāgarī characters containing 204 folios out of which folios 21, 22, 159, and 189 to 199 were missing. The Colophon at the end of the 44th Sarga there contained a remark that the work ended there. The scribbled remarks on the last folio showed that the Ms. had been written as early as Saṁwat 1656 (A. D. 1600). Lastly, No. 10561 was another complete Ms. of the work with the commentary of Ātmasukha named Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā extending upto the end of the Sarga marked 43rd in the printed edition which would be the 48th according to the serial order if properly observed. This

had only one more Sarga thereafter corresponding to that marked 44th in the printed edition but which would be the 49th if the proper serial order were followed.

The facts that emerge from a consideration of the contents of the last four Mss. bearing Nos. Ic 6394, 9809, 12810 and 10561 are that the said work had found two commentators namely Ātmasukha and Vedavidācārya, that their commentaries bore the names Vāsiṣṭhacandrikā and Samsāratarāṇī respectively and that each of them ended at the 43rd Sarga and inasmuch as the former commentary as printed in the N. S. Press edition also ends there it can be inferred that the work as it came into the hands of the said two commentators did not contain more than 43 Sargas. Further as none of the Mss. contained more than 44 Sargas and as only one out of them contained the 44th relating to Phalanirdeśa it can be inferred that the work must originally have only the 43 Sargas which were commented upon by the commentators and that consequently there are 8 spurious Sargas in the printed edition. Which those 8 are it is somewhat difficult to say. However this much is certain that the 44th (49th according to the serial order) which is found in one Ms. only and the 45th and 48th (50th and 51st according to the said order) must at least be three of them.

Comparing the work with the N. S. Press edition of the big work I find that there are the same six Prakaraṇas having the same titles in both of them but that the last namely the Nirvāṇa has not been sub-divided into two parts in the Laghu. This would not matter if there were some extracts in the Laghu from any of the 216 Sargas in the Uttarārdha which contains the largest number of stanzas. There is not, however, a single one therein out of the 8965 stanzas in that part of the big work. Not only that but there is not even a single line therein which can be deemed to have been taken from that part and there is not a single episode therein out of those contained in that part of the big work.¹ Secondly, on a close

1. Under the title "Yogavāsiṣṭhasamśkēpa or Mokṣopāyaśāra or Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha" in his Catalogus Catalogorum Pt. I Aufrecht too has made a note that there are no extracts from the second part of Nirvāṇa-prakarāṇa.

comparison of the stanzas in the two works it is found that whereas the stanzas in every one of the Prakaraṇas in the Laghu have been extracted from the Sargas occurring in the corresponding Prakaraṇas of the big work., it is not so in one case and that is that extracts from the 1st and 2nd Sargas of the Mumukṣu Bhāṣya the Yoga are found to have been incorporated in the 3rd Sarga of the Laghu which is included in the Vairāgya in that smaller work. *Thirdly*, whereas it is generally true that the Ākhyānas or Upākhyānas which form the titles of the different Sargas in the Laghu except in one case are all found and found narrated in the same order in the yoga, it is not true that the stanzas occurring in every Ākhyāna or Upākhyāna in the latter are invariably found incorporated in the Sargas forming parts of the same Ākhyāna or Upākhyāna in the former. Thus, for instance, Sarga 84 of Yoga. III forms part of the episode of Sūci therein and extracts therefrom are found to have been embodied in the 3rd Sarga of the Laghu which bears the title Aindavopākhyāna. Similarly Sargas 56 and 57 of the Upaśama chapter of the Yoga form part of the Episode of Uddālaka but in the Laghu there are extracts taken from them in Sarga 25 which is entitled Śaṅkhapākhyāna which begins in the Yoga from Sarga 58, not before that. In the same manner V. 64 forms part of the last episode in the Yoga, and yet extracts therefrom are found to have been embodied in Sarga 26 of the Laghu which has been given the title Bhāsavilāsaśaṁvāda. In the same way there are extracts from Yoga. V. 73 forming part of the Vetālopākhyāna therein, embodied in Sarga 36 of the Laghu which relates to the Episode of Bhagīratha. Then there is the Bilvopākhyāna in Yoga VI 45. Extracts therefrom are found in Laghu 31. The 31st Sarga in the Yoga is entitled Śīlakośopadeśa. Still extracts therefrom are found incorporated in the said Sarga of the Laghu though its title is the same as that of Yoga. VI. 45. Sarga 31 in the serial order in the Laghu is named Kirātopākhyāna. It contains extracts from Sargas 77 to 83 of the Nirvāṇa Purāṇa of the Yoga which form part of the episode of Cūḍālā therein. True, there is a subsidiary episode of the Kirāta in the 83rd Sarga thereof but Sargas 77 to 82 form part of the main episode and the subsidiary one. Again Sargas 85 to 88 of the same book of the Yoga form part of the same episode and in the 89th Sarga

thereof there is another subsidiary episode called Hastikopākhyāna. Still extracts from Sargas 85 to 88 are to be found in Sarga 38 of the Laghu, which has been given the title Cintāmaṇyupākhyāna and extracts from Sarga 89 are found in Sarga 39 of the Laghu which bears the synonymous title Gajendropākhyāna. *Fourthly*, the titles of the same Upākhyānas differ in the two works. Thus besides the remarkable fact above-noted as to the title of the episode of the elephant there are the other remarkable ones that although there is only an illustration of a Bhikṣu's aberrations in Bhikṣusaṃsārodaharaṇam in Swapnaśatarudriya in the course of an episode of one Jīvaṭa in Yoga VI. 62 and the title of the 63rd Sarga is Swapnaśatarudriyakathanam still Sarga 34 of the Laghu which contains extracts from Yoga VI. 62 to 64 has been named Śatarudropākhyānam. Similarly there is no separate episode of Śikhidhvaja in the Yoga but as he is the husband of Cūḍālā, whose episode extends from Yoga VI. 77 to 110, his narrative is found in that episode. In fact one of the aims of the author in inserting that episode seems to be to impress upon the readers that there are cases of husbands and wives in which the latter are more qualified spiritually than the former and that therefore in order that there may be harmony between them the wives allow their husbands their own way for a time but afterwards skilfully manage to bring them round to their own level. That being the case the heroine is more important in the episode than the hero and therefore the title thereof taken from the name of the heroine is the appropriate one. However the title of the 42nd Sarga in the Laghu, misnumbered 37th over again in the printed edition thereof is found to have been taken from the name of the husband. *Fifthly*, there are different versions of the same episodes in the two works. Thus, for instance, there is the episode of Bhīma and others in Yoga IV. Corresponding to it there is the same episode in Laghu 16 but there are so many variations of readings and other discrepancies between the two that the two versions of the episode differ materially. The same is the case with the Siddhagītā occurring in Yoga V and revealed to Janaka, extracts from which are found in Laghu 19, the Puṇya-Pāvana episode, the Bali episode and the Gādhi episode occurring in the same book of the Yoga which are found summarized in Laghu 20, 21 and 28 respectively. *Sixthly*,

the narrators of the same portions of the same episodes in the two works also differ in several cases. Thus Sarga 7 of the *Laghu* contains extracts from the Suci episode occurring in Book III Sargas 60 to 82 of the *Yoga*. Wherein the narrator is *Brahmā*. But in the *Laghu* the narrator is *Vasiṣṭha* throughout. Then again the narrator's names differ in the following cases also, namely:-

मानुस्वाच	before	Yoga III. 89. 1	but	वशिष्ट उवाच	before	Laghu 9-1
ब्रह्मोवाच	"	" " " "	6	" राम उवाच	"	" " " 5
मानुस्वाच	"	" " " "	7	" वशिष्ट उवाच	"	" " " 6
वशिष्ट उवाच	"	" " V. 33. 2	"	भगवानुवाच	"	" " " 22-23
No introductory remark	}	" " IV. 1-1	"	“ॐ नमः परमात्मने । वशिष्ट उवाच”	14-15	

which have no corresponding stanzas in the *Yoga*.

"	"	"	V. 33-9	"	वशिष्ट उवाच	"	22-31
"	"	"	VII. 126-74-75	"	"	"	48-86
काल उवाच	"	"	IV. 11-2	"	No intro. remark	"	14-64
वशिष्ट उवाच	"	"	" 4	"	"	"	" " 66

No question

from *Rāma* in " " V. 89-41 as in " 28-10-11

Seventhly although it is a fact that there are numerous stanzas in the *Laghu* which agree word for word with those in the corresponding portions of the *Yoga*, it is also true that there are several entire stanzas in the *Laghu* not a word out of which is to be found in the big work, let alone those hundreds of stanzas one of whose lines or portions of whose both lines differ from those in the corresponding stanzas of the latter. There are also several one-line stanzas in the *Laghu* as against two or three-line stanzas in the parent-work and again several two-line stanzas in the parent work the order of whose lines are found reversed in the abridgment. *Eighthly*, there are other large numbers of stanzas in which owing to a difference in the position of their lines the second line in the *Yoga* of one stanza

becomes the first of one stanza in the Laghu and the first of the succeeding one in the Yoga becomes the second of the same in the Laghu and *vice versa*. The instances of all these kinds of variations will be found collected in the foot-note below.

2. The following stanzas in the Laghu do not correspond to any in the Yoga, namely:—(I) 3 to 5, 41 to 43, 82, 86, 87, 93; (II) 17, 31, 34, 36, 53, 77, 82, 130, 174; (III) 4, 7, 10, 21, 38, 39; (IV) 27, 33, 53, 54, 85, 91, 104, 106, 108; (V) 1 to 10, 15, 16, 19, 21, 55, 57, 65, 88, 96, 101, 110; (VI) 3, 5, 50, 51, 88, 101, 151, 154 to 158, 173, 222, 248, 253, 254, 268, 272, 276, 280, 300, 319, 322; (VII) 39, 41, 44 to 55, 81, 85, 104, 111 to 114, 130; (VIII) 1, 3, 9, 10 to 14, 32, 34, 36, 37, 39 to 41; (IX) 5, 6, 9, 10 to 17, 24, 25, 26; (X) 1, 2, 7, 22, 23, 35, 37, 38, 41, 44, 47, 50, 53, 57 to 59; (XI) 4, 7, 14, 15, 21, 22, 24 to 27; (XII) 3, 4, 33, 71, 72, 77; (XIII) 4 to 6, 8, 33, 42, 45, 70, 73, 91, 94, 120, 130, 131 to 133, 148, 151, 156, 159, 164, 166; (XIV) 2, 7, 61, 70, 76, 87, 99, 100; (XV) 13, 16, 27, 32, 48, 60 to 62, 71, 72, 78, 83; (XVI) 31, 32, 44; (XVII) 6, 12, 19, 40, 46, 53, 64, 74, 79, 80, 86, 89, 91, 92, 113, 117, 123, 139, 140, 144, 168, 189, 205, 216, 221, 224, 246, 248; (XVIII) 41, 42, 47, 49; (XIX) 19, 33, 35, 43, 47, 55, 60; (XX) 45, 48, 52, 73, 81, 88; (XXI) 54, 57, 66; (XXII) 2, 25, 32, 52, 54, 58, 104; (XXIII) 18, 26, 31, 41, 42, 49, 53, 66, 67, 69, 72 to 74, 81, 82, 83, 87, 89, 90, 95; (XXIV) 11, 39, 40, 52, 58, 59, 70, 79, 91, 113, 128, 141; (XXV) 8, 10, 45, 48, 51, 52, 62, 70, 74, 75, 77, 90; (XXVII) 14, 19, 44, 47, 52, 53, 60, 78, 85, 92, 94, 97, 100, 105, 111, 116, 122, 128 to 130, 136, 138, 169, 180; (XXVIII) 10 to 16, 50, 75 to 78, 80 to 82, 87, 92, 115, 118, 124, 142, 155, 159; (XXIX) 25, 28, 42 to 44, 49, 61, 62, 71, 95, 114, 119, 121, 124, 132, 133, 155, 203, 208, 250, 251; (XXX) 12, 43, 61, 70, 73, 127, 136, 140, 152; (XXXI) 1, 13, 28; (XXXII) 9, 11, 18; (XXXIII) 8, 23, 45, 46; (XXXIV) 7, 18, 27, 43, 44, 56, 58, 59, 61; (XXXV) 13, 14, 46, 48, 52; (XXXVI) 55, 60, 61; (XXXVII) 5, 25, 66, 131; (XXXVIII) 22, 25, 38, 42, 49, 59, 92, 94, 107, 119, 121, 122, 126; (XXXIX) 9, 13; (XL) 6; (XLI) 4, 14; (XLII) 15, 21, 32 to 34, 55, 64 to 68, 70, 71, 107, 122, 128, 141, 163, 173, 202, 229, 231, 246, 251, 273, 277, 278, 282, 301, 305, 313; (XLIII) 15, 22, 27, 28; (XLIV) 26; (XLV) 7; (XLVI) 44, 63; (XLVII) 13, 17; (XLVIII) 26, 31, 38, 55, 66, 83, 101, 109, 110; The whole of Sarga XLIX which contains 35 stanzas; (L) 17, 36, 37, 49; (LI) 22, 44, 74, 84.

These instances of unparallel stanzas exclude those in whose case there was found one corresponding line if the stanzas were of two lines, or two such lines if the stanzas were of four lines but include those which were not found to have even one or two entire parallel lines but only fragments thereof in the same or different stanzas.

The following stanzas in the Laghu have each one line only namely:—(IV) 42; (VI) 245; (VIII) 30; (IX) 21; (X) 17; (XIII) 146; (XVI) 49; (XXIII) 58, 96; (XXIV) 130, 157, 161; (XXV) 42; (XXVII) 137, 144, 147, 151; (XXVIII) 108, 127; (XXIX) 153; (XXXVII) 14; (XLII) 160, 200 (XLVI) 80, 108; (XLVIII) 35; (L) 6.

Ninthly, there are no extracts in Laghu 15 which bears the title Dāmādyupākhyāna from the whole of Yoga IV. 30., a considerable portion of Yoga IV. 31 and from Yoga IV. 32. 1 to 35 in which a connection has been established between Dāma, Vyāla and Kāśmīr and a sparrow on the Pradyumna Peak in Adhiṣṭhāna, the capital of Kāśmīr, a mosquito in the royal palace there and a partridge in the Ratnāvali Vihāra there, by a story of the rebirths of these demons and of their being resurrected on hearing the story of their previous lives from Nṛsimha, a minister of King Yaśasrāma deva of Kāśmīr who ruled over Kāśmīr between 939 and 948 A.D. There are none also from Yoga III. 41 to 45, in Sarga 41 out of which there occurs the pedigree of Vidūratha for 11 generations. *Lastly*, there are no extracts in that abridgment from any of the prose passages occurring in the bigger work at the places mentioned in the footnote below.³

These points of divergence lead unmistakeably to the inference that the Gauḍa Abhinanda had before him a recension of the Yogavāsīṣṭha other than that which formed the basis of the

The order of lines is found reversed in the following cases viz :—
Laghu XXV 48 which corresponds to Yoga V. 58, 41.

„ XXIX, 94/1 = Yoga V. 17, 1 but Laghu XXIX. 94/2 = Yoga V. 16, 12.

Stanzas or lines corresponding to Laghu XXVII. 68 to 88 are found between Yoga V. 78. 2 to 46. Those corresponding to Laghu XXVII. 89-94 to Yoga V. 79 and yet that corresponding to Laghu XXVII. 91 is Yoga V. 78. 4. Laghu XXVII. 114 to 116 are found with slight variations to be the same as Yoga V. 82. 26 to 29, Laghu XXVII 117 to 119 are found to be extracts from Yoga V. 83-32 to 44 and again Laghu XXVII. 118 to 122 are found to correspond to lines taken from Yoga V, 82. 21 to 80. Laghu XXVII 130 is again the same as Yoga VI/I. 81. 8, and Laghu XXVII. 133 to 136 tally with Yoga VI/I. 11, 12, 13 and 15, Laghu XXVII 131 is quite different, 132 again corresponds to Yoga VI/I. 81. 10, Laghu XLI. 9/1 is the same as Yoga VI/I. 91. 1. Laghu XLI 9/2, 10/1 the same as Yoga V. 91. 12/1-2, Laghu XLII. 72. 3. Laghu XLII 74 the same as Yoga VI/I. 95. 3 and 5 but Laghu XLII 74 the same as VIII. 94. Laghu XXIX. 232 corresponds to a stanza interpolated between Yoga V. 25, 67, and 68 and therefore not numbered.

3. There are long prose passages in the Yogavāsīṣṭha at the following places, namely :—(II) 12. 11 to 19, 13. 8 to 11 ; (III) 63. 67 to 77, 82. 1 to 7, 9 to 16 ; 116, 8, 10 to 23, 122. 1 to 13 ; (IV) 3. 7, 10, 11 ; 38. 1 to 5 to 9, 11 to 21 ; 39. 1 to 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 29 to 45, 49, 50, (VI) 2, 61. 4, 6, 12, 16 to 18.

text of the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press edition, when he sat down to select passages therefrom for his Laghuyogavasistha. They also lead to the further inferences that though that recension too contained a division of the work into the same six books, Vairāgya, Mumukṣu, Utpatti, Sthiti, Upaśama and Nirvāṇa, the first book therein was of a greater length and the second of a smaller length than in the present printed edition, that the sixth book therein was of a considerably smaller length than that in the latter and was not sub-divided into the Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha, that it contained somewhat different versions of several episodes and did not at all contain some of those contained in Books I to V and the first part of Book VI of the printed edition and all those contained in the latter part of Book VI of that edition and that it did not most probably contain in the episode of the demons Dāma, Vyāla and Kaṭa a mention of their rebirths as a sparrow residing on the Pradyumna Peak in the town of Adhiṣṭhāna in Kāśmīr, a mosquito in the royal palace there and a partridge in a Buddhist Vihāra there going by the name of Ratnāvali and an account of their restoration to their former state on hearing the story of their original births from a minister of King Yaśaskaradeva who ruled over Kāśmīr between 939 and 948 A.D. Whether the last inference is correct or incorrect can be stated with confidence only after several old Mss. of the entire work gathered from different parts of India are compared. I have not yet had the facility to do that. Still as the editor of the recension which is printed by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press says that his is the twelfth edition of the work,⁴ this much is certain that the work must have passed through several editions before his time and it is highly probable that Gauḍa Abhinanda had made his selections from one of those earlier editions which varied in several respects as stated above from the one which was utilized by the learned Sāstri who prepared the press copy of the work for the N. S. P. edition. If that was so, even if Gauḍa Abhinanda had abridged the work earlier than the 3rd or 4th quarter of the tenth century, which he must have done if he had lived about the end of the 9th century, the date of the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press recension which I had fixed in 1933 remains unaffected.

4. Yoga VI/I. 22. 25.

Assuming for the sake of argument that the recension utilized by Gauḍa Abhinanda did contain in Book IV the passage containing the reference to Yaśaskaradeva of Kāśmīr and his minister Nṛsiṃha although it was a different recension than that published by the N. S. Press, I proceed to consider whether that fact comes in the way of the above conclusion. It would be Gauḍa Abhinanda had lived about the middle of the ninth century as opined by Sten Konow and subsequently taken for granted by other orientalist like Winternitz. It is, therefore, necessary to determine first when could the author of the *Lagṇa-yogavāsiṣṭha* or *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* have flourished.

Now the printed edition of that book supplies no information about its compiler except that in the colophon to the last Sarga thereof it is said that the said Sāra (essence) had been extracted by "Śrī Tarkavādīśvara Sāhityācārya, Gauḍa Maṇḍalāmkāra Śrīmad Abhinanda Paṇḍita." This merely informs us that Abhinanda, the extractor of that essence, was a great philosopher and literary man and was an ornament of the province of Gauḍa : Ātmasukha, however, calls him in the introduction to his commentary on that work "the Kāśmīra Paṇḍita Abhinanda." He does not mention therein the ground on which he believed the extractor to be an inhabitant of Kāśmīr. At page 24 of his *Catalogus Catalogorum* Pt. I Aufrecht states that Abhinanda called Gauḍa Abhinanda was the son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta (Vṛttikāra), the great-grandson of one Śaktiswāmin who was the minister of Muktaṭpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty of Kāśmīr, who in turn was the grandson of one Śakti, who was an original inhabitant of Gauḍa and that Abhinanda was the author of two works, *Kādambarīkathāsāra* and *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra*. Aufrecht also takes notice of another Abhinanda who was the son of the Śatānanda and the author of the *Rāmacarita*, a *Mahākāvya*. That the two Abhinandas were distinct is also the view expressed by Dr. F. W. Thomas in his Introduction to the *Kavīndravacanāsamuccaya* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series No. 1309) and by the editor of the *Kādambarīkathāsāra* of the N. S. Press. Sten Konow too in his "Essays on The Life and Writings of Rājaśekhara" in his edition of the *Karpūramañjarī* distinguishes between the two Abhinandas. Lastly, Rāmaswāmi Sāstri, the learned editor of the *Rāmacarita*.

the G. O. Series (Vol. XLVI) has in his Introduction to that work examined all the *pros* and *cons* of the issue arising from the autobiographical references in the first twelve verses of the Kādam. and in the Rāma., from the anthologies entitled Kavīndravacana-samuccaya, Saduktikarṇāmrta, Sūktimuktāvalī and Śāraṅgadharapaddhati, from the creative poems and Alankāra works entitled Udayasundarikathā, Kirtikaumudī and Suvṛttatilaka, a scholastic work named Uṇādivṛtti and two Bengali commentaries on the Amarakośa and recorded his conclusion in the following terms namely :—"On the strength of these materials we have to consider the observations of Dr. Bühler as early as 1873 in the second volume of the Indian Antiquary to establish the identity of these two authors as premature and unreliable." Further on he records the definite conclusion that "the identity of the two authors cannot be established though obviously there are many points common to them which may be accounted for by their being connected with the same country which is Bengal."⁶ His examination was so far confined to the determination of the question whether Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambārikathā-sāra and Abhinanda, the author of the Rāmacarita Mahākāvya were or were not identical personages and his conclusion was that they were not. It seems from this that scholars are agreed that there were two Abhinandas, one the son of Jayanta, the Vṛttikāra of Kāśmīr called Gauḍa Abhinanda because of his ancestor having come from the Gauḍa province and the other, the son of Śatānanda and an inhabitant of that province itself at the time of his literary activity. Thereout we are concerned with the former only because though the name of the father of the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra does not appear from that work he was according to all accounts the same as the author of the Kādambārikathasāra, not the same as that of the Rāmacarita.

Even if he had been identical with the latter, it matters little for our purpose as I shall presently show. The result of Mr. Rāmaswami's further investigation as to the date of the author of the Rāmacarita was that he was patronized by Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa of the Pala dynasty of Bengal who must have ruled

5. Introduction to the Ramacarita (G. O. Series No. XLVI) p. X.
6. Ibid, p. XII.

over that province later than Dharmapāla (i. e. later than the first quarter of the 9th century) according to Abhinanda himself and that by the first half of the 11th century he had acquired so much fame as an eminent poet as to be thought fit to be compared by Sodḍhala, author of Udayasundarikathā, with Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Vākpatirāja. Thus the *terminus a quo* for his date was found by him to be the second quarter of the 9th century and the *terminus ad quem* to be the first quarter of the 11th century. According to him then this Abhinanda must have lived under the patronage of Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa somewhere between 825 and 1025 A.D. But since Sodḍhala is the earliest writer known to him who has mentioned this Abhinanda as an eminent poet Mr. Rāmaswami concludes further that he must have lived about 900 A.D. The more reasonable conclusion from that fact would, in my opinion, have been that the author must have flourished somewhere between 900 and 950 A.D.

As for the other Abhinanda, known as Gauḍa Abhinanda, son of Jayanta the Vṛttikāra and great great-grandson of Śaktiswāmi, minister of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, it was Sten Konow, editor of Rājasekhara's Karpūramañjarī, who in his "Essay on the Life and Writings of Rājasekhara" (translated by Lanman in Harvard Oriental Series No. IV) expressed the opinion that "The said Abhinanda, author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra and Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra must have lived about the middle of the ninth century." This opinion seems to have been based on the facts about the author's lineage appearing from verses 1 to 12 of Kādambarīkathāsāra which as gathered from the Cata. Cata. Pt. I are that he was the son of Jayanta the Vṛttikāra, son of Kānti, son of Kalyāṇaswāmi, son of Śaktiswāmi (minister of Mukṭāpīḍa of the Karkoṭaka dynasty), son of Mitra, son of Śakti, a Gauḍa by birth, on the view of Dr. Bühler expressed in the Indian Antiquary Vol. II, pp. 102 ff., that the accession of Mukṭāpīḍa Lalitāditya of the Karkoṭaka dynasty could not have taken place prior to 724 A.D. and on the calculation that there must be a difference of about 120 years between the times of Śaktiswāmi, minister of Lalitāditya and his great great-grandson Gauḍa Abhinanda. As to that there is so much in favour of the earlier date that instead of a date later than 724 A.D. Kalhana has recorded that Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa, the youngest son of Prati-

pāditya and the successor of Tārāpīḍa ruled over Kāśmīr from 699 to 736 A.D. Stein, the learned translator of Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī states in Chapter V of his Introduction thereto at page 88 that he had sent an embassy to China during the reign of Emperor Hiuen-tsung (A.D. 713-755). That fact too in the absence of a definite year of that event does not make it necessary to revise the date of Abhinanda as based on Dr. Bühler's view that the said King could not have ascended the throne of Kāśmīr earlier than 724 A.D. But there is another great event in the reign and a great exploit of that king which Stein records at the same page and that is that the said King's first enterprise was directed against Yaśovarman of Kanouj whom he dethroned after 736 A.D. If that was so and if it was also true that he had "extended his powers beyond Kāśmīr and in the adjacent territories" as recorded by Kalhaṇa and believed by the same learned translator, his reign must have extended at least upto the end of the first half of the 8th century, if not beyond it, in order that he could have got sufficient time to make other expeditions. Moreover we do not know from which year to which year of the reign of that monarch Śaktiswāmim, the great great-grand father of Gauḍa Abhinanda served him as a minister. 724 A.D. is not therefore an immutable starting point for the calculation of the date of the author. Lastly 30 years for a generation is a sound rule for the fixation of dates. But it is after all a conventional rule involving a presumption that every succeeding generation commenced after 30 years of the just preceding one, a presumption which is liable to be rebutted by other reliable data. Such data in this case are that the earliest writers of Kāśmīr itself, where Gauḍa Abhinanda is held to have lived about the middle of the ninth century, who have referred to Gauḍa Abhinanda are Abhinavagupta and Kśemendra.⁷ The former in his Dhvanilocana and the latter in his Suvṛttatilaka refer to Gauḍa Abhinanda's Kādambarikathāsāra.⁸ Abhinavagupta was the pupil of Laxmaṅgupta, pupil of Utpala, who was a pupil of Bhaṭṭa or

7. The references to Gauḍa Abhinanda in the Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa and Sūktimuktāvalī of Ārohaṇa Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa have no importance in this connection as the said authors are not known to be inhabitants of Kāśmīr.

8. Introduction to Rāmacarita (G. O. Series No. XLVI), p. xi.

Siddha Somānanda who is famous in the literature of the Śaivism of Kāśmīr as the founder of the Pratyabhijñā i.e. the Manana or Vicāra Śāstra of the Trika system and according to his own statements he lived towards the end of tenth and the first quarter of the 11th century. Kṣemarāja or Kṣemendra was his pupil and had carried on his literary activity in the middle of 11th century. In Saduktikarṇāṃṭa 3,52, which is a quotation from Abhinanda's work the author praises Rājaśekhara as a contemporary.⁹ Therefore the presumptive rule of thirty years for a generation which as calculated from 724 A.D. the date of Abhinanda was fixed about the middle of the 9th century by Sten Konow cannot hold good in this case and the only possible and reasonable date of Gauḍa Abhinanda, author of Kādambarikathāsāra and Yogavāsisṭhasāra must be held to be the same as that of Rājaśekhara the teacher of King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj i.e. somewhere between 900 and 950 A.D.

It thus appears that Abhinanda, the author of the Rāmacarita and protégé of Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa of Bengal and Gauḍa Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarikathāsāra and Yogavāsisṭhasāra were, not identical personages but almost contemporaries though the first lived in Bengal and the latter in Kāśmīr between 900 and 950 A.D. It is possible that one of them may be the senior of the other in age.

The fact that the Yogavāsisṭha even in the form in which it is printed in the N. S. Press edition containing the distinct reference to Yaśaskaradeva of Kāśmīr who ruled there from 939 A.D. to 948 A.D. and his minister Nṛsimha, may have been availed of by any of them does not thus come in the way of fixing the date of the recension availed of for that edition in the fourth quarter of the tenth century. And so long as we do not know that Gauḍa Abhinanda was born in a particular year of that century and lived upto a particular year only therein it is not unreasonable to assume that though born earlier he may have lived until he attained a ripe old age in the third or fourth quarter of that century and therefore even if the revised edition of the Yogavāsisṭha containing the reference to the King of Kāśmīr above-mentioned may have been prepared in the third or fourth quarter of that century, the fact of Gauḍa Abhinanda having utilized it for his abridgment cannot come in the way of fixing the date of the said recension somewhere between the second and the fourth quarter of the said century.

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9. Kāśmīr Śaivism Part I (Kāśmīr Texts and Studies published by the Research Department, Kāśmīr), History and Literature, pp. 17 to 26.
10. Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 24.

THE EXEGESIS OF THE VEDAS
WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE 33rd CHAPTER
OF THE

AITAREYA BRĀHMAṆAM

(R. N. Sūryanārāyaṇa)

(Continued from the second issue)

(v) *Human sacrifices.*

At any rate Ātmanivedana or ātma yajña in honour of the deities or self is advocated in this upākhyāna. The same thing has been dwelt upon as puruṣa yajña in the puruṣa sūkta. The question whether there once existed at all the human sacrifice is not based on discriminative grounds. Such absurd notions are alien to Brāhmaṇas following the Brāhmaṇāchāra. It can be proved that such human sacrifices are being conducted even to-day. (Śrī Śankaracarya's offering his life for the sake of a devotee is one of the many glorious examples.) By human sacrifice, one should not mean simply beheading or butchering a person on the altar. There are so many considerations and limitations with which we have to tackle the problem. To us, Brāhmaṇas, human sacrifice does not look horrible as we attach to it the divine purpose and service. Moreover, the growth of psychology and anatomy demand such dissections of the living body. The minute examination of particular parts of the body may enlighten us on the fact that the infinite is quite apart from the finite one. The mystery of the soul is experienced personally by a sacrificer through perception. Human sacrifices may be performed provided the environments are favourable. The Vedas never advocate brutality and force. We can see in the episode how it is difficult to find out a man who could come forward voluntarily, to bind the victim to the post. And at the same time we find a practical philosopher and a karma yogi in an ajigartha man who sets an example of not hesitating to discharge a piece of divine duty. The nature and qualifications of the victim vary in accordance with the object of the human sacrifice. Yajurveda gives us the details of this sacrifice. If one's own life or any man's life on his

behalf were to be offered, the effect (wisdom) will be immediately realised. For, life is the highest thing that one can offer to the deity. This principle holds equally good in all religious functions. To get one's head shaved fully is said to be similar to sacrificing one's life. At Nanjangud, as well as in other religiously sacred places, pilgrims undergo unbearable ordeals. In this age, the gruesome and horrible bodily tortures are practised by pilgrims who willingly and gladly sacrifice themselves and that too, sometimes, after they realise their desired objects. Leprosy, the hideous skin disease has been cured by such religious functions. The successful remedy may subsequently be explained in vain by the finite psychology, physiology and the science of medicine that have kept themselves dreadfully silent about the cure prior to the function. Asceticism is also a yajña through which an individual sacrifices his self in the form of his material comforts. To fight with vices and vices is also a sacrifice. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa aptly brings in the sacrifice as analogy to war where Udhisthira is the sacrificer, his four brothers, the four priests, kauravas the victims and Kriṣṇa the deity of the sacrifice. Practising penance is in a way inferior to puruṣa yajña or human sacrifice, the glorious merits of which lift up one above mortality. Passive resistance, Satyagraha, suffering for the cause of one's own country, fasting to death, giving one's blood to inject into the body of another are all different phases of human sacrifice. The distinguishing feature of all the various sacrifices can be vividly dilated upon by means of the religion of psychology, the religion of natural sciences, the religion of philosophy etc.

(vi) *The Vedic deities.*

The episode introduces to us Varuṇa in the beginning. A human being sacrifice is to be celebrated in His honour. A human being happens to be the victim. When the victim is bound to the yajña and when his life is about to be offered, the learned young brahmin begins to offer his last prayers to the Almighty. He may indulge in his enthusiasm, to Prājapati forgetting that he should do so through the proper channel as he is not independent now. Unless the deity to whom he is bound permits him to do so he must not offer his prayers. (cf. A Sumangali cannot undertake any religious ceremony without the permission of her lord.)—It is clear to

those who have realised the principle of subordination.—Therefore, he is directed by each deity to approach the proper authority until he is directed to Varuṇa whom he praises reciting a great many Vedic mantras.

Being gratified not only with the devoted prayers of the victim but also with the whole sacrifice, Varuṇa is inclined to put a stop to the sacrifice and liberate the blissful young sage as well as the sacrificer. But the devotee is required to appease some other deities before he is set free from the bondages. The divinities such as Prajāpati, Agni, Savitr, Varuṇa, Viśvedevas, Indra, Aśvinī and Uṣas are prayed in order, as he is directed or as it strikes to his mind. Here the hierarchy of deities may be observed. It is through Agni, a man has to approach any of the divinities. Though Prajāpati is the Supreme Being, still, He cannot interfere with the functions assigned to other divine beings. Agni directs the man to Savitr through whom he approaches Varuṇa the chief ruler of this particular sacrifice. Varuṇa exercises his authorities through Indra who in his turn instructs the devotee to go to Agni again who is Devānām Mukham. Agni wants again that Viśvedevas should be appeased. After it is accomplished, Indra who happens to be the chairman, is to be prayed for. Indra favours the devotee and tells him to approach Aśvins and Uṣas, who are immediately connected as it is with mortals on particular occasions. Agni is only a messenger of Gods. It is energy or heat that brings about contact between things and purifies the impure ones. Prajāpati is simply a jada which is characteristic of Brahman. As it is with divine beings, so is with mortals. As it is in the universe considered as a whole, so it is with the body created after the same manner as the universe. Therefore one may realise the presence of all these deities in one's own body and self. The devotee's procedure may be explained psychologically and biologically. Mr. V. G. Rele has already given his interpretation of the Vedic Gods. Physics too is indispensable to theology. With the aid of several sciences like this we will be able to say that the devotee praises first the universal soul who is immanent in the body or matter, and then realises the purification of other things presided over by several deities and connected with the self in his own body. As soon as he becomes

pure and he is able to get rid of the three debts in the form of bondages, the purity and divinity of the Spirit can be extended over other beings around him.

Coming to the question of the plurality of deities enumerated in the Veda, we must bear in mind some sacred sayings, which explain the matter intelligibly removing all doubts. No doubt the mention of a great number of deities has been the source of illusion to the followers of other Ācāryas, who wish to know the truth of the Vedas. Unity in diversity cannot be realised by persons of certain presuppositions. To the Brāhmaṇas it is no problem at all. At every step, we remember the doctrine of unity in diversity. The 'one and the many', 'one in many' and 'many in one' are the keynote of Brāhmaṇācāra. As the universe is pervaded by one "That" (तत्) or God who is Omnipresent, no one fails to understand the fact that there are not only some prominent deities mentioned in the Veda but also as many deities as there are manifestations both animate and inanimate, of the Supreme Being in the Universe. *Brahma satyam jagam mithya* does not mean that the world is false and devoid of divinity. The knowledge of the apparent world is false but the knowledge of the world characterised as Brahman is true. It is not only theoretically right but it is practically so too. A religiously perfect devotee can always and in all places see only the Absolute and nothing else. The world is no world to him. With him everything is divine. Therefore the Vedic Texts demand a knowledge of the whole before an attempt is made to understand a part of them. Studying and understanding the Veda piece by piece, part by part, sentence by sentence will be a great blunder and injustice on the part of the commentator and translator.

(vii) *Vyavahāranīti* (civilisation).

The popular saying that "āchāra vyavahārau" makes us believe that āchāra and vyavahāra are the two different entities. Though the compound is dvandva here, we are to learn that ācāra and vyavahāra are the two species of the genus Brāhmaṇa Dharma. Therefore they may be taken to have been associated with each other. The vyavahāra can be understood only through āchāra and it may be defined in terms of Brāhmaṇa Dharma. It is therefore, correct to say that in a man's life the vyavahāra takes

origin from his āchāra proper. Now it is clear that the word in question may be taken, in the Panchami tatpuruṣa compound, ācārāt vyavahārah when it means that vyavahāra originated from Achāra. There is not much difference in the meanings of Acāra and Vyavahāra. They are relative terms as it were. There could be no Vyavahāra without Achāra. The principles of Vyavahāra are based on laws of nature and religion. Therefore, the so-called vyavahāranīti has to be looked upon as divine.

Vyavahāranīti is civilisation in English. The conventional word nāgarikatā used for civilisation in place of vyavahāranīti is totally wrong and it does not convey the meaning of civilisation. The Vedas teach some lessons on civilisation. This upākhyāna too bears reference to many aspects of vyavahāranīti.

The first thing that strikes us is that the principles of Arthaśāstra or economics are revealed in this portion of the Veda.

Some practical means of solving some of the financial problems are suggested here. The existence and maintenance of the world rest upon the mutual service and co-operation of both animate and inanimate beings, of mortals and immortals. Persons of different avocations should help one another directly or indirectly if they were to exist on earth. In this universe there are five kinds of professions. The religion unifies all these professional classes and makes the world run smoothly. That class of people who do not interfere with material world and who favour the world with their wisdom, religious practice, purity and guidance are depending upon other classes of people who are directly in touch with material comforts and pleasure. In this Brāhmaṇa land the men of Śrotriya class are rendered help by others to whom their services are indispensable. But this shall be done as a part of divine service. No question of labour and wage is raised in their or her mind. Just as young men are given pocket money to meet their sundry expenses so also we offer pocket money to the divinities themselves after they are hospitably treated and honoured in a sacrifice or any other ceremony. The deity is pleased to receive it through the authorised person and utilise it properly. According to one's own means and capacity he or she has to part with some of his or her income in the name of God. This gift is

called Dakṣiṇā without which no religious function is valid which has been thoroughly understood and practised by all the Brāhmaṇas of the Brāhmaṇa land following Brāhmaṇacāra.

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇam we clearly see some references to dakṣiṇā as to when, why and how, by whom, and to whom it should be given. Demanding is prohibited. But the episode appears to have cited a reference to Dakṣiṇā being demanded by a Śrotriya. If we penetrate deeply into the matter we can set aside such impertinent doubts. Even though the ajigartha man has not demanded it, he could have been bestowed upon with śatadakṣiṇā. And an ajigartha man would never have cared for it. Knowing the situation full well the man sets an example to others by disclosing the material benefits that the divine service can fetch. It may be understood that such divine services may be honoured by paying one hundred each as a rule. The fact that at least for the sake of money, one can undertake such services in the sacrifice, is clearly expressed here. In some other part of the Veda mention is made as to the authenticity of the gift given in any manner. (Cf. śriyā, hriyā, bhiyā, śraddhayā, aśraddhadeyam.) The bountiful Nature too follows the same precepts although she has realised perfectly the spirit of Dāna.

The principle of exchange of things and its validity are mentioned in the Veda. The giving away one's own son for money is to be condemned. But it seems the episode makes a reference to a case where a human being is sold and purchased. Viewing it apparently from the angle of language it is so very clear that it needs no further explanation. However, the intended meaning is something far from this absurd interpretation. Here it is the sage that elucidates the question of substitution.

At the request of the distinguished guest he yields to set away one of his children who are also ready to offer themselves. But the man who receives such an offer from the sage could not forget to pay something in return even though no request is made on the part of the giver. If he fails to do so he will not be able to enjoy all the benefits accruing from the sacrifice. The sage who knows this secret cannot refuse to receive payment made by the party. It is neither sale nor purchase. It is a sort of mutual understanding: We follow the same precept even to-day. Unless

we pay in exchange for something used in a religious ceremony we cannot claim all the advantages thereof for ourselves. Even in marriage both the bride and bridegroom are paid. It does not mean that the bridegroom is purchased, provided the bridegroom does not demand more than what is paid and exact money forcibly. Even if he demands, it would not be considered as an exchange. But it is hated by all religionists. Take the case of yajñopavīta. It is admitted that the sacred threads should neither be sold nor purchased. And it is quite certain that people are in need of sacred threads. How could it be purchased unless there is a man to prepare and dispose it off? The religious man may offer it without asking any price for it. But it is impossible that the receiver should be under his obligation and give a portion of the merits he derives, to the person who gives it gratis. Therefore, the needy man must see that something is given as a sort of respect. This custom is universally practised. Even in marriage and other social ceremonies a sort of mutual exchange is noticed. It should never be mistaken for a market.

Invariably in many places it is found that Dakṣiṇā consists of only gauḥ. It is practically impossible to draw inferences that only cow should be meant in each case. In some places, as it is for instance in this episode, simply the number one hundred is mentioned. It does not point out one hundred kine. The traveller in the forest cannot give the sage one hundred kine. Therefore it is evident that the Vedas tell us that the medium of exchange is coin—preferably coins impressed with the figure of cow, the sacred mother. No doubt, the gift of an actual cow is valuable and recommended too. But it may not be invariably so in all cases of dakṣiṇā. In sacrifices where thousands of kine are to be given away the cow coins shall have to be made use of along with the few actual animals. The gift of gold (hiraṇyadāna) is also mentioned, which means simply solid gold. There are ever so many considerations to be advanced before we confirm the validity of this interpretation. But the practicality of the question may rise up to vindicate what has been said is true. Even today some gold coins are impressed with a horse and the like. It is quite certain that the gift of horses may mean the gift of coins marked with horses.

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The upākhyāna emphasises travel and industry as the means of prosperity. One should always be working and never should sit idle. The Brāhmaṇacāra recommends, in conformity with this, the pilgrimage for its followers.

The remarkable way in which the Vedas are going to reveal the spirit and enthusiasm of an enterprising man is highly commendable.

Nānā śrāntāya śrīrasti iti Rohita śushrama
papo nṛśadvaro jana Indra ichcharataḥ sakhā caraiva
Puṣpiṇyo carato janghe bhoosṇuratmā phalagrahiḥ
shere'sya pāpmānaḥ śramaṇa prapāte hatā caraiva.

These two gāthās insist upon travel which showers prosperity on the venturesome soul. The simplicity and brevity of expression do not only add beauty to the style but penetrate the heart of any man. The soul-stirring, exhaustive and promising advice teach the humanity that sweet are the uses of adversity. Indra is said to have been the friend of an adventurer. It amounts to saying that the presiding divinity of the human as well as the universal power which influences the being shall always be accessible to a brave soul and that He is the chief deity of the sacrifice of travel, industry, commerce etc.

Perseverence, adventure, banking or trade, untiring energy and industry are also spoken of as the causes of prosperity in the following verses.

Āste bhaga āsīnasyordhvastiṣṭati tiṣṭataḥ
Śete niṣadyamānasya charati carto багаḥ caraiva
Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sanjihānastu dvāparaḥ
Uttīṣṭans treta bhavati kṛtam sampadyate caran caraiva
Caranto madhu vindanti caran svādumudumbaram
Sūryasya paśya śhremanam yo na tandrayate caran

The meanings of words Kali, Dvāpara, Treta and Kṛta are understood generally as the names of four cycles of time are clearly and truly expatiated here. The characteristic features of these terms are revealed in the above gāthā. It may be noticed that these words do not exclusively belong to the calendar. Kṛta, Treta etc., point out the psychological as well as the

physiological processes of executing a function, that are observed in every stage of life of living beings. Each individual has consciously or unconsciously to undergo all these processes of a function, in his or her life-time. The mental as well as the physical activities are classified into four main branches. They may be known as *akarma*, *Jñāna*, *sankalpa* and *prayatna* which eventually result in realisation of the desired object. The same have been connoted by each of the terms like *Kali*, *Dvāpara* *Treta* and *Kṛta*, respectively. *Kali* means thoughtlessness and inertia. The meaning of *Dvāpara* are awakening or consciousness and inclination to work. *Treta* indicates determination and means of work. The action and attempt are represented by *Kṛta* which precedes attainment or *phalam*.

Applying the same characteristics to the conditions of the universe as a whole, we find that all these are invariably present in it. Considering from the stand-point of *Brāhmaṇāchāra*, we observe to note that these characteristics vary from time to time in the Universe. It is this change that has been the sole cause of the division of time into four periods. In proportion to the percentage of the attitude of each division of time towards *Brāhmaṇāchāra*, the four cycles of time are named as *Kṛta*, *Treta*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*. And it is certain that each of these *Yugas* bears all the four characteristic features known as *Kṛta*, *Treta*, etc., in greater or smaller degrees. In *Kali yuga*, the features of the rigorous *Brāhmaṇāchāra* are found to be comparatively less than all other features of action, that are put forth for the realisation of the same.

Some aspects of such of the comprehensive and enigmatic divine sayings on economics, commerce, and industry as mentioned above may be said to have been elaborately dwelt upon by a great number of scholars who have been goaded by the Almighty as it were, to fill the libraries with their works to-day.

Some of the intricate points of law and order are cleverly decided. The dispute is carried on so vehemently that the persons who take part in it appear to be illiterate. Still the learned men claim their superiority. It does not stain their wisdom and learning in the least. Evidently the hot discussion cools down at the end without provoking either of the debators. This

friendly quarrel teaches the way and means of argument and peaceful settlement. This event may throw light upon the question of adopting sons. The present case runs as follows:—

A disposes his son 'S' in favour of a guest 'R' at his consent. 'S' is to be the victim in a sacrifice. 'A' too is present on the occasion and he rushes forward to draw out the life of 'S' in order to discharge a piece of divine service. But 'S' recovers over the calamity by his will-power or devotion and comes back again to life and fulfills the purpose of the sacrifice as well. The glorious triumph of 'S' tempts 'A' who wants to have him back for himself and makes requests accordingly. But the position of 'S' is different and peculiar. He is no longer 'S'. He is changed. At the outset he belongs to his father 'A'. In the second stage he becomes the property of a sacrificer. At the third stage he is directly connected with a deity who in his turn restores him back to life. "To whom he ('S') has to belong now" is the complicated question. The sacrificer cannot claim him as he has already resigned the propriety in favour of God Varuṇa. Who and whose 'S' is, is to be decided. At this stage 'S' being prompted by his consciousness goes to 'V'. Now 'V' settles all the questions, by naming him 'D', with the presumption that he is restored to life by God, i.e., is born again of God Himself. Therefore 'D' has to seek shelter under 'V's' family which welcomes him. 'A' grows passionate about the victory of the person who formerly was known as 'S' and is very curious to take him back to his family. Such events are common in everyday life. Today we give a thing. The very next day we will be tempted by the prosperity of the same associated with others. Can we claim to get it back? A son is given away in adoption to another person and he is flourishing under new circumstances and environments. How can it be possible for the parents to ask the man who is no longer their son to return to the original family? Notwithstanding if attempts are made to upset the case how is the decision to be brought about?

In this particular instance 'A' is made to open his eyes and see clearly the situation. The natural instinct of 'A' has made him go astray, but the impetuous, extremely opposite and startling remarks of 'D' supported by 'V' have cooled down the

passion of 'A' who is made to concede the fact that 'D' is no longer 'S' the son of 'A', and therefore he is not entitled to claim him back.

As regards 'D' who is still without a family, he wishes to make clear certain processes of changing from one family to another. This is to say he intends knowing his position in the new family. 'V' in trying to sacrifice all his possessions in favour of 'D' by way of giving him the status of the eldest son, asks his sons to endorse his proposal made in his favour. His fifty elderly sons reject the proposal outright owing to their attachment to worldliness and greediness and are made the very next moment to reap the consequences of their crooked nature and behaviour.

The spiritual attainments of 'D' enable him to rule over both the natural and adopted families. This may serve as an instance to show that under exceptional and extraordinary circumstances an adopted son may be entitled to inherit the spiritual as well as the material wealth of both the natural and the adopting families as against the law which restrains, in some places, the scope of an adopted son from being entangled with his natural family.

A comparison and contrast of the character and conduct of these illustrated persons present to us a vivid picture of life. How to behave with one another, how to argue, how to decide a thing and other things are taught to us very clearly here.

The particular form of education of a Kṣatriya boy is called sannaha without which ceremony a boy must not be entitled to style himself as a Kṣatriya. The Prince's adventurous travel educates him fully and properly. He is instructed during his stay away from home, by many learned men and religionists. That he is conscious all the while of his duty to his father and God Varuṇa as well is also clear. Though a man may appear to be delinquent, he should not be mistaken. His triumph at the end removes the stain of being a disobedient son of his father as it is explained here. The education in general, of men and women has been presented elsewhere.

This episode may be deemed to have dilated on the importance of travels or pilgrimage as one of the means of education as

it is today in the form of excursions, scout-rally, historical visits etc., which make a youth or man wiser, experienced and virtuous.

There are many other things we have to learn from the Vedas. The scientific advancement of today is nothing when compared with the wisdom of the Vedas, some of which are better understood as it were in disguise of modern sciences. It is admitted that the uses of sciences today are also met with by the applied Vedas. The destructive demerits of applications of modern sciences are also considered as a form of religion and therefore the Vedas never have been partial either to good or bad people on the earth as goodness or badness are only relative. But they tell us that the wickedness of souls is subject to condemnation, correction and redemption and that it speaks the position and level of an individual soul that strives to attain bliss after realising its ambition by degrees.

N.B.—1. Some statements of this Vedic portion may appear ludicrous. It is necessary for us to bear in mind that the Vedas do reveal some such ideas to teach us the greatest doctrine of 'tolerance' and how to exercise our patience when we come across such incidents in life.

2. Such of those lessons as on caste-system revealed in this chapter are dealt with by me in my essay on 'Universal Religion'.

Itiyam Śrīmadbrahmāṇḍanātha śrī Sūryanārāyaṇa parma-
mukhya priya śiṣya sri yogānanda nātha
sri madahobala Śrī Sadguru caraṇānugraha
prabodhita Śrī Sūryanārāyaṇa Sharmanāḥ
Kṛtiḥ, OM TAT SAT

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Kokasandes'a (कोकसन्देशः) of Viṣṇutrāta ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Similar work to Bhṛṅgaśandēśa. Trivendrum 1937. As. 8.

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REVIEW

Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East, Vol. II [Suvarṇadvīpa] Part 1 [Political History]. By Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Royal size. Cloth bound. Pages 2+i-ii+i-xviii+1-436+1-16. Modern Publishing Syndicate, 40, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta (Dacca 1937). The volume under review is the second one of an ambitious project undertaken by Dr. Majumdar about ten years ago, when the first Vol. of the series known as Champa was published. *Suvarṇadvīpa* like its predecessor is a great work of a truly great scholar.

The story of Greater India is of absorbing interest: Yet the expansion of the Aryans beyond the Indian frontiers, the East and the West has so far received scant attention. The history of Indian Civilisation must be regarded as imperfect when the treatment is confined within the geographical limits of the country.

Until recently, our knowledge of Greater India was meagre. Nevertheless evidences were not wanting in Indian literature, or in Ptolemy, or in Fa Hien, suggestive of the existence of a lively intercourse between India and the Far East. But a real effort to find out and study the details in their proper perspective was for the first time made by a band of French Scholars like P. Alexandre de Rhodes and others, as early as the middle of the Seventeenth century. These sorts of sporadic but great efforts gradually gave place to a planned attack on India-China by the French archæological department. The fruits were not long in coming. The world was startled by the sight of Angkor Vat and its rapturous artistic beauty. Henri Monhot, the discoverer, was immortalised. The Dutch followed in the footsteps of the French and revealed what was hidden so far. The present volume is fittingly dedicated "to the Dutch Savants whose labours have unfolded a new and glorious chapter of the history of ancient culture and civilisation of India." Boro Budur once again startled the world. A commotion of eager expectancy for something more rippled across the minds of scholars. The work was taken up in right earnest. Here was a neglected rich field for investigation and research. It is never too late to begin. A greater India Society was formed in India. Scholars eagerly devoted themselves to their works. Dr. Majumdar literally drowned himself in the task of rescuing India's past glory from disgraceful neglect. His published volumes speak for themselves about his unquestioned success in his investigation. The remaining volumes are eagerly waited for.

The present volume deals only with the political history of *Suvarṇadvīpa* [Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago]. Architecture, Literature etc., will be dealt with in a subsequent volume. In an introductory chapter the author has detailed the sources upon which he has relied. Both archæological and literary sources have been consulted. Inscriptions and medals and coins (though they are very scarce) are the primary sources, studied on the spot as far as possible. Literary sources ranging over a wide field and belonging to different periods (Hindu, Indian, Latin, Chinese, Greek and Arabic, form a further group of study. Last but not the least the author has rightly taken

help from such remarkable secondary sources as the publications of the Dutch Archæological department bearing on the subject like the writings of Keru, Cohen Stuart, Dr. Brandes and others.

The Indian colonies in the Far East will ever remain as the high water-mark of the maritime and colonial enterprise of the ancient Indians. The extent of this enterprise is generally misunderstood. It has been rightly pointed out by Wallace that the dimensions of the Archipelago are really continental. Malayasia is invested with a certain geographical importance, derived from the fact that it lies on the highway of the maritime traffic between China on the one hand and India, Greece, Rome and Arabia on the other. Western nations were attracted to this corner of Asia for timber, minerals and spices. On the authority of the Periplus we know that India had a regular intercourse with the Far East as early as the first century A.D.

Austro-nesian races must have occupied Malayasia for a long time before they came into contact with the Hindus and imbibed their civilisation. The author deals both with the people and their stage of civilisation before the advent of the Hindus. "On the whole the actual archæological finds in different parts of Malayasia lead to the conclusion that at the time of the first contact with the Hindus the people of Malayasia has hardly passed beyond the elementary stage of civilisation."

Chapter iv entitled *Suvarṇadvīpa* is the most interesting one. The author quotes herein, literary references about *Suvarṇadvīpa* wherever available ranging over a wide extension of time and space. Separate chapters are devoted to early Hindu Colonisation in Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali.

A close study of the records leads to the conclusion that the language, literature, religion and political and social institutions of the Hindus made a lasting conquest of Malayasia through the well-known processes of elimination and absorption. References to Brahmanical sacrifices are widely available e.g. in the famous Kutei inscription of Mullavarman. Indian river-names like Candrabhāgā and Gomati were transplanted there. Images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Vishnu, Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Mahākālī etc., have been discovered. We also get the usual attributes of

Viṣṇu and Śiva, the Śankha (conch-shell), the Cakra (wheel), the Gada (mace) and Padma (lotus) of the former and the Trident (Trident) of the latter. Further evidences show that in addition to Brahmanical religion Buddhism had also made its influence felt there. The inscriptions prove that Sanskrit language and literature were highly cultivated. The images show a thorough-going influence of Indian art.

Book second is devoted entirely to the Śailendra Empire. In the eighth century A.D. most of the small states in Malayasia formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire belonged for the first four centuries to the Śailendra dynasty. Three long chapters are devoted to a critical enumeration of the Śailendra Empire. In the Eleventh century the one outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras was a long drawn-out struggle with the powerful Cola rulers of Southern India. The Colas were a great naval power and this naturally brought them in contact with Malayasia. The long drawn out struggle with the Colas, which continued throughout the Eleventh century A.D. and the subsequent decline and fall of the Śailendras have been treated with dramatic intensity by the great writer. A long appendix sums up the recent views on the Śailendra Empire. Light is thrown on many hitherto dark corners in the history of the Śailendras.

Book third deals with the rise and fall of the Indo-Javanese Empire. Book fourth deals with the downfall of the Hindu Kingdoms in *Suvarṇadvīpa*. The disintegration of the Śailendra Empire loosened the bonds which had united the petty states of Malayasia. This paved the way for the gradual establishment of Islam as a political power which was destined in the long run to overwhelm the whole of Malayasia.

Dr. Majumdar has placed the students of Indian history under a great debt of obligation by his remarkable publication. The book is thoroughly documented from original sources and references are indicated. Printing and publishing are up to the mark. The book is complete with two maps and an index.

B. N. MITRA

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[No. 2

THE DATE OF UMĀPATI'S PAUṢKARA-BHĀṢYA

(B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma)

On p. 77 of his *S'ivādvaita of Ś'rikanṭha* (University of Madras, 1930), Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri has the following, on the question of the date of Umāpati S'ivācārya, author of the *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya*¹ :—

"The introductory verses and the colophon to the *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya* make out that the commentary is the work of Umāpati S'ivācārya, presumably the one who wrote the *Samkarpanirākaraṇam* in 1313 A.D." (p. 77) "Ś'rikanṭha is unambiguously referred to by (this) Umāpati" (p. 32). Prof. Sastri inclines to the view that Ś'rikanṭha was a close contemporary of Rāmānuja (1019–1139) and relies *inter alia* upon the references to Ś'rikanṭha in Umāpati's work for his rather early date for Ś'rikanṭha.

Unfortunately, however, the evidence of the *Pauṣkara-Bhāṣya* does not seem to be capable of carrying us very far in settling the date of Ś'rikanṭha. The commentary itself is *not* in the first place, a dated one. The identity of its author with "the one who wrote the *Samkarpanirākaraṇam* in 1313 A.D." is at best a pious assumption for which there is not sufficient warrant. It is disproved by the fact that the *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya* quotes (as pointed out by Prof. Sastri himself), from the *Nyāyāmṛta* of Vyāsarāya (1478–1539).

Now as regards this "reference to a Mādhva work named *Nyāyāmṛta*" in the *P. B.*, Prof. Sastri has envisaged three possibilities :—that (1) "there *may* have been a different and earlier Mādhva work of the same name"; (2) or "the reference to the *Nyāyāmṛta* *may have been a later interpolation*";

1. Grantha Edn. 1925 (Chidambaram).

or (3) that "the *P.B.* may not be (*that?*)? Umāpati's work at all." [Italics mine.]

It does *not* at all seem "difficult to decide among these (alternative) at present." There is only *one Nyāyāmṛta* in the whole of Dvaita Vedānta literature, and that is by Vyāsarāya. No other work of the same name has come down to us nor is known to have been written. No useful purpose would be served by identifying the work mentioned by the *P. B.* with the *Nyāyāsudhā* of Jayatīrtha (1365-88) as the chronological difficulty would still be there and the verse quoted by Umāpati is nowhere to be found in the NS. Nor could any Mādhva work of the name of *Nyāyāmṛta*, have been written before 1313 (the date of the author of the *Samkarpanirākaraṇam* who is believed by Prof. Sastri, to be identical with the author of the *P. B.*), for the very simple reason that Madhva himself was alive at the time and among all his 37 works there is none named *Nyāyāmṛta*; nor is any one of the name known to have been composed by his immediate disciples.

Prof. Sastri does not seem to have taken the trouble to verify the 'reference to the *Nyāyāmṛta*' in the *P. B.* Had he done so he would have lighted upon a more interesting and at the same time intriguing fact that the *P.B.* is by no means exact in its quotation from the *Nym.* The passage is actually misquoted—

इदमेव ह्यसत्त्वमिति माधवाः । तदुक्तं न्यायामृते—

‘त्रिकालसर्वदेशीयनिषेधप्रतियोगिता ।

असत्ता प्रोच्यतेऽध्यस्ते; तुच्छे तु प्रतियोगिनि’ ॥ इति

It would appear from the above that the passage in the *Nym.* is concerned primarily with the definition of Asat (असत्) expounded by the Dvaitin. But the context in which the passage corresponding to the one quoted in the *P.B.* occurs in the original *Nym.* of Vyāsarāya is that of (स्वपक्षे सत्त्वनिर्लक्षिते) (Part I, 9). Naturally then, the Kārikā given by Vyāsarāya, first sets up what on the Dvaitin's view constitutes सत्ता (reality) and incidentally hints at the nature of unreality in अध्यस्ततुच्छे । सौहार्देतुः—

1. We cannot say that the author of the *Nym.* himself is adapting the verse from an earlier source; for he gives it as his own Kārikā—“सौहार्देतुः”.

‘त्रिकालसर्वदेशीयनिषेधाप्रतियोगिता ।

सत्तोच्यते; अध्यस्तुच्छे तं प्रति प्रतियोगिनी ॥’

This kārīkā is explained by Vyāsarāya himself as follows :—

(1) सर्वदेशकालसम्बन्धनिषेधाप्रतियोगित्वं सत्त्वम् ।

(2) तुच्छमध्यस्तं च, उक्तप्रतिषेधप्रतियोगि ॥ (P. 96, Bby. Edn.)

It would be obvious from the above that the only correct reading of the passage from the *Nym.* is as immediately above, and that either the author of the *P. B.* has misquoted from the *Nym.* or some corruption has crept into his text, due to ignorance. In any case the last quarter: “तुच्छे तु प्रतियोगिनि” in the *P. B.* makes no sense. That there is no variant reading of the verse: “त्रिकालसर्वदेशीय” ... is clear not only from the evidence of Mss. of the *Nym.* but also of the explanation given by Vyāsarāya himself and his commentators.

One may save the reputation of the author of the *P. B.* by dismissing the entire quotation. “त्रिकाल सर्वदेशीय.....” as a later interpolation; but such a procedure does not seem to be justifiable. For, the author of the *P. B.* is clearly interested in examining the Doctrine of Error propounded by the various schools of philosophy current in his times and in *that* connection reviews the position taken up by the Naiyāyikas, the Advaitins, the Rāmānujīyas and the Mādhvas (pp. 518–19). And in the course of such an examination, he states and refutes the position of Madhva also :—

“ ननु, “अस्त्वेवं शुक्तौ रजतविशिष्टज्ञानम् । तथापि, तत्र प्रतीयमानं रजत-
मत्यन्तासदेव । असदेव रजतमिति प्रतीतेः । तत्र नासीद्भजतं, नास्ति, न भविष्यति
च” इति त्रैकालिकनिषेधप्रतियोगित्वावगमाच्च । इदमेवह्यसत्त्वम् इति साध्वाः ।

तदुक्तं न्यायामृतेः—

* त्रिकालसर्वदेशीयनिषेधप्रतियोगिता ।

असत्ता प्रोच्यतेऽध्यस्ते तुच्छे तु प्रतियोगिनि ॥ इति*

तत्र । असतः अपरोक्षतया प्रतीत्यनुपपत्तेः ।

..... ॥” (P. 519).

It would be absurd to say that in this lengthy statement of the पूर्वपक्ष, *only* the reference to and quotation from the *Nyāyāmṛta* is an interpolation. Such a view is clearly one-sided and flimsy.

The polemical style also of the *Pauṣkarabhāṣya*, is that of the 15th and 16th century Dialectics, and the reference to the views of "the Rāmānujīyas" and more notably of "the Mādhyas" (p. 519), is a further corroboration of the comparative lateness of the *P. B.* (probably 1600 A.D.)

The terms रामानुजीयाः and माध्वाः could not have become current coin in philosophical writings so early as 1313 when the author of the *P. B.* is supposed to have flourished. This impossibility is still greater in the case of Madhva, who himself lived between 1238-1317¹ and the term "माध्व" could not have found currency in the writings of his compeers within the Ācārya's own lifetime. Even Mādhavācārya who wrote his *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha* with less than a century after Ānandatīrtha, has not used it.

For these reasons we are forced to conclude that the *Pauṣkarabhāṣya* is the work of a later Umāpati Śivācārya, (different from the author of the *Sankarpanirākaraṇa*) who came after Vyāsārāya of *Nyāyāmṛta* fame, and lived probably about the close of the XVI century which explains why the *P. B.* has not been cited by the commentator on the *Aghora Ś'iva Paddhati*. There would thus appear to be a mistake of nearly three centuries in Prof. Sastri's dating of the *Pauṣkara-Bhāṣya*.

1. See my papers on the Date of Madhva in the *Annamali University Journal*.

SOME UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARĀT

(D. B. Diskalkar)

(Continued from the fifth issue)

(20)

ABU VIMALA-VASAHĪ INSCRIPTION OF SĀRANGADEVA OF V. S. 1350

This inscription¹ is engraved on a stone slab fixed in one of the walls of the Vimala-vasahi temple on the Mount Abu. The inscribed portion measures 2' in length and 1'. 2½" in height and contains 24 lines of writing, which is very well preserved. The language is *Sanskrit* but there are a number of words of local use used in the record, the meaning of which is difficult to be understood. The characters are *Nāgarī*. The writing is full of mistakes, both the writer and the engraver having done their work very carelessly. Except the three usual imprecatory verses in ll. 13-20 the record is in prose throughout. As regards *orthography* the following are some of the points that require to be noted: The letters *v* and *b* are generally expressed in the same way. A consonant is doubled in a few places after *r*. The letter *d* has its half circular part turned to the right as in ancient times instead of to the left as is the practice of to-day. Thus the letter *drā* exactly resembles our modern letter ś (श्). The forms *dya* and *dva* cannot be always distinguished.

The record opens with the date, Tuesday, the 1st of the bright half of Māgha of (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1350 and refers itself to the reign of Sāraṅgadēva, the Chaulukya sovereign ruling at *Aṇahillapāṭaka*. He bears here a number of epithets expressive of his imperial power, one of which signifies that he had a successful war against the ruler of Mālava. His defeat of the Mālavas is referred to in many of his inscriptions. An interesting epithet Abhinava Siddharāja meaning that he was a new or second Siddharāja, a powerful ancestor of his, is found as used with Sāraṅgadēva² only in this inscription, though eight more

1. See *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XVI 311.

2. With the Chaulukya sovereign, Viśaladēva, however, this epithet is at least twice used. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 210 and Vol. XI, p. 102, and once with Jayantasimha, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 197.

inscriptions of his have been discovered. The name of Sāraṅga-dēva's prime minister Vādhūya is next given. The name Maṭhārājākula Śrī Viśaladēva is mentioned next who was ruling at Chandrāvati, as a feudatory of Sāraṅgadēva over the province of 1800 villages (अष्टादशशतमेडले). Then the object of the inscription viz. the issuing of a grant by Viśaladēva is mentioned, with the repetition of the above mentioned date. At the request of Hama-chandra and several other gentlemen (*Mahājanas*) Viśaladēva issued a grant by which several traders and merchants were to pay a certain number of *Drammas* for the expenses of the (Jain) temples Vimalavasahi and Tejapalavasahi on the Abu hill and of the fairs like Kalyāṇaka. This rule was obligatory to the subjects of Abu and Chandrāvati. The State officers of Abu and Chandrāvati, (on the other hand,) were in no case to demand any tax from the pilgrims to the temples. If any article of a pilgrim getting up or down the hill is stolen away the loss should be made up by the Thākurs of Abu.¹ These conditions it is stated should be observed by the descendants of the king and by other kings ruling over the place. Then the usual imprecatory verses are given. The grant was written by Parikha *Pēthaka* son of *Jasat*. In the last two lines, engraved rather separately from the main inscription, the names of representatives of the Achalēśvara temple, Vaśiṣṭha temple, Ambāji's temple and of several leading gentlemen of the town are given who bore witness to the deed. The figure of a dagger significant of that is engraved in the left-hand corner.

Viśaladēva, the Maṇḍalēśvara of Chandrāvati may be a scion of the Chaulukya family of Gujarat. The latest ruler of the Paramāra family of Chandrāvati we know of was Pratāpasimha whose inscription dated V. S. 1344 is found in the temple of Pātanārāyaṇa at Girvād in the Sirohi State² and who is said there to be ruling as a subordinate of Viśaladeva, son of Bhāḍava. It seems that Viśaladeva, who was a governor of the Chaulukya sovereign Sāraṅgadeva over the province ended the Paramāra family and began to rule in the place as a feudatory of the

1. With this compare the obligatory rule laid down by Kautalya in the *Arthaśāstra*, on a ruler to compensate the cost of an article stolen away from his kingdom and which cannot be traced by the police officers of his state.

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. XLV, p. 77.

Chaulukyas. An unpublished inscription¹ of V. S. 1356 from the village Varmāṇa, in the same State, speaks of a ruler named Mahārājakula Vikramasimha, who may have been the successor of Mahārājakula Viśaladēva of our record.

The Christian date corresponding to the one given in our record is Wednesday, the 30th December 1293 A.D. The week-day given in our record is Tuesday while by calculation we find that on the tithi given the week-day was Wednesday. This discrepancy can be explained as in No. VII above.

TEXT:

१. ओ^३ ॥ संवत् १३५० वर्षे माघ सुदि १ भौमेऽद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटकाधिष्टि
(ष्टि)तपरमेस्व(श्च)रपरमभट्टारकउमापतिवरलब्धप्रौढप्रतावा(पा)क्रांतदि
२. क्चक्रपा(वा) लक्ष्मापालमालवेशविरुथ^४नीगजघटाकुंभस्थलविदारणैकपंचानन
समत्त(स्त)राजावलीसमलंकृत अभिनवसिद्धराजमहारा
३. जाधिराजश्रीश्रीमत्सारंगदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीव(वि)नि
महामात्यश्रीवाधूये=श्रीश्रीकरणादिसमस्तमुद्रान्यापारान् परि
४. पंथयति सतीत्येवं काले प्रवत्त(त्त)माने अस्त्यैव परमप्रभो[*]प्रसादपत्तलायां
भुज्यमानअष्टा(ष्टा)दशशतमंडले महाराजकुलश्रीवीसलदेव[*]ज्ञा
५. सनपत्रं प्रयच्छति यथा ॥ स एष महाराजकुलश्रीवीसलदेवः संवत् १३५०
वर्षे म[१ *]घ शुदि १ भौमेऽद्येह श्रीचंद्रावत्यां ऊ(ओ)सवालज्ञातीय सा
६. धु श्रीवरदेवसुत साधु श्रीहेमचंद्रेण तथा महा० भीमा महा० सिरधर श्रे०
जगसीह श्रे० सिरपाल श्रे० गोहन श्रे० वस्ता महं० वीरपाल प्रभृति स
७. मस्तमहाजनेन भक्त्याराध्य विज्ञप्तेन श्रीअर्बुदस्योपरिसंतिष्ठ(ष्ट)मान-
वसहिकाद्वये निश्रयमाणघनतरकरं मुक्ता(क्त्वा)उद्य(?)कृतकरस्य शासनपत्रं
८. प्रयच्छति यथा ॥ यत् श्रीविमलवसहिकायां श्रीआदिनाथदेवेन श्रीमाता-
देव्या(वी)सत्क तलहडाप्रत्ययउद्यदेय द्र २८ अष्टवि(विं)शति द्रम्माः तथा
श्रीअर्बुदे
९. ल्यठकुरसेलहथतलारप्रभृतीनां कापडां प्रत्ययं उद्य (?) देय द्र १६ पौडश
द्रम्माः तथा कल्याणके अमीषां दिनद्वये दिनं प्रति देय कणह(ह)त
१० दश दा

1. R. B. Gaurishankar Ojha's History of Sirohi, p. 155.
2. From an impression supplied by the Supdt. Archl. Sur. W. C. Poona
3. Expressed by a symbol.
4. Read वरूथिनी.


१०. तच्चाणि । तथा महं० श्रीतेजपालवसहिकायां श्रीनेमिनाथदेवेन श्रीमातङ्ग
सक्त (त्क) वर्षं प्रति=देयं द्र १४ चतुर्दश द्रम्मा[:*] तथा दिनेकेन=कयक
११. देय १० दश तथा श्रीअर्बुदेत्य ठकुर सेलहथतलारत्र(प्र)भृतीनां कापदं प[?]
त्ययं देय द्र ८ अष्टौ द्रम्मा[:*] तथा प्रमदाकुलसक्त(स्क) नामां ६ द
नामकं प्रति
१२. मल प्रत्ययं द्र ५ पंच द्रम्मा[:*]...[वस्वरुद्य ?] वर्षं प्रति दातव्या[?] तत्र
वसहिकाद्वये पूजारकानां पार्श्वान् निस(श्र)यमाणकरो मुक्तो भक्ति
श्रीअर्बुदेत्य ठ
१३. कुरेण सेलहथतलारप्रभृतिभि[:*] किमपि न याचनीयं । न गृहीतव्यं च
अद्य दिनपूर्वं वसहिकाद्वयपार्श्वान् उपरिलिखितविधे उद्धं श्रीअर्बुदे
१४. त्य ठकुरेण सेलहथतलारप्रभृतिभिः तथा चंद्रावत्या[:*] श्रीपु(म)द्वाक्कुं
महंतकसेलहथतलारडोकराप्रभृतिभि[:*] द्य (यत्) किमपि न याचनीयं च
१५. गृहीतव्यं च । अनया परयितविधिना प्रतिवर्षं वसहिकाद्वयपार्श्वान्
ग्रामठकुरप्रभृतिभि[:*] गृह्यमानैः कल्याणकप्रभृतिमहोच्छ्वेषु समया
१६. त समस्तसंघस्य प्रहरकतलारकप्रभृतिकं रूढ्य[1*] सर्वं करणीयं । कारासं
च । उपरिचटितउत्तीर्यमानसमस्तसंघमध्यात् यस्य कस्यापि कि(कि)
१७. चित् गच्छति तत्सर्वं श्रीअर्बुदेत्य ठकुरेण लोहमयं रूढ्या समाचर्चनं
अस्मत् वंशजैरपि अन्यैश्च भाव(वि)भोक्तृभि[:*] राजभि[:*] वसहिकाद्वये
१८. द्यकृतकरोयं आचंद्रार्कं यावत् अन्नं (अनुमं) तव्य[:*] पालनीयश्च । तं
च । भगवता व्यासेन[1*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजाभिः सगराद(दि)भि
[1*] यस्य यस्य यदा
१९. भूमी(मि)स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । [1 १ *] वंध्याड(?) वीष्णतोषा
शुष्ककोटरवाशि(सि)नः[1*] कृष्णसर्पां प्रजायंते देवदायोपहरिणः । [1 २ *]
न विषं विषमत्याह
२०. देवस्वविषमुच्यते[1*] विषमेकाकिनं हंति देवस्वं पुत्रपौत्रकं । [1 ३ *]
एतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि अवलोक्य अस्मुतवंशैः अन्यवंशैरपि भाविष्ये
२१. कृभिः अस्मत्कृत उद्यकरस्यास्य प्रतिबंधः(धः) कदापि न करणीय(क)
न कारापनी[यः 1 *] यथा दत्त्वा च इदमुक्तवान् महत्स्या अन्यवंश
वा थे भ
२२. विस्यंति पार्थिवा तेषामहं करलम्भो मि मम दत्तं न लुप्यता ॥ ४ : जक
सीहसुत० पारि० पेथाकेन लिखित ॥ हीनाक्षरं प्रमाणमिति ॥

1. Read विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु.

२३. महाराजकुल श्रीवीसलदेव डू० महं सागण ॥ अत्र साक्षिण श्रीअचलेश्वरदेवीय
 राउ=नंदि श्रीवसिष्ठदेवीय तपोध
२४. न.....अंबादेवासक्त अबो० नीलकंठः । पमाणग्रामीयपंड्या० राजाप्रभृति-
 समस्तपञ्चार ॥ सूत्र नर.....

(21)

MANGROL INSCRIPTION OF KARNA (II) OF V. S. 135 +

This fragmentary inscription is found engraved on one of the four stone-pillars lying outside the Jumma Masjid, situated near the gate of the Bandar Road in Mangrol in Kāthiāwār. It has lost its lower portion, which deals with the object of the inscription.¹ Fortunately the first five lines containing important information are preserved. Above the inscribed portion is engraved the figure of a wheel with the diameter of $4\frac{1}{4}$ " of the outer circle like this.  The length of the inscribed portion is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the present height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The language of the record is *Sanskrit* and the characters *Nāgarī*. The only orthographical peculiarity is that the *i* (in *iha* l. 5) is expressed by three zeroes, the lower one being stretched to the left as in older inscriptions.

The record opens with the date, Sunday (?) the seventh of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 135 + of king Vikrama. The unit figure in the date is lost. We can, however, suppose that it must be one of the figures from 3 to 9. For we have 1353 Bhādrapada Su 13 as the latest date² for the reign of Karṇa's predecessor, Śāraṅgadēva and Karṇa is said in all records to have reigned upto V. S. 1360, when Gujarāt went permanently into the hands of the Muhammedans. Mr. M. P. Khareghat of Bombay has kindly calculated the date of the inscription for me and he finds that the unit figure, which is lost, must be 3 and thus the Samvat of the inscription is 1353. The corresponding English date is Sunday, 31st March 1297 A.D. In none of the other years from 1354 to 1359 does Chaitra Sud 7 fall on a Sunday which is almost certain. The fifth line of the inscription mentions the viceroy of Karṇa over Saurāstra but unfortunately his name which may have been given in the sixth line which is lost is not known.

1. But there even the last few letters in each line have been completely effaced, the serious loss thereby being that of the unit figure in the date.
2. In a M. S. of Naishadha Kāvya.

The present inscription coming from Mangrol speaks that Karṇa had kept on his hold over the distant part of his Gujarat empire which is another reason for assigning it an earlier date than that of the Muhammedan invasion. Only one more inscription of the king of V. S. 1354 from the Idar State is known to us.

We know that a large number of masjids in India have been built by the victorious Muhammedans either by demolishing Hindu temples and utilizing the material for their use or by partially destroying them and transforming them into masjids. The Jumma Masjid of Mangrol where the present inscription was found is no doubt built by the materials of the Hindu temple in which the inscription in question was attached.

TEXT¹

१. ओं^२ ॥ [स्वस्ति]श्रीनृपविक्रमसं १३५+
२. वर्षे चैत्र शुदि ७ [रवाव]द्येह श्री[मद]
३. णहिल्लपत्तनाधिष्टि(ष्टि)त [अभिनव ?]
४. श्रीकर्णदेवकल्याणविज[य राज्ये]
५. इह श्रीसुराष्ट्र^३मंडले क.....
६.श्री.....

[To be continued]

1. From an impression in the possession of Mr. A. B. Jani of the Gujarati Press, Bombay.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. Read सुराष्ट्रमंडले.

OTHER INSUFFICIENTLY KNOWN OR UNDATABLE AUTHORS AND ANONYMOUS WORKS IN DVAITA LITERATURE

(B. N. Krishnamurti Śarma, M.A.)

1. Vedagarbha Padmanābhācārya (c. 18th century)

To Vedagarbha Padmanābhācārya, we owe an excellent manual of Dvaita Theology and Metaphysics¹ in 5000 granthas. The work together with the author's own commentary² is a veritable encyclopædia of doctrine and theology, written in the traditional manner of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Schoolmen, giving numerous quotations from the standard works of the system including the originals used by Madhva as well as his own and those of his commentators like Jayatīrtha and Vyāsarāya. It is a very good and reliable reference-book and could safely be recommended to students approaching the subject of Madhva's system from without. It is in many ways analogous to the *Yatīndramatadīpikā* of Rāmānuja's system and deserves to be translated into English.

It opens with the enumeration of the ten categories recognised in the system of Madhva and these are expounded in the course of the following sections :—

- | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. पदार्थनिरूपणम् | 4. सृष्टिस्थित्यादिनिरूपणम् |
| 2. द्रव्यनिरूपणम् | 5. मोक्षसाधनप्रकरणम् |
| 3. गुणनिरूपणम् | 6. मोक्षस्वरूपप्रकरणम् |

The *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyārthamañjari* is one of the works recently acquired by the Madras O. L. and composed by Nārāyaṇa a member of the Veda-garbha family.

2. *The Madhva-mantrārthamañjari* (m³) (of Nārāyaṇācārya c. 1580–1630).

This is a work devoted to the exposition of such passages from the Ṛgveda as could be cited in support of the traditional belief in Madhva being an avatar of Vāyu. The work is com-

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- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Madhvasiddhāntasāra</i> . | 2. Printed, Bombay 1893. |
| 3. There is a Ms. of this work at the T. P. L. (No. 6132) as well as a paper transcript of the same. Page references here are to this latter. | |

monly, but quite erroneously attributed¹ to Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita cārya of *Madhvavijaya*-fame. That it could not have been a work of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita is clear not only from the obvious modern and polemical ring of the style² and arguments employed, which are quite unlike those of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya as we know them from his other accredited works,—but also from the presence in it of quotations from not only the *Madhvavijaya* and work of great antiquity and authority (See pp. 16, 79 and 158) and references to the works of Jayatīrtha⁴ and a quotation from the *Bhāgavatā-ṭīkā* of Vijayadhvaṇa.⁵ The author gives absolutely no information about himself beyond mentioning his name as Nārāyaṇa :

इति नारायणेनेह गुरुपूजार्थमुद्धृता ।

श्रुतिकल्पतरोर्भूयात् मध्वमन्त्रार्थमञ्जरी ॥

There is a tradition identifying this Nārāyaṇa with the elder brother of Taraṅgiṇī-Rāmācārya.⁶ The *Advaitakālāṇḍī* (Mys. O. L. C—1406) too, is presumably a work of the same author.

In the *Madhva-mantrārthamañjarī* (granthas 2464), more than a score of ṛks have been brought together from the Ṛg Veda, to establish the identity of Madhva with Vāyu and refer to his three births (incarnations) as Hanumān, Bhīma and Madhva.

The author has also taken the trouble of showing how the texts cited by him admit at every step of three different inter-

1. *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*, p. 297; *Satkathā*, 1896, and G. V. L. Cat.

2. The reference to Madhva by such terms as “भगवत्पाद”, सर्वज्ञान (p. 116) is unusual with Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya.

3. Cf. उपलभ्यते चाद्यापि सुवर्णमुखरीतीरे चन्द्रगिरिप्रान्तप्रदेशे मध्वाचार्यन तपोवनं एतद्देशप्रसिद्ध्या । (p. 16).

4. वळित्थेत्यादि सूक्तं च स्वयं भगवत्पादैर्व्याख्यातं; जयतीर्थाचार्यैश्च स्थास्थलेषु विवृतं तत्र तत्रैवावगन्तव्यम् ॥ p. 163.

5. एषा ऋक् भगवत्पादैर्दशमस्कन्धतात्पर्येण साल्वप्रसङ्गेऽप्युदाहृता । अतो विष्णुध्वजश्रीपादैः तत्परतयैव व्याख्याता । तद्यथा + + + + P. 168.

6. Cf. तस्मादाविरभूत् सुरद्रुमयशा आचार्य नारायणः ।

रामाचार्य इतीरितस्तदनुजो ॥

(*Nym-Taraṅgiṇī*, closing verse, *Pariccheda*)

pretations to suit the three¹ incarnations of Vāyu. The texts chosen by him are:—R. V. i, 140, 1—13; X, 54, 1—3, 4, 8—11; X, 5, 1; VII, 104, 3; i, 85, 7; and VII, 57, 1. Some of these have already been cited by Madhva himself in his *Mbh. T. N.* and other works. Nārāyaṇa rejects the views of “modern commentators” (आधुनिकभाष्यकार) like Sāyaṇa (who is quoted under the names of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya on pp. 43; 93; 100; 136; 193—4; 224; 286; 296 and 29 (Mādhava), that these hymns really have reference to Agni and his triple manifestations and he plunges with skill and confidence into the labyrinth of grammatical and pseudo-grammatical explanations (प्रक्रिया), *a la* Yāska², in trying to equate each one of the texts cited by him with the three Avatars of Vāyu and with Vāyu himself in his original form (मूलरूप):—

‘वेदिषदे’ (R. v. i, 140, 1 a) वेदिनो ज्ञानिनः देवानृषीन्वा स्यन्ति... वेदिषदः राक्षसाः। तान्द्यति खण्डयतीति वेदिषदाः, तस्मै। ‘दोऽवखण्डन’ इत्यस्मात्किप्। ‘उपदेशेऽज्...’ इत्यात्वचतुर्थ्येकवचने आतोऽरित्यल्लोपः ॥ (p. 33).

It is interesting to note that he quotes passages also from the *Skānda* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* (वेङ्कटाद्रिमाहात्म्य)³ in support of the view that Madhva is an Avatāra of Vāyu. These passages have also been cited by Vijayīndra Tīrtha in his *Madhvādhva-Kaṇṭhakoddhāra*.

Commenting on R. V. i, 140, 2 ab, he works out some extremely fanciful details for placing the date of birth of Madhva in Kali 4320 = 1219 A.D.:—

अभि द्विजन्मा त्रिवृदन्नमृज्यते।

संवत्सरे वावृधे जग्धमी पुनः ॥

मनुष्याब्दं हि देवानां दिनम्। ततश्च दिव्याब्दस्य मनुष्यमानेन पष्ठ्यधिक-
त्रिंशती तस्याः द्वादशगुणायां ($360 \times 12 = 4320$) विंशत्यधिक त्रिचत्वारिंशत्या
द्वादशान्दावसानम्। तन्मध्येऽस्य जन्मेत्युक्तम्। तथा च [अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत
 $8 + 3$ (त्रिवृत्) = 11] एकादशे द्वे अतीते सति दिव्यद्वादशवर्षमध्ये, इत्यर्थो
लभ्यते। ‘कादश’ इति स्पष्टमनुक्त्वा वक्रनिर्देशः ‘परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा,.....
इति ॥ (p. 64)

1. अथ वायुपक्षे.....हनुमत्पक्षे (P. 73) भीमपक्षे, मध्वपक्षे च (P. 82) and 57.

2. Cf. अप्यक्षरसामान्यान्निर्ब्रूयात् ॥

3. सुवर्णमुखरीतीरे etc.

Even after all this verbal gymnastics, the date arrived at is twenty years in advance of the one given in the *Mbh. T. N.* (if literally interpreted) and nineteen years less than the date of birth fixed for Madhva on the basis of epigraphic and historical evidences viz : 1238 A.D.¹

3. **Mādhavācārya.** *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana*, being a chapter in his *Sarvadarśana Samgraha* (p) contains a readable account of the system of Madhva by an outsider. Date 14th century.

4. **Vedāṅga Tīrtha** (1) A com. on the *Mbh. T. N.* referred to in verse 4 of Janārdana Bhāṭṭa's com. on the *Mbh. T. N.* [वेदाङ्गतीर्थसद्व्याख्यामाश्रित्य क्रियते मया] (2) *Kavikarṇāmṛta* a com. on the *Vāyustuti* (Madras O. L. R. no. 1434a) and (3) another on the *M. Vij.* (Madras D. C. 12160). Date c. 1500.

5. **Viśvapati Tīrtha.** (1) *Samgraharāmāyaṇa-ṭikā* (Madras R. no. 4103); (2) C. on the *Dvādaśastotra* (Pejawar Mutt L. no. 334; Tulu, palm-leaf) and (3) a gloss on *Vedāṅga Tīrtha* C. on the *M. Vij.* (Madras XXI. 12161) (4) C. on *Vāyustuti* (5) *S'ivastuti* and (6) *Rāmaśandeśa*. Date C. 1520-50.

6. **Appayya Dīkṣita.** *Nyāyamuktāvalī*, a summary of the अधिकरणार्थ of the B. S. according to Madhva, being a part of the *Caturmatasamgraha* devoted to the exposition of the system of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva and Śrīkaṇṭha.² Mss. of his *Nyāyamuktāvalī* are rare

आदावानन्दतीर्थीयामनुसृत्य मतस्थितिम् ।

न्यायमुक्तावली रम्या विशदार्था निरूप्यते ॥

(See Appendix to the edn. of the *S'ivārkaṇḍīpikā*, from Kumbakonam). Date latter half of the 16th century.

7. **Janārdana Bhāṭṭa.** (1) a com. on the *Mbh. T. N.* (Printed Belgaum); (2) and one on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* (Printed Dharwar). Date C. 17th century.

1. See my papers on the Date of Madhvācārya in the Journal of the Annamalai University Vols. III and V Nos. 2 and 1 and also Dr. Sankar's *History of Tuluva*, 1936, p. 431 f. n. where agreement is expressed with my date.

2. Cf. आनन्दतीर्थमुनि-लक्ष्मणदेशिकेन्द्र-श्रीकण्ठ-योगिपदवीरदवीयसीनः ।
आचार्यपादसरणिं च विविच्य बोद्धुं संगृह्यते मतचतुष्टयसारलेखः ॥
(Appendix)

8. **Vedātma Tīrtha.** A c. on the *Vāyustuti* (Madras O. L. R. No. 856). Date uncertain.
9. **Puruṣottama. Vāḍibhūṣaṇam.** A treatise refuting the thesis that bondage is unreal (*India Office Lib.* No. 6052). Author refers to Vidyādhīśa. Hence he must be later than 1630.
10. (**Anonymous**) *Tattvadīpikā*—A criticism of the *Tattvakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Mys. O. L. C.—2371). Date 17th century.
11. **Ānandatīrtha** son of Lakṣmīnarasimha Sūri.—A Com. on the *M. Vij.* (Madras O. L. latest acquisition). Author a disciple of Yogīndra Tīrtha (1671–79) and presumably a brother of Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Rāghavendrāvijaya*.
12. **S'rīnidhi Tīrtha.** A Com. on the *Nym.* (Pejawar Mutt. Coll.) Author a Svāmi of the Puttige Mutt between C. 1637–50.
13. **Veṇīdattācārya-Tarkavāgis'a. Bheda-jayaśrī** (Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, No. 47, 1933). A Prakaraṇa in defence of the reality of difference and the other views of Madhva and vigorously repelling the attacks of Nrsimhāśrama (expressed in his *Bheda-dhikkāra* and *Advaitadīpikā* (See pp. 26; 29; 32; 39; 44 etc.). The author was evidently a North Indian. A Ms. of one of his works is said to be dated Sam. 1750 i.e. 1693 A.D. He was a profound Naiyāyika and wrote some tracts criticising the views of Śiromaṇi. For his other works see the Introd. to the edn. of the *Bhedajayaśrī*.
14. **S'amkara Mis'ra. Bhedaratnam** (Printed, Lahore). He is the same as the author of the gloss *Upaskāra* on the *Kaṇāda Sūtras*. Date C. 17th century. Work in defence of Realism.
15. **Vis'vanātha Pañcānana.** The well-known author of the *Muktāvalī* on the Nyāya, wrote a *Bhedasiddhi* in general defence of Dualism as against Advaita. The above three writers illustrate the influence exerted by the School of Madhvācāya on North Indian writers of the 17th century.
16. **Raghunātha.** Son of Vedāji-Bhāskara. *Bheda-taraṅgiṇī* (Madras R. no. 1298). The author was a brother of Subhānu Rau, the then Jagirdar of Ārṇi and a disciple of Satyapūrṇa Tīrtha (1707-26) of the Uttarādi Mutt. His work was evidently in defence of "Bheda".

17. (Anonymous) *Nyāyaratnākara*, a summary and review of the respective positions taken up by the five polemical classics beginning with the *Nym*. Author unknown.

18. **Raghunātha Yati**. *Tattvamañjarī* (Mys. C—303). An epitome of the teaching of Madhva. Nothing is known of the author. Date uncertain.

19. **Lingeri Śrīnivāsa**. Not “Śringeri-Śrīnivāsa,” as he has been called on p. 318 of the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.* He is reputed to have been a disciple of Yadupatiyācārya and a contemporary of Bidarahaṃṣi Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha. Over twenty works have been ascribed to him in the *G. V. L. Cat.* These include (1) (1–10) the *Daśa-Prakaraṇas*; and comm. on (11) the *Mbh. Parva* I–X; (12) the *Bhāgavata*; (13) the *NS.* called *Siddhāntaprabhā*; (14) *Samgraharāmāyaṇa*; (15) *Aṇubhaṣya* and; (16) *Mañimāñjarī*; (17) a *Tattvavādikāṇṭhābharaṇa* alias *Bauddha-dhikkāra*; (18) *Smṛti muktāvali* (on *Dharma Śāstra*); (19) *Cakramīmāṃsā*; (20) *Rukmiṇīharaṇam*; (21) *Āśaucanirṇaya*; and (22) *Padārtha-samgraha*.

20. **Lingeri Vyāsācārya**. Son of No. 19 above. A comm. on the *Bṛndāvanākhyāna*; (2) and others on the *Praśna. Up.*, (3) the *Vāyustuti*, (4) the *Pramānacandrikā*; (5) *TS*; (6) *M. Vij. [Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.]*

21. **Narasimha**. Son of No. 20. *Āhnikatarāṅgiṇi* and *Viśva Com.* on the *Īśa* and another on (3) the *Praśna Up.* [l.c.]

22. **Kṛṣṇācārya**. *Smṛtimuktāvali* (Printed, Udipi), a digest on domestic ritual and dharma, in four chapters. (i) *Kālanirṇaya*; (ii) *Āhnikaprakaraṇa*; (iii) *Ṣoḍaśa karma*; and (iv) *S'rūṭi*. Author said to have been a disciple of Rāghavendra Śrī (1623—71).

23. **Vibudhavarya Tīrtha**. *Subhadrāharaṇa*—a *Kārya* with the author's own commentary. Printed at Udipi. Date C. 17th century.

24. **Umarji Tirumalārya**. Disciple of Yadupatiyācārya. He wrote [*G. V. L. Cat.*] Comm. on (1) the *Dvādaśastotra*; (2) the *G. B. Prameyadīpikā* and (3) *S'ivastuti*.

25. **Umarji Prahlādācārya**. Son of no. 24. The *G. V. L. Cat.* ascribes some fourteen works to him. These include comm. on (1) the *G. B*; (2) the *VTN* (3) the *bhāṣyas* on (4) the *Tattvamañjarī*.

(5) the Brh. Up.; (6) *Kaṭha* and (7) *Muṇḍaka*; (8) *Vādāvali*: (9) *NS*; (10) *Jayantīnirṇaya*: (11) *Prameyadīpikā* and (12) one on the *Muktāvali* (*Nyāya*) called *Tarkadīpāvalī*.

26. (Anonymous) *Sanṇyāyamālā*, a com. on the *Candrikā* (Pejawar Mutt Coll. 234, Tulu.)

27. Do—*Vimalabodha*—Comm. on the *Mbh. T. N.* (Pejawar Coll.).

28. *Rāmakṛṣṇa*. *Dvītvaviveka*—a Com. on the *Tattvaviveka* of Madhva. (Pejawar Coll. 295.) Date uncertain.

29. *Yādavendra*. C. on the *Bhāgavata* (Pejawar 328; Nagari). Date uncertain.

30. *Samkarṣaṇa Tīrtha*. C. on *Bhāgavata* i-vi,—Do.

31. *Ādya Varadarājācārya*. Teacher of Raghūttama Tīrtha (16th century). Works :—(1) an exposition of the GB in Kannada; (2) a comm. on the TP (*Subodhacandrikā*) and (3) a com. on the *Sādācārasmṛiti* and another on the *Viṣṇustuti*. [G. V. L. Cat.] His son Narahari is said [*Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*, p. 318] to have commented upon the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Tātparya*.

32. *Varada Tīrtha*. (1) A com. on the *Mbh. T. N.* (Tanjore No. 7900) and (2) on TS and (3) *Tattvaviveka* (Pejawar 268).

33. *Anantabhaṭṭa*. *Tattvaviveka* (Com.?) (India Office No. 6041.) Date uncertain.

34. *Ānandatīrthavara*. Son of Viṭṭhala—*Sattattvaratnamālā*. A treatise on the categories in the Dvaita System. (Tanjore 8131.) Printed Bombay 1918. Date uncertain.

35. *Mahāmahopādhyaya Vyākaraṇa Subbarājācārya* *Sūtrārthamañjari*, printed Mys. Date 20th century.

36. (Anonymous) *Aṁśavatāra nirṇaya* (Mys. C.—973) a prose tract in 112 granthas, on the aṁśas and avatāras of gods.

MUHÛRTARATNA

A RELIGIO-ASTROLOGICAL TREATISE, COMPOSED
IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

(M. M. Patkar)

The Indians firmly believed—and believe even to this day—that the heavenly bodies exercise immense influence on the destiny of human beings and that good or evil depends upon the particular position and combination of the planets and stars. Accordingly numerous astrological treatises were composed on the auspicious moments (*muhūrtas*) for religious ceremonies, marriages, journey and so forth. In the present note I wish to acquaint the reader with one of such works viz: the *Muhūrtaratna*, composed in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb.

The *Muhūrtaratna*, as the work is called, is a treatise which deals with the auspicious moments necessary for performing religious ceremonies. The work is divided into twenty-seven chapters, the contents of which are as follows:—

1. संवत्सरप्रकरण (foll. 1-3^b); 2. तिथिप्रकरण (4^a-5^a); 3. वारप्रकरण (5^b-6^a); 4. नक्षत्रप्रकरण (6^a-12^a); 5. योगप्र° (12^a); 6. करणप्रविधि (12^a-12^b); 7. मुहूर्तप्र° (12^b-13^b); 8. उपग्रहप्र° (13^b-14^a); 9. संक्रान्ति (14^a-16^b); 10. गोचरप्र° (16^b-18^b); 11. चन्द्रतारादिस्थलप्र° (18^b-19^a); 12. लग्नप्र° (19^a-21^b); 13. संस्कारप्र° (22^a-27^b); 14. समयबुद्धि (27^b-29^b); 15. महादोषनिरूपणप्र° (29^b-36^a); 16. व्रतबन्धप्र° (36^a-39^a); 17. समावर्तनप्र° (39^b-40^a); 18. चक्षुरिकाप्र° (40^a); 19. विवाह (40^a-45); 20. वधूपवेश्मप्र° (45^a-46^b); 21. राज्याभिषेकप्र° (46^b-48^a); 22. यात्राप्र° (48^a-60^a); 23. वास्तुप्रकरण (60^a-66^a); 24. गृहप्रवेश (66^a-68^a); 25. देवप्रतिष्ठाप्र° (66^a-69^a); 26. Genealogy of Aurangzeb and 27. स्वस्थानगोत्रवर्णन or the author's own account.

Aufrecht, in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, records about five Mss. of this work, of which two¹ are available in the Govt. Mus. library at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona. Both these Mss. give the genealogy of the three Moghul princes from Jahangir to Aurangzeb. I reproduce below the verses which contain the genealogy referred to:—

1. Nos. 177 of A 1883-84 and 842 of 1884-87.

अथ सार्वभौमजहांगीरादालमगीरवंशालुवर्णनं ।

fol. 69^a वङ्गी वङ्गाणि शश्वत्सपदि विद्यत्यकुन्तलान् गुर्जरीणां
 कर्षन् कर्नाटकता कुचकलशचलच्चारुवेलोचलानि ।
 खेलत्कश्मीररामाश्रमजतकणिकामार्जयन्हेलयर्थ-
 क्रीडां चक्रे समस्तान् मलयमरुदिव श्रीजहांगीरवीरः ॥
 उर्व्या वै विषमेषु रित्यनुदिनं शृंगारवीरैकभूः
 श्रीमच्छाहिजहान्महीपतिवरकैनामनस्तूयते ।
 शय्यायां समरांगणे निपतिताः सीदन्ति संसृच्छिताः
 कामिन्यः परिपन्थिनश्च शतशो येनामुना खण्डिताः ॥
 तस्यात्मजश्चालमगीरभूपो धर्म्यः पृथिव्याः पतिरेव जातः ।
 निर्जित्य चैनां सकलां यतोस्याः करग्रहं यो विधिवच्चकार ।
 केचिद्वद्धाः सहेलं स्वगृहमथगता मोचिताः केपि केचित्
 स्थानात्स्थानान्तराणि क्षणमिव गमिताः केपि नीता विवद्वन् ।
 हत्वा हत्वा तुं केचित्प्रतिपदमदयं प्रापिता व्यर्थभावा-
 नालंगीरावरंगः प्रभुभुजपरिवेनारयः सारयश्च ॥

From these verses it would be quite clear that the author composed his work in Aurangzeb's time. As Aurangzeb's hostile attitude towards the Hindus is well-known it is doubtful whether the present work was composed directly under the patronage of emperor Aurangzeb. At this stage it can be only said that the author was under the subjection of the Moghul emperor and hence he must have mentioned Aurangzeb only in a laudatory style.

The author of the present work was well acquainted with several writers of repute on astronomy, astrology and religious law. In his work he quotes not less than forty authorities, a list² of which is given below :—

- शौनकः 1^b.
 वसिष्ठः 1^b, 2^a, 2^b, 3^a, 4^a etc.
 नारदः 2^b, 3^a.
 सुहृत्तचिन्तामणि 2^b, 7^b, 10^a, 10^b, 11^b, 15^b.
 श्रीपति 3^b, 4^a, 4^b, 7^a.
 अंगिरः 3^b.

1. This verse is not found in MS No. 177 of A 1883-84.
2. The folios mentioned in the list are from MS No. 177 of A 1883-84.

- मुहूर्तचूडामणि 7^a, 9^b, 10^b, 11^a.
 बृहस्पतिः 8^a.
 वसिष्ठसिद्धान्त 14^b, 15^a.
 अपरार्क 14^b, 36^a.
 सिद्धान्तसार्वभौम 16^a.
 वसिष्ठसंहिता 16^a.
 वराह 20^a, 41^a.
 भरद्वाज 21^b.
 जातूकर्ण 23^a.
 अश्वलायनः 23^b.
 दीपिकायां (?) 25^b, 28^a, 36^a, 50^a.
 टोडरानन्द 25^b, 48^b, 58^b.
 सारसंग्रह 25^b.
 राजमातृण्ड 26^a, 28^a, 35^a, 62^b.
 त्रिविक्रम 26^b, 29^a, 33^a, 41^b, 42^a, 43^b, 60^a.
 व्यवहारप्रतिष्ठा 26^b.
 व्यवहारप्रदीप 27^b.
 व्यवहारप्रदीपिका 28^a, 28^b, 33^b.
 स्कन्दपुराणे 28^a.
 लल्लः 28^a.
 ग्रन्थान्तरे 33^a, 33^b, 36^b, 37^a, 39^a, 42^a, 57^b.
 मुहूर्तमातृण्ड 39^a, 43^b.
 गर्गः 40^b, 42^a.
 मुक्तावलीकारः 42^b.
 पराशरः 42^b.
 ज्योतिर्निबन्धे 42^b, 50^a.
 बालविवेके 45^b.
 बादरायणः 46^a, 50^a.
 याज्ञवल्क्यः 48^a.
 दैवज्ञमनोहर 55^b.
 मार्कण्डेयपुराणे 56^a.
 विष्णुः 57^a.
 वसन्तराज 58^a.
 समयमयूखे 61.

In the concluding chapter *Īśvaradāsa*, the author of *Muhūrtaratna*, gives his own account. He calls himself the son of *Keśavarāma* who obtained the title *ज्योतिषराय* and also place of wealth from the emperor *Jahangir* on account of his proficiency.

ciency in the science of astrology. The family hailed from Kalinjara and were Kanauja Brāhmanas,¹ belonging to the Vatsa Gotra. The name of the author's grandfather was Kaṇharaśarmā :—

अथ स्वस्थानगोत्रादिवर्णनं ।
 कालिंजरगिरौ² रम्ये कान्यकुब्जद्विजाग्रणीः ।
 वात्स्यः कंहरशर्मासीद्यज्ञकृद्वेदपारगः ॥
 तस्मात्केशवशर्माभूत् ख्याता त्रिस्कन्धविग्रमः ।
 गजाश्वरथसंग्रामैयोरचित्तस्य नृपोत्तमैः ॥
 सोऽयं ज्योतिषरायाख्यः ज्यहांगीरावनीपतेः ।
 स्वगूढप्रश्नसंवादैर्लेभे प्रश्नविदां वरः ॥
 तुलाप्रमुखदानेषु यस्त्वसंख्यवसूनि वै ।
 विप्रसात्कृतवान्काले नारायणपरायणः ॥
 तज्जस्वीश्वरदासाख्यो व्यवहारविदां मुदे ।
 ग्रन्थं मुहूर्त्तरत्नाख्यं कृत्वा चक्रे शिवापणं ॥

Īśvaradāsa completed his work in Śaka 1585 i.e. in A. D. 1663 when emperor Aurangzeb was ruling. Before concluding his work the author gives the date of the composition of the work in the following verse :—

पञ्चाष्टवाणेन्दुगते १५८५ शकाब्दे
 विष्णुप्रबोधेऽहनि सूर्यवारे ।
 संपूर्णमासीत्तु मुहूर्त्तरत्नं
 प्रस्थे मघोनस्त्ववरंगराज्ये ॥

1. Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Descriptive Cat. of MSS 1925, Vol. III (Smṛti Mss), preface, p. lxi.

2. "*Kāliñjara*—Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. The fort was built by the Chandel King Kirāt Brahma ; it contains the shrine of Mahādeva Nilakanṭha and the Tīrtha called Koṭatīrtha". (*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India* by Nundo Lal Dey, 1927, pp. 84-85.

PRATĀPAKALPADRUMA

A RARE WORK ON MEDICINE—COMPOSED BY ANANTA
FOR PRATĀPSIMHA OF JAIPUR IN A. D. 1792

(M. M. Patkar)

The Govt. Mss. Collection at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, contains a rare Ms.¹ of a medical treatise called *Pratāpakalpadruma*. It was composed by one Ananta for his patron Pratāpasimha. In the introductory verses the author gives us his own account as well as the genealogy of his patron Pratāpasimha. These verses are as under :—

जम्बूद्वीपमहीपमस्तकमणिः प्रत्यर्थिसंकामणि-
स्ल्लेच्छातंकतमिश्रपुष्करमणिर्यो वि(?)प्रचिन्तामणिः ॥
स श्रीमान् जयसिंहकः समभवद्यन्नाम दिक्कामिनी
माद्यद्विकरिदानलुब्धमधुपी गीतैश्चिरं गायति ॥ २ ॥
तदात्मजो भक्तसुखप्रदैको नाम्ना नृपेन्द्रो नृपमाधवेशः ।
दानप्रसादेन पराक्रमेण तिरस्कृताशेषनरेन्द्रवर्यः ॥ ३ ॥
तस्याभूत्तनयः धिया जितनयः सौन्दर्यशोभामयः ।
पूर्वातिप्रणयः स्वकेषु सदयः प्रारम्भसिद्धोदयः ।
वैरिच्यस्तभयः कृताधविलयः ख्यातिकृताकार्क्यः
सद्विद्याजितसत्क्रियो जितनयः श्रीमत्प्रतापाह्वयः ॥ ४ ॥

.....

धर्मस्तम्भैकमूलौ जलनिधिविलसत् स्कन्धयुक् तत्त्वशाका-
युक्तो नेक्षाक्षराली दलगुणकलितः सात्म्यपुष्पौघपूर्णः ।
नैरोग्यानन्दवृन्दः शुभफलफलितः श्रीप्रतापाख्यसिंहः
कल्पद्रुः कोप्यपूर्वो जगति विजयते सर्वतो वै प्रमोदात् ॥ ८ ॥
हारीतपारास(श)र सुश्रुतानां श्लोकान् समाहृत्य सुसारभूतात् ।
हिताय लोकस्य गदातुरस्य प्रतापकल्पद्रुम एष ग्रन्थः ॥ ९ ॥
अनन्तनामा द्विजवर्यमुख्यो दधीचिजात्युद्भवविप्रहो वै ।
महाशयः केशवरायसूनुः लिखामि शास्त्रं भिषजां सुखाय ॥ १० ॥
प्राप्याज्ञां नृपतेरहं प्रघटये ग्रन्थं सुरम्यं ध्रुवं
यत्नं योगकृतं महायति विदं श्रीसद्गुणोद्यैर्युतं ।

रोगेशादिविषान्तकृत्स्वमतिभिर्यस्मान्पुस्तुप्यता
स श्रीपुत्रकलत्रपौत्रजसयक् सोऽयं चिरं तिष्ठतु ॥ ११ ॥

The author, as stated in verse 10 above, is one Ananta (अनन्तनामा). He calls himself foremost among Brahmins (द्विजवर्यमुख्यः). He is the son of Keśava (केशवरायसूनुः) and belongs to the dadhīcī caste (दधीचीजात्युद्भव). He wrote his work at the instance of Pratāpasimha.

In his exhaustive work, Ananta quotes numerous works and authors. The following is a list of the authorities quoted by him :—

भागवत; लक्ष्मणोत्सव; वैद्यसारग्रन्थ; ज्वरतिमिरभास्कर; भावप्रकाश; विद्व-
जनरञ्जनग्रन्थात्; वैद्यचिनोद; चिकित्सासूतसागर; दामोदरग्रन्थ; शुश्रुत; वाग्भट;
हारीत; चरक; आनन्दमाला; हितोपदेश; ग्रन्थान्तरे; तन्त्रान्तरे; टोडरानन्द; वृन्द;
सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि; वैद्यकसारोद्धार; कुतूहलग्रन्थात्; रत्नभूषणग्रन्थ(?); वैद्य-
सङ्गीवनी; गारुडी(ड)संहिता; चिकित्सासार; शिराजग्रन्थ(?); वैद्यरत्न; वैद्यरहस्य;
ऋतुचर्या and वैद्यपद्धतिग्रन्थ.

The work is divided into four skandhas—each skandha containing six adhyāyas and each adhyāya dealing with different kinds of bodily disorders, their diagnosis, treatment, medicine and so on.

Ananta, as we have already seen, composed his work under the patronage of Pratāpasimha, who belonged to the illustrious family of Jaipur Princes and ruled from A. D. 1778 to 1803. The author has given the date of the composition as Tuesday, the 10th day of the bright-half of Āśvina (अश्वयुज्) of Samvat 1849, which corresponds to Tuesday, the 15th September 1792.¹ The verse containing the chronogram reads as under :—

fol. 178^b वर्षे विक्रमभूपतेर्नवयुगाष्टैन्दौ सिते पक्षके
मासे चाश्वयुजे शुभे श्रवणमे भौमे दशायां तिथौ ।
ग्रन्थोऽलेखि मया प्रतापयशसेऽनन्तेन कल्पदुर्मे
आप्यारोग्यमतो जना व्रजनिधेः कुर्वन्तु दास्यं सदा ॥

1. See *Indian Ephemeris*, Madras, 1922, Vol. VI, p. 387.

HISTORY OF GUṆAS IN ALANKĀRA*

(V. V. Sovani)

The word *guṇa* is derived from the root 'guṇa' of the 'Curādi' group, meaning 'to repeat' according to Mallinātha's commentary on Māghakāvya II. 75. The primary affix here added is 'ac' by P. III-3-56 'एरच्,' which causes acute accent to fall on the last syllable of the word 'guṇa' by P. VI-1-63 'चित्:' as we may see from Atharvaveda X-8-43.

पुण्डरीकं नवद्वारं त्रिभर्गुणैर्भिरावृतम् ।

Hence 'guṇa' means 'a factor or an equal part' in which sense Pāṇini himself has used it in संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयद् P. V. 2.47.

Patañjali makes the following observations with regard to the sense of the word 'guṇa':—

गुणशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः । अस्त्येव समेष्ववयवेषु वर्तते । तद्यथा द्विगुणा रज्जुर्नि अस्ति द्रव्यपदार्थकः तद्यथा । गुणवानयं देश इत्युच्यते यस्मिन् गावः सत्त्वानि वर्तन्ते । अस्त्यप्रधाने वर्तते । तद्यथा । यो यत्राप्रधानं भवति स आह-गुणवयमत्रेति । अस्त्याचारे वर्तते । तद्यथा । गुणवानयं ब्राह्मण इत्युच्यते यः सत्याचारं करोति । अस्ति संस्कारे वर्तते । तद्यथा । संस्कृतमन्नं गुणवदित्युच्यते अथवा सर्वत्रैवायं गुणशब्दः समेष्ववयवेषु वर्तते । Mahābhāṣya on the भावस्त्वतलौ P. V.1.119, Chowkhambā Ed., Vol. IV, part 2, pp. 45-46. Out of these senses Alankāraśāstra has countenanced the sense 'embellishment or excellence', as we see from काव्यशोभायाः स्तोत्रधर्मा गुणाः । Vāmana's Kāvyaalankārasūtra III. 1.1. We may compare the English word 'part', which means 'distinguishing endowment' in the expression 'man of parts'.

We find the conception of 'guṇa', characteristic of Alankāraśāstra, even in R̥gvedic age as may be seen from the following verse :—

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रेत
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताऽधि वाचि ॥
Rg. X. 71.2

* This article was found in the papers of our teacher, the late Prof. Venkatesh Vaman Sovani, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Meerut College, Meerut.—Editor.

This verse is cited and explained in Nirukta IV. 9 (Roth) by Yāska and by Patañjali in the Paspasā or Introductory portion of Mahābhāṣya (Chowkhambā Ed., Vol. I, p. 15).

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa seeks to interpret the latter half of the verse in a metaphysical sense in his Mahābhāṣya-pradīpodyota thereon. The natural sense of the verse seems to be as follows:—"Wise men make speeches after purifying the words and ideas through the sieve of their mind, as if the words were barley flour. Thereby the wise acquire friendships. Holy felicity is enshrined in their expression." In this verse by 'purification' the Ṛgvedic poet means the eschewance of offensive ideas and words, which are barbarous, hackneyed, indecent or have repugnant suggestion in them. The mind here compared to 'a sieve' is the cultured mind of the wise. That this is the sense intended by the Ṛgvedic poet appears very probable from the idea of 'aślīla' in Alaṅkāraśāstra, expressed by Vāmana in असम्यर्थान्तरमसम्बन्धमिति हेतुश्चाश्लीलम् । (Sūtra II 1. 15), and in तत्रैविध्यं व्रीडाजुगुप्साऽमङ्गलातद्वादयिभेदात् । (Sūtra II 1, 20). According to Kāvya-pradīpa p. 210, Kāvya-mālā Ed., 'aślīla' is derived from 'a-śrī' meaning 'Kāntya-bhāva' or 'absence of loveliness' by adding the secondary suffix 'lac' indicating possession by the Sūtra सिध्मादिभ्यश्च P. V. 2. 97, the 'r' of 'śrī' being changed to 'l' by संज्ञाच्छंदसोर्वा कपिलकादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् (वार्तिक) on 'कृपो रो लः' P. VIII 2. 18. Here incidentally the sense of the word 'lakṣmī' is determined by the word 'Śrī' continued in 'aślīla'. According to Kāvya-pradīpa 'Śrī' here means 'Kānti' or 'loveliness', or rather 'Sabhyavaśīkaraṇasampatti' = literary charm, as Pt. Vāmanāchārya Zalkikar happily puts it. Poetic charm is due to 'guṇas' or poetic excellences, as well as to 'alaṅkāras' or poetic ornaments, which are present in a poem, and is further due to the absence of literary flaws or blemishes (काव्यं ग्राह्यमलंकारात् । सौन्दर्यमलंकारः । स दोषगुणलंकारहानादानाम्बाम् ॥ Vāmana's Kāvya-ālaṅkārasūtra I. 1. 1-3). The Ṛgvedic poet emphasises the eschewance of impeachable or offensive expressions and ideas as the primary requisite of literary charm, because such single ideas and expressions quite disfigure even a beautiful poem, as held by Daṇḍin in Kāvya-ādarśa I. 7. On the other hand, even the mere absence of offensive expressions and ideas may contribute to slight beauty as is held by Māgha (cf.

Canto IX, verse 12) and approved of by Govinda Thakkura in his *Kāvya-pradīpa*, chapter VII, p. 199, *Kāvya-mālā* Ed. Daṇḍin on the other hand attaches great importance to this 'purity of style' which is 'good taste' and contributes to great delectation in spite of all the other graces due to poetic ornaments. He says:—

कामं सर्वोऽप्यलङ्कारो रसमर्थे निषिञ्चतु ।

तथाप्यग्राम्यतैवैनं भारं वहति भूयसा ॥ (*Kāvya-darśa* I. 6)

This is 'Mādhurya-guṇa' according to Daṇḍin. 'Purity' is held as a special characteristic of the poetry of Ṛgveda, which is in fact held as the standard of purity and the best means of purifying our speech and mind and sanctifying our religious acts. Hence we find the term 'pavitra' applied to Vedic passages in times anterior to Pāṇini also.

The Sūtra 'कर्तरि चर्पिदेवतयोः' P. III. 2. 186 explains it, the word 'ṛṣi' being used in the sense of 'Vedic passages' as in 'चर्पति ऋणोत ग्रावाणः' (*Mahābhāṣya* on P. III. 1.7, Chowkhambā Edn. Vol. III, part 2, p. 20).

The Vedic 'purity', however, does especially signify 'grammatical purity' or 'Saṃskāra', because in Ancient India they had the greatest regard for the correctness of language as is clear from the opening Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and from Patañjali's dictionary 'एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति' (*Mahābhāṣya* on एकः पूर्वपरयोः P. VI. 1. 84, Chowkhambā Edn. Vol. V, p. 53), which is ascribed to Śruti by Kaiyaṇa (*Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa*, Vol. I, p. 29 Chowkhambā Edn.) and is similar in sense to Daṇḍin's verse:—

गौगौः कामदुघा सम्यक् प्रयुक्ता स्मर्यते बुधैः ।

दुष्प्रयुक्ता पुनर्गोत्वं प्रयोक्तुः सैव शंसति ॥ (*Kāvya-darśa* I. 6)

and also from the following verse:—

दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।

स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

(*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 9, Chowkhambā Edn.)

Owing to its ideal of purity Veda was considered to be the sole criterion of Transcendental things as mentioned in Jaiminisūtra I. 1. 5 औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धस्तस्य ज्ञानयुक्तोऽव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात् । This idea was

maintained in modern times by the French novelist Flaubert. "Flaubert believed that every thought or grace or wonder had one word or phrase exactly adapted to express it, and could be 'digested' by no other without loss of clearness or beauty. It was the passion of his life, and the despair of it to search for the unique phrase in each individual case." (Edmund Gosse on 'Style' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIth Ed., Vol. XXV, p. 1057, column 1). Grammatical purity was extremely prized by old rhetoricians, as is clear from Bhāmaha I. 14-15 and from Bhaṭṭi's Rāvaṇavadha towards the end of the sixth century, A.D., illustrating purity in the department of inflexionable words in the first nine cantos, and purity in the department of verbs in the last nine cantos of that Mahākāvya. Similarly Bhaṭṭa Bhīma composed his Mahākāvya Rāvaṇārjunīya to illustrate Pāṇinisūtras in the order of the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The old rhetorician Maṅgala held Perfection in style was due to elegant and discriminate use of inflexionable and conjugated words, which went by the name of Sauśabdyā or grammatical purity 'सुपां तिङां च श्रवः (मि?) या व्युत्पत्तिरिति मंगलः। सौशब्द्यमेतत्।' Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, p. 20, Gaekwād Oriental Series Edn.

The poetic excellences 'mādhurya' and 'ojas' seem to be alluded to in the Veda. In the preamble to Rudrasūkta of the Yajurveda we find

मधुमतीं देवेभ्यो वाचमुवाच ५ शुश्रूषेण्यां मनुष्येभ्यः ।

where the 'mādhurya' guṇa as defined by Bharata XVI 98, by Bhāmaha II-3, and by Daṇḍin I 51 may be recognised, especially owing to the word 'Śuśrūṣeṇyām', employed there. Similarly in प्र तव्यसीं नव्यसीं धीतिममग्नये । Rg. I. 143 there might be an allusion to the guṇa 'Ojas or sententiousness as defined by Vāmana in Kāvyaālankārasūtra III. 2. 2.

It will be noticed that in Rg. X. 71. 2 the poetic excellence that is alluded to is negative in character, while the 'mādhurya' 'ojas', just mentioned are positive in character. Mammata does not accept guṇas, which are negative in character, but old rhetoricians did accept them, as we can see from Rudraṭa Kāvyaālankāra II. 8-9. Vidyānātha says as under :

“एषां (श्लेषादीनां चतुर्विंशतिसंख्याकानां गुणानां) मध्ये केषांचिद् परिहारकत्वेन गुणत्वम् । केषांचित्स्वत एवोत्कर्षहेतुत्वाद् गुणत्वम् । तत्र ये स्वतः चारुत्वातिशयहेतवस्ते परमुत्कृष्टाः । दुष्टत्वपरिहारहेतूनां गुणत्वं न सर्वसंमतम् । ये तु दोषाभावतया गुणत्वमिच्छन्ति तेषामेव सौकुमार्यादयो गुणत्वेन संमताः ।”

(Pratāparudrayaśobhuṣaṇa, p. 322, B. S. S.)

Rudraṭa's nine excellences mentioned in *Kāvyaālaṅkāra* II. are only negative in character, as Nami's commentary thereon has explained. As regards the positive excellences we may refer to वाचं शुश्रुवाँ अफ़लामपुष्पाम् । Rg. X. 71. 5. where 'phala' alludes to the sense, and 'puṣpa' to the excellences of speech; Vide 'वाचः पुष्पफलमाह' Nirukta I. 20, where Yāska further says 'puṣpa' and 'phala' respectively refer to Sacrificial lore and theological lore or to theological lore and metaphysical lore. However, if we compare यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः (Gītā II. 42) and the expression 'flowery speech', 'puṣpa' would more naturally mean 'embellishment of speech'.

The oldest critic of poetry who treats of 'guṇas' is Bharata who stands at the beginning of the Christian Era and may be older [Prof. E. J. Rapson on Drama (Indian) in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics Vol. IV, p. 886 §§ 3-4].

Bharata's conception of poetry being dramatic, he has made 'guṇas' subsidiary to 'rasa' (Nāṭyaśāstra XVI. 104). Bharata defines 'guṇas' as the opposites of poetic blemishes (दोषा विपर्ययादेषां माधुर्यौदार्यलक्षणाः । Bharata XVI. 91) Bharata mentions ten poetic blemishes (XVI. 84) and ten poetical excellences (XVI. 92). They are shown in contrast in parallel columns below. Vide Nāṭyaśāstra XVI vv. 84-103.

GUṆAS

DOṢAS

(1) (a) '*S'leṣa*' or *coalescence* = interdependence and affinity of words and idea.

(1) (b) '*Sliṣṭā*' or *well-knit*, where the meaning is naturally clear, though deep.

(2) '*Prasāda*' or *perspicuity*, where the sense *settles down* the moment the words are

(1) '*Arthāntara* or *irrelevant*.

(2) '*Abhiplutārtha* or *muddled*' in sense owing to partial compound or sāpekṣa samāsa.

(3) '*Gūḍhārtha*' or *obscure* owing to the use of synonyms for members of a word like

uttered, though not actually expressed.

(3) '*Samatā*' or equipoise due to the use of words, which are not very crisp, nor superfluous, nor unintelligible.

(4) '*Samādhi*' or poetic imagery.

(5) '*Mādhurya*' or sweetness, which never wearies the mind, though tasted again and again.

(6) '*Ojas*' or weightiness, due to the use of striking compounded expressions with dignified accents.

(7) '*Padasaukumārya*' = delicacy of words, due to the use of premier melodious metres well-knit together, containing delicate meaning.

(8) '*Arthavyakti*' or 'vividness of sense' due to the use of words in well-recognised and popular senses.

(9) '*Udārata*' or Sublimity due to the presence of the Erotic and the marvellous with surging emotions, all enveloped in divine atmosphere.

(10) '*Kānti* or Loveliness', due to the use of expressions connoting '*līlā*', e.g. '*līlākamala*'; cf. *Kāvyaadarśa* I. 79.

'*gīrvāṇa*,' which has a conventional meaning; e.g. '*vacobāṇa*' for '*gīrvāṇa*'

(4) '*Ekārtha*' or superfluous.

(5) '*Arthahīna*' = nonsensical.

(6) (a) '*Bhinnārtha*' = indelicate or bad in taste.

(7) '*Viśandhi*' = jolting, due to the words not being properly fixed.

N.B.—I read अवप्रतिष्ठाशब्दम् for अनुप्रतिष्ठाशब्दं, in XVI. 90.

(8) '*Viṣama*' = unmetrical.

(9) '*S'ābdahīna*' = defective in words, owing to the words being used in ungrammatical forms or in unwarranted senses.

(10) '*Nyāyādapeta*' = irrational or absurd.

(6) (b) '*bhinnārtha*' := having undesirable or repugnant signification.

Of these ten poetic excellences of Bharata *śleṣa* is considered by him to be both a '*S'ābdaguṇa*' and an '*arthaguṇa*'. As a '*S'ābda*'

guṇa it combines in itself the '*Sākāṅkṣatva*' of Bhāravi XI. 38, and the '*Śabdaguṇa*' '*S'leṣa*' of Vāmana III. 1. 10. The '*S'leṣa*' which is an '*arthaguṇa*', corresponds to the fifth variety of '*prāṇḍhi*' of Vāmana III. 2. 2. The '*prasāda*' *guṇa* of Bharata is illustrated in Kāvyaśāstravṛtti of Vāmana V. 1. 10, and is same as the '*arthaguṇa*' '*prasāda*' of Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa I. § 97, p. 74 Jībānanda Ed. This '*prasādaguṇa*' of Bharata appears as the '*arthaguṇa*' '*sudharmitā*' in Keśavamisra's Alaṅkāraśekhara, p. 22, Kāvyaśāstra Ed. In a poetic piece possessed of '*prasāda*' *guṇa* of Bharata, the idea of a thing flashes on the mind by virtue of characteristic epithets alone. Bharata's '*Samatā*' is both a '*S'abdaguṇa*' and an '*arthaguṇa*'. As a '*S'abdaguṇa*', '*Samatā*' combines the '*S'abdaguṇa*' '*ojas*' and '*prasāda*' of Vāmana III. 1. 5-6, and the '*S'abdaguṇa*' '*mādhurya*' of Vāmana III. 1. 20. As an '*arthaguṇa*' '*Samatā*' of Bharata is identical with the '*arthaguṇa*' '*Samatā*' of Vāmana III. 2. 5 taken in the second alternative sense. Bharata's '*Samatā*' is the same as the '*arthaguṇa*' '*Samādhi*' of Vāmana III. 2. 6. Bharata's '*mādhurya*' covers Daṇḍin's '*mādhurya*' in Kāvyaśāstra I. 51 and Vāmana's '*arthaguṇa*' '*mādhurya*' in III. 2-10, Bharata's '*Ojas*' covers Daṇḍin's '*ojas*' (Kāvyaśāstra I. 80) and Vāmana's '*S'abdaguṇa*' '*Kānti*' (III. 1. 25). Bharata's '*Saukumārya*' may cover Vāmana's '*S'abdaguṇa*' '*samādhi*' (III. 1. 12) and Bhoj's '*arthaguṇa*' '*Saukumārya*' in I. § 100, p. 76, Jībānanda Ed. Bharata's '*arthavyakti*' is the same as Daṇḍin's '*prasāda*' (Kāvyaśāstra I. 80). Bharata's '*udāratva*' is the same as Vāmana's (III. 2. 14) '*arthaguṇa*' '*Kānti*'. The '*Kāntiguṇa*' of Bharata is the same as the '*Kānti*' of Kāvyaśāstra I. 85.

Although Bharata's conception of poetry is dramatic and although he says in XVI. 92 that the ten excellences are attributes of '*Kāvyaārtha*' or poetic sentiments or *rasas* ('कान्यस्यार्थाः कान्यार्थाः अर्हन्ते प्राधान्येनेत्यर्थः। कान्यस्यार्थाः कान्यार्था रसाः.' Abhinavagupta's Nāṭyaśāstraṭīkā on chapter VII, opening passage), still Bharata's idea of *rasa* being rather crude, he makes the *guṇas* directly the attributes of word and sense, as we see from the foregoing treatment of them. Bharata's *guṇas* seem to have a wide currency for we find in the fourteenth line of the Gīrnār inscription of Rudradāman of 160-170 A. D. the expression 'चित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदारालंकृतगद्यपद्य (कान्यविधानप्रवीणे) न where

poetic excellences 'mādhurya', 'Kānti' and 'audārya' are expressly mentioned, and 'ojas' is hinted (G. Bühler's 'Indian Inscriptions and the Antiquity of Indian Artificial Poetry', English Translation, pp. 24-28, Reprint from Indian Antiquary 1913). Similarly Bhāravi who is mentioned in the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D. and therefore belongs to the Sixth century has mentioned the guṇas 'prasāda', 'ojas' in XI. 38, and 'audārya' and indirectly 'Samādhi' in XI. 40.

The later followers of Bharata's schools gave less importance to guṇas as mentioned by Bharata and considered them to be virtues of a negative character only. Rudrabhaṭṭa merely mentions 'audārya' (Śringāratilaka III ibid 63), mādhurya (III. 53) and 'ojas' (III. ibid 58). Rudraṭa's Kāvyaālankāra II. 8 mentions nine guṇas, which are negative in character. Of these Rudrabhaṭṭa is older than Rudraṭa as appears from Nami's commentary on Kāvyaālankāra I. 2. Rudraṭa belongs to the middle of the 9th century A. D. (Pischel's Introduction to Śringāratilaka, pp. 12, 26). Pischel has wrongly identified Rudrabhaṭṭa with Rudraṭa (ibid. p. 1). However, both these writers have this much in common that they attach little importance to guṇas and do not distinguish between guṇas and alaṅkāras. For Rudrabhaṭṭa as cited in Pratāparudriya ch. VI pp. 334-335 (B. S. S.) says as follows:—

तदुक्तं रुद्रभट्टेन— “ यो हेतुः काव्यशोभायाः सोऽलंकारः प्रकीर्त्यते । गुणोऽपि तादृशो ज्ञेयो दोषः स्यात्तद्विपर्ययः ” । while Rudraṭa in II. 8 has given nine guṇas which are of a negative character and perhaps sees no distinction between guṇa and alaṅkāra if Nami be expressing his view in commentary on XI. 36 that 'vāstava', 'aupamya', 'atīśaya', and 'śleṣa' are arthagūṇas, while 'vakrokti', 'anuprāsa', 'Yamaka', 'S'leṣa' and 'Citra' are S'abdaguṇas, whereas they were formerly mentioned as 'arthālaṅkāras' (VII. 9) and S'abdālaṅkaras (II. 13) respectively.

Rājaśekhara at the end of the ninth century A. D. in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, p. 6, Gaekwād Oriental Series Edn., mentions the five guṇas, 'Sāmya', 'prasāda', 'mādhurya', 'audārya' and 'ojas' which are probably illustrated in Hemacandra 15 Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi on Kāvyaānuśāsana, pp. 200-201, Kāvya-mālā Ed. 'Ojas' is the quality of recitation where the breaks are not observable. When recitation is attended with breaks there is 'prasāda' guṇa.

The recitation which is attended with rise and fall of voice has the quality 'mādhurya'. When there is grace in reciting some portions of a verse there is 'audārya' *guṇa*. When there is a high or low accent in recitation, there is 'Samatā' *guṇa*. *Ojas* occurs in *Sragdharā* and such other metres, 'prasada' in 'indravajrā', 'upendravajrā' etc., 'mādhurya' in *mandākṛānta* etc. 'Samatā' in *S'ardulavikriḍita* etc. and 'audārya' in uneven metres like *puṣpitāgrā*.

Lastly we shall deal with *guṇas* according to *Agnipurāṇa* and *Alaṅkāraśekhara*kārikās. *Agnipurāṇa* is certainly prior to *Kaṭhā* *rājamārgga* of *Nṛpatuṅga* of circa 814 A.D., since the latter mentions *Dhvani* as an *alaṅkāra*, which is found only in *Agnipurāṇa* ch. 345, verses 14-18. Like *Rājaśekhara*, *Agnipurāṇa* considers 'rasa' to be the life of poetry 'वाग्वैदग्ध्यप्रधानेऽपि रस एवास्य जीवितम्' (ch. 336, v. 33). However the *guṇas* are not considered as attributes of 'rasas' but whereas *Rājaśekhara* considered 'guṇas' as attributes of 'S'abdaracanā' *Agnipurāṇa* considers the *guṇas* as attributes of style in the widest sense. It enumerates 24 *guṇas* of which six are attributes of *S'abda*, six of *artha* and six of both *śabda* and *artha*.

Of the six *śabdaguṇas*, *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *Sukumārata* are the same as the *śabdaguṇas* *śleṣa*, *mādhurya* and *Sukumārata* of *Vāmana*, while 'udāratā' and 'ojas' are identical with *Dagdha* *Udāratā* II. variety and 'ojas' respectively. *Gāmbhīrya* and *Suśabdatā* is the same as the *śabdaguṇa* *suśabdatā* of *Bhojader* *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa* 'च्युत्पत्तिः सुसिद्धां या तु प्रोच्यते सा सुशब्दा' (I § 84, p. 61 *Jībānanda* Ed.).

Of the 6 *arthaguṇas*, *mādhurya*, *saṁvidhāna* and *Komalatva* are the same as *mādhurya* (*Bhoja* I. § 99) *śleṣa* (*Bhoja* I. § 96) and *Saukumārya* (*Bhoja* I. § 100) of *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa*. *Udāratva* is the same as the *arthaguṇa* 'udārtava' of *Bhoja* I. § 104, p. 78 *Jībānanda*. *Praudhi* is probably the variety of *praudhi* accepted by *Vāmana*. The *Sāmayika* conformity to derivation refers probably to such verses as *Raghu* VI. 21; XV. 6; *Kīrāta* VIII. 49; *Māgha* I. 24; I. 64; XVI. 1 and *Naiṣadha* III. 16 where the words 'परंतप, शत्रुघ्न, विलासि' *पुण्डरीकाक्ष, दिग्गज, शिशुपाल* and *भीम* are shown to be in conformity with their derivative senses.

Of the six *ubhayaguṇas*, *udāratva* and *prāśastya* are identical with Daṇḍin's *udāratā* (I. § 76) and the *arthaguṇa* *Suśabdatā* of Bhoja I. § 108, pp. 79-80 Jibānanda's Ed. *Prasāda* is the same as Daṇḍin's *Prasāda* (I. § 45). *Yathāsāṅkhya* is the figure called *Yathāsāṅkhya* or *Krama* of Vāmana IV.3. 17 and Bhāmha II. 89-90. *Pāka* or perfection of style is achieved when all the qualities are present vividly, the highest perfection being *sahakārapāka* according to a verse cited in Vāmana's *Alaṅkāravṛtti* III. 2. 14, Agnipurāṇa ch. 345, v. 23 mentions *mṛdvīkāpāka*, *nārikelapāka* and *āmrapāka*. *Rāga* is that grace of style, which is attained without effort. It is of three kinds known as *hāridra*, *kausumbha* and *nīlirāga*. In addition to these three of *vaiśeṣika guṇas*, Agnipurāṇa mentions the fourth variety known as *vaiśeṣika guṇas* or those *guṇas* which are excellences at times but which become blemishes at other times.

As regards the *Kārikās* of Śauddhodani, which are commented on by Keśavamiśra in his *Alaṅkāraśekhara*, who probably belongs to the 17th century, from his having quoted Kavikalpalatākāra, we do not know much. From the *Kārikās*, however, it appears that although Śuddhodani knows the Dhvani doctrine, still his system seems to be less perfect than Mammāṭa's and appears, therefore, very likely contemporary or almost a contemporary of Bhoja. Śuddhodani's *S'abdaguṇas Saṅkṣepa*, *udāttatā*, *prasāda*, *ukti* and *samādhi* are identical with the *S'abdaguṇas* of Bhoja called by the same name. Of his four *arthaguṇas*, *bhāvika* and *Suśabdatā* are identical with the *arthaguṇas* *bhāvika* and *Suśabdatā* of Bhoja, while his *paryāyokti* is the *arthaguṇa* 'Rīti' of Bhoja and his *Sudharmitā* is the same as Bharata's *prasāda*, and Bhoja's *arthaguṇa* 'prasāda'. Hence it appears that Śauddhodani's *guṇas* are all selected from Bhoja's *guṇas*.

The Alaṅkāra school headed by Bhāmaha of the seventh century A.D. paid little attention to *guṇas* and had scant respect for the *Rītis*, which are based on *guṇas* (Bhāmahālaṅkāra I. 31-35). Bhāmaha mentions the three *guṇas* *mādhurya*, *prāsada*, and *ojas* only in Bhāmahālaṅkāra II. 1-3. A fourth *guṇa* 'bhāvika' is mentioned as being the quality of the whole composition (Bhāmahālaṅkāra III. 52-53) but Bhāmaha seems to include it among Alaṅkāras. Similarly 'suśabdatā' is mentioned

by him (Bhāmaha I. 14-15) but he would rather call it a *Śloka-lāṅkāra*. Bhāmaha's *guṇas* are illustrated in *Bhāṭṭikārya-Sauśabdyā* in Cantos I-IX; and XIV-XXII, *Mādhurya* in Cantos XI, and *Bhāvika* in Canto XII and *Prasāda* in Cantos X-XIII. In Canto XIII an additional *guṇa* 'Bhāṣāśleṣa' is illustrated which is absent in Bhāmaha but is defined in Rudraṭa IV. 10 and illustrated in the following twelve verses. Rudraṭa calls it a figure of words. Writers of the *Alaṅkāra* school were generally indifferent to the distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*. Udbhaṭa, Bhāmaha's commentator, who was the *Sabhapati* of King Jayāpīḍa and hence belongs to the latter half of the eighth century, thus ridiculed the distinction between '*guṇas*' and '*alaṅkāras*' as held traditionally by the *Rīti* school:—

“समवायवृत्त्या शौर्यादयः संयोगवृत्त्या तु हारादयः इत्यस्तु गुणालंकाराणां भेदः । ओजःप्रभृतीनामनुप्रासोपमादीनां चोभयेषामपि समवायवृत्त्या स्थितिर्निर्दिष्टा गडुलिकाप्रवाहेणैवेषां भेदः ।” Bhāmahavivarāṇa cited in *Kāvya-prakāśa* VIII, pp. 569-570, Zalkīkar's new Ed. Udbhaṭa held that *guṇas* were the attributes of a composition as a whole ('संघटनायाः कस्य गुणा इति भट्टोद्भटादयः ।'—*ध्वन्यालोकलोचन* p. 134, काव्यमाला). The three *guṇas* mentioned by Bhāmaha (II. 1-3) *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda* were accepted by the Dhvani school. The transitional stage of these three may be clearly seen from the following views of Udbhaṭa and Pratihārendurāja. Ruyyaka says:—

“उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणालंकाराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् । विषयवेदमात्रेण भेदप्रतिपादनाम् । संघटनाधर्मत्वेन चेष्टेः ।” (अलंकारसर्वस्व, काव्यमाला P. 7) Pratihārendurāja in his *Kāvya-ālaṅkārasāra-laghuṭīkā* p. 75, Nirṇayasāgar Ed., says:—

गुणाः काव्यस्य माधुर्यौजःप्रसादलक्षणाः । तत्र माधुर्यमाहादकम्बम् । अतो गाढता । प्रसादम्वव्यवधानेन रसाभिव्यक्त्यनुगुणता । तदेतेषां त्रयाणां गुणानां मध्यात्प्रसादस्य प्राधान्यम् । माधुर्यौजसोस्तु तत्तदसाभिव्यक्त्यानुगुण्येन तारतम्येन वस्थितयोः प्रसाद एव सोपयोगता ।” It is true that Pratihārendurāja came after Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, still he is much conservative as is clear from his own commentary on Udbhaṭa. Hence his view represents the transitional period.

Lastly we turn to the *Gaṇa* school itself. The *Gaṇa* school was very old and flourishing even before Bhāmaha as it is at-

tacked by him in I. 31-35. We learn from Bhāmaha I. 34 that a *Vaidarbha Kāvya* is merely melodious to the ear like singing, is naive, tender, transparent but wanting in imaginative expressions and charming ideas. That Bhāmaha was not quite misrepresenting their view is borne out by Vāmana I. 2. 21 'तदुपारोहादर्थगुणलेशोऽपि ।' and the verse 'जीवन् पदार्थपरिरंभण-मन्तरेण शब्दावधिर्न भवति स्फुरणेन सत्यम् । किन्त्वस्ति काचिदपरैव पदानुपूर्वीं यस्यां न किञ्चिदपि किञ्चिदिवावभाति ॥' which is cited in Alaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti and Kāmadhenu thereon a (Vāṇivilāsa Ed., p. 24). The following observation of Dr. Edmund Gosse seems to throw light on the view of the old *Rīti* school:—"When full justice has been done to the necessity of thought as the basis of style, it remains true that what is visible, so to speak, to the naked eye, what can be analysed and described, is an *artistic arrangement of words*. Language is so used as to awaken impressions of touch, taste, odour, and hearing, and these are aroused in a way peculiar to the genius of the individual who brings them forth." (Enc. Brit. XI Ed., Vol. XXV, p. 1057 under 'style').

The oldest writer extant of the *Rīti* or *Guṇa* school is Daṇḍin, who tries to defend the *Rīti* school in *Kāvyaadarśa* by showing that *Vaidarbhi Rīti*, which was so much extolled by the advocates of the *Rīti* school, had some real merits and was not merely meant to appeal to the ear. He distinguished two characteristics of *Vaidarbhi*, which defended it against Bhāmaha's criticism (Bhāmaha I. 34) that *Vaidarbhi* was merely melodious to the ear and these characteristics according to him are *mādhurya* or good taste in the use of poetic ornaments and sentiments (Daṇḍin I. 51 ; I. 62), and *Samādhi* or the employment of words in a metaphorical sense, which adds to the beauty of a poem to a pre-eminent degree (Daṇḍin I. 93 ; I. 95 ; I. 100). The remaining eight *Guṇas* of Daṇḍin show that *Vaidarbhi* was well-knit, intelligible, even, delicate, compact, and heightened, and they are negative in character. Daṇḍin's definitions of those eight qualities as also *mādhurya* show that according to him excellence lies in avoiding the extremes and illustrates the dictum अति सर्वत्र वर्जयेत् । His criticism of the *Gauḍiyā* shows that the *Gauḍas* were guilty of excesses and never cared for the golden mean. However, *Bhāvika*, which is an attribute or *guṇa* of the

whole composition, Daṇḍin (II. 363-365) still considers *alaṅkāra*. The truth is Daṇḍin did not make any distinction between *guṇas* and *alaṅkāras*. Daṇḍin expressly says—
 काश्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थमुक्ताः प्रागप्यलंक्रियाः । साधारणमलंकारजातमद्य प्रदर्शयेत् ।
 (Kāvyaḍarśa II. 3). The ten *guṇas* which he had explained in Kāvyaḍarśa I. 43-100 were considered different from other *alaṅkāras* merely because they were the distinguishing features of *Vaidarbhī*.

Vāmana improved upon Daṇḍin's view by saying that the real definition of *guṇa* is काव्यशोभायाः कर्तारो धर्मा गुणः (Vāmana III. 1. 1.) while *alaṅkāra* did not always produce the necessary minimum of poetry like *guṇas*, (पूर्वे नित्याः । वामन III. 1. 3) but only enhanced the beauty which had been already caused by the *guṇas* (तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलंकाराः । Vāmana III. 1. 2). Hence the काव्यशोभाकरत्वं which was considered to be the common attribute of *guṇa* and *alaṅkāra* by Daṇḍin (II. 1) was found to be wanting unless this reservation was accepted. Vāmana further pointed out that the ten *S'abdaguṇas* which he had defined were attributes of the whole composition (Vāmana III. 1. 4). These ten *S'abdaguṇas* produced a suitable vehicle for the corresponding attributes of sense, so that as Vāmana has already said in I. 3. 21 even slight beauty of sense appears to advantage. Further the *Bhāgaguṇa* of the entire composition (according to Daṇḍin III. 363-365) was analysed by Vāmana into the *arthaguṇas śleṣa* (III. 2. 4), the fifth variety of 'ojas' (III. 2. 2. Vṛtti), *Samatā* (III. 2. 5), *Samādhi* (III. 2. 6-9), *Mādhurya* (III. 2. 10), and *Arthavyakti* (III. 2. 13). Here Vāmana followed Bharata in the conception of these as *arthaguṇas* as we have seen already.

Bhoja in his *Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa* combines the *guṇas* and qualities of both Daṇḍin and Vāmana and partially the *guṇas* of *Agnipurāṇa*. On p. 322 *Pratāparudriya* shows that the *S'abdaguṇas*, सौकुमार्यं, कान्ति, अर्थव्यक्ति, संमितत्व, उदात्तता, और्जस्य, तैत्ति प्रसाद, उक्ति, सौशब्द, प्रेयस्, and समता are mere *doṣa* (faults), the rest are positive *guṇas*. The later works like *अलंकारचिन्तामणि*, *मदनमरन्दचंपू*, *वाग्भटालंकार*, *वाग्भटकाव्यानुशासन*, *साहित्यरत्नाकर*, *प्रतापरुद्र*, *साहित्यसार* and *चंद्रालोक* accepted Bhoja's *guṇas* or Vāmana's *guṇas* or rarely Daṇḍin's *guṇas*. *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* and *Candraloka* accepted mostly Daṇḍin's or Vāmana's *guṇas*. The definition of

poetry तद्दोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनः कापि given by Mammaṭa which is attacked by Viśvanātha at the beginning of Sāhitya-darpaṇa (p. 12 शिवदत्त Ed.) rightly shows that Mammaṭa was still under the influence of the Guṇas school, because Vāmana says :—
 काव्यशब्दोऽयं गुणालंकारसंस्कृतयोः शब्दार्थयोर्वर्तते (Vāmanavṛtti I. 1-1).
 In order to escape this censure, Sāhityasāra makes guṇa wide enough to include alaṅkāra and rasa as well (Sāhityasāra I. 20, Nirṇayasāra Ed.).

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IDENTIFICATION OF BAGĀJI VAIDYA AND JAYA- ŚAMKARA MENTIONED BY JYOTIRVID RANGANĀTHA IN HIS TREATISE ON PILES (1765 A.D.)

(P. K. GODE, M.A.)

In my note on the *Identification of Ranganātha Jyotiroid*, the author of a medical treatise on Piles composed by order of Peshawa Raghunathrao in A.D. 1765, I tried to prove from contemporary Maratha Records the identification of the author himself as also some other physicians mentioned by him viz. *Bābā Bhiṣagvarya*,¹ and *Balavantrāya Vaidya*. Two other physicians viz. (1) *Bagāji Vaidya* and (2) *Jaya Śamkara* remained then unidentified. I propose to record in this note some evidence from contemporary records which proves that *Bagāji Vaidya* was also a contemporary physician with whom the author had some contact and whose opinions he respected. This fact would be clear from the following extract from the author's treatise called the *Vicārasudhākara* (MS No. 367 Vis'I) folio 14 :—

“ इति शास्त्रानुभावस्वानुभूतिगुरूपदिष्टवाक्यानुसारतो जुन्नरपुरस्थित-
ज्योतिर्विद्वंगनाथ तथा वगाजीवैद्ययोः संमतमिदं समासिमगमम् ”

1. Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. II (1937-38), pp. 31-34.
2. Further information about this physician is found in *Rajawade Sources of Marāthā History*, Khanda VI, p. 68.—It appears *Bābā Vaidya* built a house in Poona in A.D. 1751 (Śaka 1673—“ श्री. सुद्ध & सुक्कवारो वैद्य याणीं खंडू तेलियाच्या जागियावरी नवें घर बांधलें. त्या घरास ग्रहप्रेषण के असे ”). This reference in 1751 A.D. to *Bābā Vaidya* is the earliest made by me. Other references are later. They may be briefly recounted here :—
 - (1) *About A.D. 1760*—*Bābā Vaidya's* endorsement on *Sahāyā Rao* Peshwa's letter to his wife on the eve of his departure for the battle of Paniput (1760).
 - (2) *A.D. 1765*—Mention by *Ranga Joshi* in his treatise on Piles in the same authority.
 - (3) *1st November 1766*—Mention of *Bābā Vaidya's* intended visit to *Miraj* by *Moro Ballal* in his letter to *Gopalrao Patwardhan*.
 - (4) *8th March 1767*—The Peshwa asks *Nana Fadnis* to make enquiries regarding certain Medical preparations at *Bābā Vaidya's* house and then send them on to him.

It appears, therefore, that Bagāji Vaidya was also a resident of Junnar, in the Poona district, like our author Raṅganātha Jyotirvid or Raṅga Joshi of Junnar. We have now to prove the identity of this physician from contemporary records of the Peshwa period of the Marāthā history as Raghunatharao Peshwa was the patron of Raṅga Joshi of Junnar.

We have already proved that Raṅga Joshi was a friend of the Chandrachud family and in particular he was closely associated with the family of Gangadhar Yashavant Chandrachud popularly known as Gangoba Tatyā who died in 1773 A.D. and who played an important role in some of the ambitious political campaigns¹ of the Peshwas during his life-time. Ranga Joshi appears to have acted almost as a family physician to the Chandrachud family.² Ranga Joshi was present at the death-bed of Subhedar Malharrao Holkar when he died at *Alampur* (prānta *Jhānsi*) on Tuesday, Vaiśākha Śuddha 11, Śāka 1688=13th May 1766.³ This fact is mentioned in a letter dated 27th May 1766⁴ found in the *Chandrachud Daftar*.

Gangoba Tatyā Chandrachud had two wives : viz. (1) Anna-pūrṇābāi and (2) Pārvatībāi, who died in the month of Āṣāḍha, Śāka 1685 (=A.D. 1763).⁵ In a letter written by Annapurnabai to her son on 4th June 1763 she refers to the illness of Parvatibai and the fact of Parvatibai's being under the medical treatment of

1. Vide preface to *Chandrachud-Doftar* published by the Bh. Iti. Mandal, Poona (Śāka 1842=A.D. 1920), pp. 1-16.

2. Ibid, p. 62—Vide letter No. 58 dated 6th December 1762 from the two sons of Gangoba Tatyā viz. Sadashiva and Kṛṣṇarao to their mother. In this letter the writers refer to the medical treatment given by Ranga Joshi to Gangoba Tatyā—“तीर्थरूपाचे शरीरभावनेचे.....वर्तमान कलत गेले पाहिजे म्हणोन आज्ञा येसियासि आम्लपित्तास उपाये जोसी बाबा करीत आहेत.” “आपल्या येण्याविसां जोसीबाबांनीं एक दोनदां पुसिले. etc. “Joshi Baba mentioned in this extract is none other than Ranga Joshi of Junnar, the author of *Vicārasudhākara* also called *Āśoghnasudhākara*.

3. Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 334.

4. Vide *Chandrachud Daftar*, pp. 97-98, Letter No. 104—“येकांतीचे वर्तमान वे। राजश्री रंग जोसीबाबा यांनी समक्ष पाहिले आहे ते तिकडे आले आहेत सवीस्तरे सांगतील.”

5. Ibid, p. 65, footnote 1.

a physician by name "*Bagājibāvā Vaidya*."¹ I have no doubt that "*Bagājibāvā Vaidya*" referred to in the above letter, dated 27th May 1766 is identical with "*Bagājī Vaidya*" mentioned by Ranga Joshi in his *Vicārasudhākara*, which was composed by the author about a year earlier i.e. in A.D. 1765.²

I shall record in this note some additional information about the family of Ranganatha Jyotirvid or Ranga Joshi of Junnarkar. This information is furnished by the papers of a dispute connected with the removal of Śivaliṅga from the temple of Siddhāśvara at Shirgaun (paragaṇe Māhim, prānta Vasai). These papers were published as far back as 1884.³ In these papers we find recorded in A. D. 1808-1809 a deposition of Jagannatha Joshi, the son of Ranga Joshi Junnarkar.⁴ From this deposition we know clearly the name of Ranga Joshi's father viz. "सूर्यजोशी" who is mentioned by Jagannatha Joshi as his grand-father. In the treatise *Vicārasudhākara* the author Ranga Joshi describes himself as follows :—

“प्रथितसूर्यविधिज्ञसुतः सुधीर्गणितवैद्यकशास्त्रविशारदः।

असुहृदुग्रगुदामयशातनं व्यरचयद्विविधास्तिहरं मुदा ॥ १ ॥”

In the above description Ranga Joshi calls himself “सूर्यविधिज्ञ-सुत” i.e. son of सूर्यविधिज्ञ (=सूर्यजोशी) and proficient in the sciences of *gaṇita* (or astrology) and *Vaidyaka* (or medicine). In the deposition of Jagannatha Joshi we are informed that Dr.

1. Ibid, p. 75, Letter No. 77—“चिरंजीव सौ पार्वतीच्या शरीराचे अद्यापी आहे रो वगाजीबावा वैद्य औषध देतात परंतु अद्यापी गुणास येत न आरोग्य होईल तो सुदीन आसे.”

2. Vide folio. 23 of Ms. No. 307 of Viś. I in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona—“शैलदंतिरसभूमि ते शके । मार्गशुक्लविंशतिथौ ॥ भूमिनंदनदिने व्यरीरचत् । सद्विचारणसुधासुधाकरं ॥ २ ॥” Vide also note on the *Date of Vicārasudhākara* published in the Annals (B. O. R. Institute) Vol. XII, pp. 287-289.

3. Vide pp. 120-164 of the account of शुक्रयजुर्वेदीय ब्राह्मण by Narayana Vithal Vaidya Purandare Puntambekar, Bombay Saka 1806 = A.D. 1890 (शिरगांव येथील लिंगोत्पाटनाचा खटला).

4. Ibid, p. 152—“जगन्नाथ जोशी बिन् रङ्गजोशी जुन्नरकर वृत्तंशी हरीं पुणें याणीं लिहून दिलें कों.....आमचे घरीं पूर्वांपार सूर्यजोशी आमचे त्यांजपासी व आमचे तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी रङ्गजोशी यांजपासीं येत होते.....दादासाहेब मुंबईस होते ते समयी आपणही कांहां कार्यानिमित्त गेलो होतो....”

5. Vide folio. 23 of MS No. 307 of Viś. I (Govt. MSS Library).

saheb was at Bombay and that Jagannatha Joshi had gone there on some business. This Dadasaheb is none other than Raghobadada Peshwa at whose instance Ranga Joshi wrote his work *Vicārasudhākara*. Jagannatha Joshi was living at Poona in the year 1808-09 when he gave his deposition in the case under reference and when his father Ranga Joshi is referred to as a dead person ("आमचे तीर्थरूप कैलासवासी रङ्गजोशी"). Ranga Joshi must have died after A.D. 1780 as his signature is found on a deed dated 17th January 1780.¹

We have now to identify *Jaya S'aṁkara* who is referred to by Ranganatha Joshi in his treatise as follows:—

Folio 16a (of MS No. 307 of Vis'I)—

जयशंकरमतं ॥ तक्रपानं सदा कार्यं व्योपक्षारसमन्वितं ।
 अथवा त्रिफलाचूर्णं चित्रकैरपि योजयेत् ॥
 मंडूरतक्रपानेन तथा राजसृगांककः ।
 अरुक्करादिचूर्णस्य सेवनात्सुरणस्यच ॥
 अशांसि नाशमायांति तिमिरं भास्करोदयात् ।
 इति जयशंकरमतं ॥

I shall now record some evidence about a physician of the name *Jaya Saṁkara* to whom the Peshwa restored some confiscated revenues between 1754-55 A.D. This evidence is furnished by the Diaries of Peshwa Balaji Bajirao alias Nanasaheb, published by Messrs. Vad and Parasnis,² whose summary of extract No. 213 reads as follows:—

"213. Maloji Powar previously granted a share of revenue of a village in Nasik to the ancestors of Jaya Shankar and Deo Shankar, physicians for opening a charitable dispensary. The

1. Vide pp. 3-10 of *Chandrachud Daftar*.

2. *Selections from the Satara Rajas and the Peshwā's Diaries II*, Balaji Bajirao Peshwa—Vol. II, Bombay 1906, p. 132—The diary describes *Jaya-Saṁkara* as वेदमूर्ति राजश्री जयशंकर व वेदशंकर (=देवशंकर ?) विन भवानीशंकर वैद्य गुजराथी, उपनांव देव, गोत्र अवतखण, सूत्र वाजश्री". *Jaya Saṁkara's* father had a share of revenue in the village called *Talegaun Ajner*, Pargane Nasik. This share was granted to him by Maloji Powar. After Maloji's death, Jagajivan Pawar the son of Maloji continued it. In 1754-55 the *Saranjām* of Jagajivan Powar was confiscated by the Peshwa and consequently *Jaya Saṁkar* and his brother lost the revenue of the village in question. The Peshwa directed the restoration of the revenue to the two physicians by the present grant.

Powar's *Saranjām* was discontinued by government and the above grant was attached. It was now restored, with some addition, to the physicians on condition that if they failed to dispense medicines to the poor the grant would be revoked."

I have no doubt that the Gujarathi physician *Jaya S'amkara* mentioned in the above extract is exactly identical with *Jaya S'amkara* whose opinion is recorded by Ranganath Joshi in his treatise on piles composed in A.D. 1765. It is possible to conclude that *Jaya S'amkara* may have been living in 1765. He appears to have died about 1779-80 A.D. because during the reign of Peshwa Savai Madhavrao an order¹ was issued by the Peshwa to the Kamāvisdar of the Nasik paragaṇā directing him to continue the revenue of the village Talegaun Ajner in favour of the son of *Jaya S'amkara* by name *Vidyādhara*, who was then residing at Nasik. The summary of the extract from Savai Madhavrao's Diary as given by the editors reads as follows :—

A.D. 1779-80—“(1063) The Government *amal* of the village of Talegaun Ajner in pargaṇā Nāsik was granted to Jayshankar and Dewashankar bin Bhawani Shankar Vaidya Gujarathi in consideration of their dispensing medicines gratis to the poor. The *amal* was on their deaths continued to Jayshankar's son Vidyādhara Vaidya, to be spent on medicines for the poor.”

From the two extracts from Peshwa Diaries, summaries of which have been quoted above we can reconstruct the genealogy of the family of *Jaya S'amkara* as follows :—

भवानीशंकर (देव)

जयशंकर

देवशंकर

(died about 1779 A.D.)

विद्याधर

It appears that this Gujarathi family of physicians was resident in the Nasik Paragaṇā long before A.D. 1754 i.e. during the life-time of *Jaya S'amkara*'s father.

1. *Vad and Parasnis*: Peshwa Diaries, VIII—Savai Madhavrao Peshwa (Vol. III), Bombay, 1911, p. 222—*Extract No. 1063*.

2. This देवशंकर, physician, appears to be a different person from his namesake देवशंकर who wrote his work अलंकारमंजूषा in praise of the Peshwas Raghunathrao, Madhavarao, Narayanrao and Vishvasrav and who was the son of Nahnābhai and resident of Rāner (= *Rander* near Surat) (Vide my article in *Bha. Iti. Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (1938), pp. 92-95).

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REVIEWS

The *Virāṭaparvan*, being the fourth book of the Mahābhārata, The Great Epic of India, critically edited by Raghu Vira, Professor of Sanskrit, S. D. College, Lahore, under the General Editorship of Dr V. S. Sukthankar. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1936. Royal size; pp. lxi, 363.

The present edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* is based on the general principles as enunciated by Dr Sukthankar in the Prolegomena (pp. lxxvi ff.) to his edition of the *Ādiparvan*. Of course, those principles had to be modified according to the special circumstances of the *Virāṭaparvan*. The text is based on 32 Mss. belonging to Northern Recension (represented by North-western Group and Central Group) and Southern Recension. The most important Ms. of the North-western Group is in *śaradā* script but unfortunately, it is incomplete and fragmentary. It is a pity that no complete *śaradā* Ms. of this *parvan* could be found. The codex containing this *parvan* contains also the *Āraṇyaka*, *Kaṇṇa* and *Bhīṣma-parvans*. At the end of the *Āraṇyakaparvan*, the date of copying the Ms. is given as *S'aka* 1630 and *V. Sam.* 84. Dr Raghu Vira has put a query after this *saṃvat* 84. In fact it stands for the Kashmiri or the *Saptarṣi saṃvat* which is usually given at the end of *śaradā* Mss. and which starts with 1624 A. D. If the Ms. does contain a *वि* before the word *Sam.* then it is obviously the scribe's mistake to equate *śaka* 1630 with *vikrama* 84. But I very much doubt that the letter standing before the word *Sam* is *वि*. I think that the editor ought to have clarified this anomaly.

The Central Group consists of Bengali and Devanāgarī versions. Besides these, the editor has examined eleven other Mss., two of which are "the recent copies of Nilakaṇṭha's text, and hence of no value as *śaradā* codices". The remaining nine are Devanāgarī Mss. The editor has taken pains to consult the readings supplied by no less than 15 commentaries and Kṣemendra's *Bhāratamañjarī*. The Javanese prose version has also been consulted. The following opening verses are interesting:

(१) शाक्तैयो यस्तपस्व्यन्धकरिपु र व न ट् सं ला स नि ते ? वै
 पुंसा युक्तोपलोमे विशल पु स लि नि र् य ? पुनः कन्यकार्थ ? ।
 आपद्धर्मप्रतीकारजननकुशलो यस्तयोरात्मपुत्रः
 कृष्णद्वैपायनाख्यः सजयति भगवान् श्रोत्रियाणां विशिष्टः ॥

(२) यस्मान्नमेति ? गुणशालिकादेया ?
 सार्धा न वर्षा शतरोहिनास्पते ? ।
 यद्वैर्यवर्षामितकारयस्तु सा ?
 श्रीधर्मवंशद्गु अनन्तविक्रम ? ॥

Dr Raghu Vira has not attempted any reconstruction of these verses. A reconstruction was attempted by Dr. C. C. Berg of Leiden, who communicated it to Dr Sukthankar in a letter of July 4, 1936. He also requested Dr Sukthankar to get some better reconstruction of these verses. Dr Sukthankar handed over these verses to me and my reconstruction of the first verse along with its English translation was communicated by him to Dr Berg in his letter of the 4th of September, 1936. At my request the second verse was reconstructed by the veteran scholar, the late Dewan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva of Ahmedabad. The emended readings, etc., are :—

(1) In this verse it is only the first two lines which are corrupt and I emended them thus :—

शाक्तैयो यस्तपस्व्यन्धकरिपुवरलब्धप्रसादान्वितो वै
 पुंसा युक्तापि लेभे सुविमलपुलिने या पुनः कन्यकात्वम् ।

I would translate the verse :—“Victorious is that venerable sage, Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana by name, the best among the brahmins learned in the Vedas, skilled in finding remedies in accordance with the practices which are allowed only in times of distress (āpaddharma) and who was born of them (tayoh ātmaputraḥ), viz. (of) Śākteya, an ascetic who was possessed of tranquillity obtained as a boon from Śiva (Andhakariṣu) and of her who though united with a man on a clear sandy bank (of Yamuna) regained her virginity.”

(2) While sending the following note on the second verse Dewan Bahadur remarks at the end of his letter to me (Ahmedabad, September 6, 1936) :—“My tentative draft may serve as a step to the choice of better readings. I write this

from memory, your letter with the tiny accompaniment being misplaced and lost."

यस्संप्रदत्ते गुणशालिकाद्यं

योऽर्धोऽनवर्षः शतरोहणः स्थितः ।

यो धीरवर्ष्माऽमृतकारणोऽस्तु

श्रीधर्मवंशशत्रुनन्तविक्रमः ॥

Translation :—"May that Dharmavaṁśa-tree Ananta-vikrama, (the tree) which gives out s'ālī(-kā), etc., in the shape of guṇas, which has kept growing for a hundred years minus a half, (may that tree) of a strong build become immortal (by reason of Nirvāṇa)."

Notes :—"Here I take *Dharmavaṁśa* a proper noun denoting a person ; *druḥ* is substituted for *dḡuḥ* which is meaningless. Emboldened by the double meaning of *vaṁśa* I do it. Similarly, in place of *amītakārayastu*, I read *amṛtakāraṇo'stu*, where I take *amṛta* to mean *nirvāṇa*. *Dhīravarṣmā* replacing *dhairyavarṣa* signifies 'of strong build'. The second line mentions the age of *Dharmavaṁśa*. He was running the 100th year, being short only by six months (lit. half an year). Whereas a bamboo yields *vaṁśagodhūma* and *vaṁśakarpūra* the poet says that *Dharmavaṁśa* affords *śālikā*, i.e., *śālī* in the shape of *guṇa*, etc., by which I understand the *Pāramitās*."

In his critical introduction Dr Raghu Vira discusses the values of the two recensions—the Northern and the Southern—the different versions in *śāradā*, Bengali, Devanāgarī, Telegu, Grantha and Malayalam recensions. He has not failed to utilise the printed editions, specially that of *Virāṭaparvan* by the late Mr N. B. Utgikar. At the end the editor gives two appendices containing (1) a series of additional passages found in different Mss. which have been cited in the foregoing footnotes to the constituted text, but which, for various reasons were not quoted there in extenso ; and (2) a list of Sanskrit excerpts culled from Dr Juynboll's edition of the Javanese version.

Dr Raghu Vira is sure of only about 300 stanzas out of a total of 1834 stanzas constituting the text. This shows the amount of labour that the editor has spent over his task. The directing genius and perseverance of Dr Sukthankar is visible in every line and has been acknowledged by the editor with thanks.

We congratulate the Institute on this wonderful achievement and recommend the work to all the lovers of the Great Epic.

In the end we cannot close without admiring the self-confidence of Dr Raghu Vira who warns his critics in the following words:—"But let us warn the uninitiated that there are pitfalls and traps quite invisible to his eye, should he try to judge too hastily."

—The Editor.

Atti Del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti
Roma, 23-29 Settembre 1935—XIII. pp. 722. Royal Size. Price 60 Lira.

The present volume is the report of the 19th International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome in 1935. The Congress was divided into ten sections, viz.—

I. Assyriology, II. Egyptology, III. Extreme Orient, and Indonesia, IV. Central Asia, Iran, etc., V. India, VI. Semitic language and people, VII. Old Testament and Judaism, VIII. Islam, IX. Christianity in the Orient and X. Oriental Arts.

The President of Indian Section was Prof. C. Formichi, and Drs. M. Falk and M. Carelli were the Secretaries. There are twenty-five papers submitted to this section. Prof. M. Singh of Lahore has two papers to his credit: (1) *A new view of Hindu Mythology* and (2) *Buddhism and Sikkhism*. In the first article Prof. M. Singh presents us with a new view which in his own words is—".....Our entire Sacred Sanskrit Literature is a big circle which circumscribes two triangles, one with the apex up and the other down, intersecting each other. That figure, as we all know is the symbol of the Theosophical Society. The ancients took a cosmic view interconnecting the Heavens, the Earth and the Man. The identity of objects, operations and events in the three, not merely the similarity between the two, macrocosm and microcosm was real, vital and sacred to them..... all knowledge, in whatever form it is presented, is the presentation of one single idea, enriching itself, by variegated observations at each unit of time. In his second paper, Prof. M. Singh develops the theme that in Sikkism Nānak took us back to the original simple teachings of Buddhism which rested

on the three pillars of the Buddha, the Sangha and the Dharma. In Sikhism we have the Sat-Guru, the Sat-Sanga and the Satnāma.

The next paper by Prof. Betty Heimann (London School of Oriental Studies) discusses the question of meaning and importance of Indian terms (*Deutung und Bedeutung indischer Terminologie*) from philological point of view.

Prof. A. Ballini of Milan contributes a paper on Michele Kerbaker (*Inedita di Michele Kerbaker*), the *pitāmaha* of Italian Sanskritists.

Prof. Kṣetreśa Candra Caṭṭopādhyāya of Allahabad University has submitted a paper on "*Dāsa and dasyu in the R̥gveda-Samhitā*", the essence of which he has given in the following Sanskrit verses composed by him and given at the beginning of his article—

नत्वा दाशरथिं रामं रक्षोगणनिपूदनम् ।
 करोमि निर्णयं यत्नैरर्थस्य दस्युदासयोः ॥
 ऋग्वेदसंहिताग्रन्थे शब्दावेतौ किमर्थकौ ।
 विपयेऽत्र महान् भेदः प्राच्यपाश्चात्ययोर्मते ॥
 असुरार्थाविति प्राहुः प्राचीनमतकोविदाः ।
 पाश्चात्याः पण्डितास्त्वाहुरनार्याथर्विभौ ध्रुवम् ॥
 एतयोर्मतयोर्मध्ये कतरच्छ्रुतिसङ्गतम् ।
 इत्येतन्निर्णयः कार्यः पक्षपातं विनाशुना ॥
 पाश्चात्यं तु मतं तत्र कल्पनामात्रमूलकम् ।
 न तथा सायणादीनां सम्मतावप्रमाणता ॥
 निष्पन्नं दस्यतेर्धातोरसुरार्थं तु तद् द्वयम् ।
 श्रुतिमीमांसया ह्येतत् सिद्धं सर्वे निबोधत ॥
 अर्थान्तरमपार्थस्तु न तत्र श्रुतिसङ्गतिः ।
 प्रीयतामनया कृत्वा भगवान् वेदपूरुषः ॥

The next paper A Yoga hymn in the Atharva-Veda ("Unno Yoga nell' Atharva-Veda") by Dott. SSA M. Falk (Rome) discusses Av. VIII. 9.

In "*La notion de temps dans les Brāhmaṇas*", Prof. SSA H. De Willman-Grabowska (Cracovia) discusses the conception of time—year—as found in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. He arrives at the conclusion that Prajāpati is the creator of time.

Prof. L. A. Krishna Iyer of Trivandrum has discussed in a short paper the life of the Malapantārams, a small tribe in the hunting stage of civilization in Central Travancore.

Prof. J. B. Durkal of Surat, in his paper "*The Indian Social System: Its Basis and Evolution*" explains that the Indian Social System is essentially a socio-religious or religio-social system, based upon the philosophical back-ground of the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number.

In "*Eine neue Version der verlorenen Br̥hatkathā des Guṇāḍhya*", Dr. L. Alsdorf of Hamburg expounds that apart from the two Kashmere Sanskrit versions of Guṇāḍhya's Br̥hatkathā, viz., Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Br̥hatkathā-Mañjarī, there exists another version which has so far been overlooked. And that is the Vasudevahiṇḍī by Sanghadāsa, a text in Prakrit prose, covering about 370 pages of quarto size. This Jaina version is referred to thrice in the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, which, therefore, leads to the conclusion that Vasudevahiṇḍī is prior to 6th century A.D. But its language is very old and it should, therefore, be much earlier. Thus, it is the oldest extant version of Guṇāḍhya's Br̥hatkathā.

Dr. R. Wagner of Berlin discusses in his article "*Sprachform und Inhalt der bengalischen Volksmaerchen in Dakṣiṇāraṇjan Mitra-Majumdar's Thākurmār Jhulī*" discusses the dialect and the contents of a story-book in Bengali by Dakṣiṇāraṇjan Mitra-Majumdar. The author has collected in it the stories which he heard from his mother and other old ladies of the village.

Prof. M. Vallanri (Torino) discusses the composition and contents of the eighteen Purāṇas according to the Nārada-Purāṇa in his article "*Composizione e contenuto dei "Purāṇa" secondo "Nārada-purāṇa"*".

Prof. P. Mus (Hanoi) has submitted a paper on Hiuan-tsang and his stūpas of Aśoka.

Dr. G. Borsani of Milan in his paper "*Apsaras e Yakṣiṇī*" compares the Vedic idea of Apsaras with the Buddhistic conception of Yakṣiṇī.

Prof. M. V. Kibe of Indore has contributed a long article named "*Further Light on Ravana's Lanka located in Central India from Valmiki's Ramayana.*"

In his interesting article "*The Vedic Word Svadhā*", Prof. J. S. Miśra of Amritsar tries to prove that the Persian word Khuda is derived from the Vedic word Svadhā.

Prof. P. E. Dumont of Baltimore, in his article "*La doctrine mé'taphysique de l'ġsvaragītā*", examines the metaphysical doctrine of ġsvaragītā.

The other articles on Indian subjects are :—

Traditions Regarding the Origin of the Order of Naked Ascetics in India—by Prof. R. P. Masani (Bombay).

Influssi indiani nella filosofia di Plotino? by Dr. P. Marrucchi (Firenze). Discusses the question—Was Plotinus influenced by Indian philosophy?

I Dati Secolari e Sociologici nella Letteratura Buddhistica Pali—by Prof. B. K. Sarkar (Calcutta).

The Origin of the Pallavas—by Prof. P. H. Heras (Bombay).

Rājapūts—by Prof. B. Reu (Jodhpur).

The importance of the Sinhalese language in the study of Indo-Aryan linguistic—by Prof. I. De Lanerolle (Monaco di Baviera).

La physiognomonie et la chiromantie indiennes—by Prof. Stasiak (Leopoli).

Sinhalese Amulets in Leiden and London Mss.—by Prof. O. Pertold (Prag).

—The Editor

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1934, by Dr. H. Krishna, M.A., D. LITT., pp. viii and 237. Plates 20. Bangalore 1936. Price Rs. 8.

The Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1935, by H. Krishna, M.A., D. LITT., pp. viii + 215. Plates 28. Bangalore 1936. Price Rs. 8.

The Reports under review are superbly produced and well-designed volumes and speak highly of the administrative as well as of the scholarly abilities of the Mysore Archaeological department. The work done by the States of Mysore and Hyderabad and a few others towards the proper conservation of the ancient monuments, is, indeed, laudable. Along with proper conservation the State authorities have also made careful arrangements

for the study and interpretation of these invaluable "sources of history."

It is a well-known fact of Indian history that with the advent of the Muhammadans, Hinduism took shelter in the South. There, protected by the Vindhyan ranges, the Hindus as usual drowned themselves in contemplation. In the course of centuries after the first blast of the foreign conquest had blown over, arose New-Hinduism after decades of dormant existence, resplendent and rejuvenated after its contact with the invaders. Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and strongly developed and yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and the Hindu meeting and mingling together. Islam was the Creator's pruning-knife for Hinduism. The fields of Northern India are strewn with examples of Islamic architecture. In the South the Hindus struggled for centuries to keep themselves and their lives and arts free from the touch of the outsider. The Hindu movements of the South are the purest extant examples of the canons of Indian art. And as such they are objects of special interest and study. But struggle as they did yet the Hindus were unable to maintain their proud independence to the last. The flood of Islamic-Sword surged over the South as it had already benumbed the North. But before their fading out of the picture the Hindus had already erected lasting memorial of their greatness in the form of temples, images and monuments etc. With the departure of Aurangzeb from Northern India in 1681, the South became the centre of the stage in the drama of Indian history. From 1681 onwards for close on two centuries the South became the battleground between the contending parties for the crown and throne of India. During these years of disturbance art and culture suffered. The monuments of South India were not recovered from destructive hands before the storm of two centuries was over and the paramountcy of one single power was established. For the proper understanding of the Hindu religion and civilisation a study of the Hindu monuments is essential. The Mysore Government as the leading Hindu State is doing excellent service in this direction.

The volumes under review are divided into five parts: Administrative, Monuments, Numismatics, Manuscripts and Epigraphy.

graphs. Some of the temples, monuments and images have been described with such a wealth of detail as to evoke unstinted admiration. Indologists especially those working in the restricted field of Archæology will be deeply indebted to Dr. Krishna for this veritable "treasure-trove". The reports are complete with contents and Index.

Report for 1934

The chief items of interest in this section dealing with "Ancient Monuments" are temples and hill-forts. The descriptions of important places are illustrated with photographs and diagrams. It is not possible to deal with all the temples and monuments recorded in the report. Among the temples dealt with in this report one of the most important one is the Muktinātheśvara temple in the village of Binnamangala. "The friezes of lions and Yakshas and the roundish corner, the prevalence of rearing tiger brackets and the presence of an inscription lead us to ascribe the temple to the Chola times." Some important temples of Śiva Gaṅgā like the Gaṅgādhareśvara temple and the Honnadevi temple are objects of special and admirable studies "either because of their dates or because of their architectural merit." Other important temples dealt with in great detail are the Saumyakeśava temple in the village of Nāgamangala, Śrī Mallikārkjunaswami temple at Basral, Anantapadmanābha temple at Budanur, Paravāsudeva temple at Gundlupet and the Lakṣmīkānta temple at Kalkale. Among the hill forts studied evidently three are very important, namely, Madhugiri, Savandurga, and Devaranyadurga.

The next section on Numismatics contains a short but interesting account of the Chola coins from the tenth to the thirteenth century A.D. Indeed, it is very difficult to assign any coin to the Cholas before the tenth century A.D. The note on the coinage of the Kerala feudatories of the Chola Kings is of particular interest.

The object of study in part iv is a small unimportant manuscript belonging to Koppa Taluk, Kadur district, known as the "Story of the Gurus of the Bhangigade Matt."

About sixty stone and copper plate inscriptions are dealt with in part v. A summary of the inscriptions arranged according to dynasties and dates is a very useful appendix.

Report for 1935

Among the important temples dealt with in this issue are the Chennakesavaba and the Kallesvara temples at Aralaguppa, Amarnārāyaṇa's temple at Kaivara and the Someśvara temple at Kolar.

Seringapatam is an object of interest separately. Its architectural treasures especially those built under the Moharraman rulers evoke the unstinted admiration of the scholars as well as of the laymen. The places of historical and architectural interest in Seringapatam have been dealt with on pp. 53 to 65. Without doubt the most interesting building in Seringapatam is the Darya-Daulat [the wealth of the Sea] built by Tipu Sultan in 1784 A.D. An interior view of the Darya-Daulat is the fitting frontis-piece of the report under review. An interesting feature of this building is that its walls, pillars and arches are profusely painted with varied colours including a free use of gold. On the west wall are painted four large battle-scenes, noteworthy feature of which are the details of the dresses, armours, organisation etc., employed by the Sultan.

The section on Numismatics deals with coins from the extreme South of India. (Pl. xxiii).

The Manuscript section contains a short account of an eighteenth century poem called Mādhavāṅkana Kāvya.

The new inscriptions for the year 1935 number fifty-three. The inscriptions are summarised and arranged according to dynasties and dates.

—B. N. Mitra.

The Ocean of Theosophy, by W. Q. Judge, a pupil of Madame H. P. Blavatsky, Second Indian Edition (1937).

This book was first published in America in 1893 and has been widely read. The writer does not claim any originality but has simply written what has been taught and proved to him. It is a condensed presentation of the uncontroversial main principles of Theosophy and may be considered as an epitome of Madame H. P. Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*.

In spite of the modesty of the writer of this small book, a great many points of theosophical philosophy have been very

clearly explained. The chapters dealing with Reincarnation, Karma, and Cycles are to be specially mentioned. As no "proof" in the ordinary sense can be given, the author has logically refuted the objections against these doctrines and one is convinced by this negative method although it is difficult to accept them whole-heartedly otherwise than as a matter of faith. That the doctrine of Reincarnation and Karma are connected has been made plain, and that they lead also to the doctrine of Cycles is understandable. Theosophy teaches also that reincarnation as a doctrine applying to the real man does not teach transmigration into kingdoms of nature below the human. Modern Psychology and Ethics may be a great deal benefited by a study of some of the theosophical doctrines. The author has dispelled the wrong idea that Theosophy spouses Spiritualism, but a modern psychologist will gain much by studying with the theosophist the phenomena of the psychic forces which was neglected by the "psychologies without soul" of the last century.

The author cherishes the hope that with a scientific knowledge of the inner psychic life of man the progress of the race will be achieved and it will be gratifying to the Indians to note that he believes "that of all the old races the Aryan Indian yet remains as the preserver of the old doctrine. It will one day rise again to its old heights of glory."

It has become out of fashion to read Theosophical books now-a-days but the small book by William Q. Judge is an interesting reading. It may be hoped that with the new psychology, Theosophical philosophy will be widely read again and "The Ocean of Theosophy" is likely to stimulate such study.

—C. C. M.

Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals. By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., Kamala lectures—Published by the Calcutta University, 230 pages. 1935.

The questions which the learned author has undertaken to consider in the course of these lectures are whether the Hindu ethical code has been rigid or flexible, whether it has been stationary and can afford to remain so or has been affected by our environment, political and economic conditions and other

factors. He has pointed out two striking features in the history of the ethical ideals of Hindus : first, they have not remained stationary but have changed in various directions from time to time ; secondly, there is no breach of continuity in the main web of Indian culture.

Incidentally a very detailed information is given of Vedic Pauranic modern Hinduism which ought to be known by every so-called educated Indian now-a-days. The old Hindu law-books mix up the topics of law, religion and ethics and claim to deal with the whole conduct of life by man. The Dharma Śāstra is practically co-extensive with the whole sphere of the duties of man.

The author enforces his points by numerous references to parallel conceptions and practices in western countries. Ordinarily the fact that a rule is derived from supposed conformity to the law of nature, from revelation or immemorial usage or in accord with the enlightened conscience, or the practice of the wisest and most highly esteemed members of his community would be sufficient to set the seal of authority upon the rule. Such was also the nature of the early Greek thought. The rejection of reason and experience as a guide to morality is also found with the intuitional school of moralists in Europe.

According to strict theory, the rules of conduct laid down in the Dharma Śāstra are supposed to be eternal and immutable. The commentators on the Śāstras have generally endeavoured to bring them into relation and accordance with the conditions of the society in which they lived. These will be seen by reference to the variations of Yuga Dharma, to the practices allowed or forbidden in the present age (Kaliyuga), to the recognition of local usages and the usages of particular castes and classes to the rules of Āpad-dharma or Dharma during distress and adversity and principles of accommodation to the ability of a person for performance the Śāstras vary with the country, with the time and according to the ability of persons for compliance with rules.

The author surveys the changes in the moral conceptions underlying the social life of the Hindus, e.g. marriage, inheritance, the status of women, the caste system, slavery, law and justice, rights and duties of rulers and subjects. He discusses the question of moral progress, the effect of the impact of western ideas

and culture upon Hindu ideals, the drift of modern forces and tendencies and their bearing upon the future outlook of Hindu Society.

There are also the topics of *Ahimsā*, *Cleanliness*, *Penances*, *Foreign language and Travel*, *Doctrine of Karma* included in the thesis of the author, which are very illuminating.

Some fundamental differences between the Western and the Hindu system of Ethics are discussed. In the West the disputes relate to the theoretical foundation of the accepted rules of moral conduct. The value of such discussions consists in the satisfaction afforded by the discovery of a rational basis of conduct for our ethical judgment but the Hindu ethical thought mostly confines itself to the *ends* of human actions which are four: *Dharma* (duty or virtue), *Artha* (wealth), *Kāma* (pleasure, and happiness) and *Mokṣa* (salvation or emancipation). The *Summum bonum* of the highest end is *Mokṣa*. But the view of salvation entertained by the Hindus underwent a process of gradual evolution from the Vedic age to that of the *Gītā* and *Manu*. It is a characteristic feature of Hinduism that it does not prescribe the same goal and method of salvation for all persons irrespective of their capacity and their standard of spiritual development.

The author meets some of the charges against Hindu ethics. It is not pessimistic, it lays stress upon the virtues of disinterested performance of our duty, it is not anti-social and ascetic.

An overwhelming predominance of ritualism, the repression of freedom of action and individual initiative and the development to extraordinary length of the system of caste are some of the defects, according to the author, which are not possible to justify. He enumerates various morals of the Hindu ideals e. g. Hinduism has always been characterised by a spirit of toleration towards other religions, it has never persecuted people for heresy, it has been generally disposed to lay stress upon obligations rather than rights. The doctrine of *Adhikāribheda* or relativity with reference to capacity, qualifications and conditions is throughout recognised and implied in Hindu ethics as regards the moral ends and as regards the rules of conduct.

Some of the topics may not come directly under his thesis, but all the chapters are interesting study. All the references

given by the author are definite and the book as published in its present form is sure to be counted as one of important books of the time.

C. C. M.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1935. Vol. X. Kern Institute, Leyden, E. J. Brill, Ltd. 1937.

This is a well-known work and requires no introduction to students of Indology. The editorial board consists of a galaxy of scholars including such famous men as Vogel, Bimala Charan Law, Ananda K. Coomarswamy, Rene Grosseut, Hirnanda Sastri, G. Yazdani etc. etc. The Editorial Board "wishes to render this Annual Bibliography as complete as possible with regard to publications in India." Considering the odds that have to be surmounted in a task like this and the comprehensive nature of the publication the Editorial Board should be congratulated on their crowning achievement. "Authors are particularly requested to supply the Kern Institute with copies of any articles dealing with Indian Archæology and allied subjects, so that they may be duly noted in further issues of the Bibliography." So, if anything has been accidentally left out the fault of the omission cannot be laid at the door of the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board has spared no pains to make the volume comprehensive. The Editorial Board also thanks profusely all those who have rendered active and sympathetic help to make the publication a success. The editors express their gratitude to the Government of India for raising the grant-in-aid in support of the Bibliography from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1000. It is also a matter of gratification that the enlightened rulers of some of the most important Indian States have continued to extend their patronage to this publication. The Government of Ceylon as well as that of Netherlands India maintained their subsidies on behalf of the Bibliography.

The present volume opens with a short summary of archaeological work in India during 1934-35 written by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. The financial conditions of the Government of India remaining unchanged, the activities of the archaeological department were strictly circumscribed. The year

however, was not lacking in important discoveries. Useful work was carried on in the Indus region, leading to the establishment of the fact that the Indus culture, better termed as the proto-Indian culture, had a much wider zone of influence. (Plate I.) The work at Taxila which has been in progress almost continuously for about two decades, under the personal supervision of Sir John Marshall, was continued after his departure revealing much useful material. Among the antiquities found in this region mention may be made of a bowl-shaped casket supported by four-elephants. (Plate IIC.) Another interesting find is the stone figure of a deity holding a parrot and a spear in his right hand. Local excavations in Bengal were carried on by Mr. N. G. Mojumdar. The excavations at Nālanda in Bihar were continued and two more monasteries were added to those already exposed. An important feature of the newly excavated monasteries is the use of stone-pillars for supporting the roof of the Verandah, in place of wood. The collection of bronze images, which is the best in Northern India, has been further enriched. (Plate III.) In the Madras Presidency interest in pre-historic archaeology is increasing and megalithic structures, stone-circles, and even burials are frequently brought to light.

Excavations at Chanhu-Daro in 1935-36:—Permission to undertake Archæological excavations in Sind was granted to Professor W. Norman Brown, President of the American School of Indic and Iranian studies and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The site selected for exploration was the area round Chanhu-Daro, one of the most important pre-historic sites in Sind. Dr. Ernest Mackey the field-director of the expedition writes an interesting note on the results of the exploration. [PP. 20-24]. Chanhu-Daro is some 12 miles east of the present bed of the Indus, about 80 miles S. S. E. of Mohenjodaro. The affinity of the place with the Indus Civilisation had already been established by Mr. N. Mojumdar in 1929-30. Blade-axes, chisels, spear-heads and copper and bronze vessels of various shapes, all go to show that Chanhu-Daro was a great place of metal-working. But whether bronze or copper was the metal more commonly worked can only be ascertained by exhaustive analysis of the material obtained. Bead-making was practised even more exten-

sively at Chanh-Daro than metal-working, for large numbers of them were unearthed in all the various stages of making.

Save in their extraordinarily skilful bead-making and also in the manufacture of weights—a subsidiary industry,—the people of Chanh-Daro made little use of stone. Copper was evidently so plentiful that stone-implements had already been practically discarded. Stone was occasionally used for man-heads. A remarkable number of toys were found at Chanh-Daro. It is possible that toymaking was a local industry. A number of pottery figures were found of the Mother Goddess who was also worshipped at other centres of the Indus culture. The seal or rather the seal-amulets—for they undoubtedly served both purposes—were all made of steatite. In shape, material, and the animals engraved upon them, they are identical with those found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa and many of them were similarly given a smooth white surface to enhance their appearance. The animal most often represented on this seal amulet is an ox-like beast, always in profile with a single horn. A very interesting motif often used at Chanh-Daro on pottery is a scene of peacocks 'en file', drawn in a very sketchy way but nevertheless quite recognizable. Of particular importance is a bronze cosmetic jar with fluted sides.

Lahore Fort, its History and Restoration [Pp. 24-31]—Mr. H. L. Srivastava's contribution prepared at the instance and under the supervision of Mr. Blackistone, deals with the Lahore Fort and will convey an idea of the excellent work of conservation and restoration accomplished by the Archaeological department. We need only refer the reader to Plates, which will suffice to demonstrate in the most eloquent fashion what marvellous results may be obtained by a thoroughly justified restoration.

Work in the States—The attention paid to antiquarian interests in the leading autonomous States of India is evident from the three contributions from Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad-Deccan, Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State, and Mr. M. B. Garde, Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State.

Hyderabad-Deccan—During the year under review an extensive programme of conservation and exploration of ancient

monuments has been carried out and Rs. 97,000 were spent upon the measures adopted for the work. The cave of the monuments of Ajanta, has as usual received the greatest attention. In the field of exploration the most important discovery is a large rock-cut Brahmanical temple at Bhokardan in the Aurangabad district (Plate VI. B).

Baroda State—The Archæological department of Baroda was established at the end of the year 1934. This newly found department of the State has an extensive programme of work for the future [Plate VII].

Gwalior State—The village of Gyraspur is one of the most important centres of Archæological interest in the Gwalior State. It possesses remains of monuments of all ancient faiths—Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. These ruins range in date from the 7th to the 11th century and show that during that period Gyraspur must have been a place of considerable importance (Plate VIII).

Numismatics: Sir Richard Burn has contributed a useful paper on Indian Numismatics in 1935. The chapter is divided into Indo-Greek coins, ancient Hindu coins, Kushans and their followers, Guptas, Sultans of Delhi, Mogul series, Muhammadan States and miscellaneous. Unfortunately there is no plate illustrating the coins.....Dr. Bimala Charan Law has supplied an extensive list of publications on the ancient geography of India (Pp. 12–20).

Among the countries outside India proper which are dealt with in the Bibliography, Ceylon claims a prominent place. The present issue contains an article on the epigraphy of ancient Lankā, from the able pen of Dr. Paranavitana. Further India is very well represented. Starting from the Indian side of the Eastern peninsula, first, there is a note on archæological research in Burma from the pen of that veteran antiquarian Mons. Charles Duroiselle. Dr. H. G. Quaritch-Wales, field-director of the Great Indian Research Committee, has supplied a valuable note regarding his explorations on the ancient site of Śrī Deva in the kingdom of Siam [Plate X]. Indo-China as usual has a very prominent place. This time Mons. George Goedé has supplied two contribu-

tions of unusual interest, one by himself on the discovery of the sacred deposit of Angkor-vat and the other by Mons. H. Maugu relating to one of the earliest temples in Cambodia [Āshram Maharoséi, Plate XI]. The latter's able paper will appeal in particular to those interested in the early relations between Indian, Cambodian, and Indo-Javanese architecture. An account of the progress of the work in Netherlands India has been included. Sir Aurel Stein has supplied the last plate (XII), photographed by himself personally, of the colossal rock-sculpture at Naksh-i-Ruṣtām near Darab, commemorating the victory of Shapur I, the Sassanian, over the Roman Emperor Valerian.

The Bibliography of publications as usual is very rich and helpful to scholars. There is a list of periodicals. The general section on India is divided into Archæology and Art-history, Architecture and Sculpture, Painting, Iconography, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology, Ancient history, Ancient geography and Numismatics. Separate bibliographies are supplied for Ceylon, further India, Indonesia, and adjoining territories like Iran, Mesopotamia, Turan, Afghanistan, Tibet and the Far East (China, Japan and Korea).

There is a very helpful index at the end.

—B. N. Mitra.

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ŚRĪ DYĀ DVIVEDA-HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(Sitaram J. Joshi)

(To understand Dyā Dviveda well, it is necessary for one to realise the situation of Sanskrit scholarship that existed in his time and that exists now as well. So I have deemed it right to estimate here for comparison the Sanskrit scholarship itself in general.)

The Sanskrit Scholars in these days are inclined to differentiate the classical literature from the Vedic by calling the former by the name of 'Sanskrit' literature. They have their own reason for this tendency of theirs; because the word 'Sanskrit' came to be applied to the so-called classical literature at a comparatively later period, the whole language previous to it, being most probably designated as the Divine speech (दैवी वाक्) or Deva-vāṇī, as Daṇḍin, the great rhetorician has defined it by saying 'संस्कृतं नाम देवी वागन्वाख्याता महर्षिभिः' the great sages-particularize the divine speech as 'Sanskrit'.¹

It seems that this divine speech or language gradually became more refined and regulated by the grammatical rules laid down by Pāṇini and his two followers, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and the name 'Sanskrit' i.e., 'refined' was given to it to differen-

1. In the Vedas we find that it is named simply Vāk (वाक्) as we find in the famous passage which gives its origin as follows:—

वागै पराची अव्याकृताऽवदत् ।

ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन् इमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति ।.....

तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत् तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते etc.

T. S. vi. 4. 7. 3 ;

It was Indra who first ruled it and then it was propagated among gods; so naturally it was named as 'Divine'.

tiate it from the other crude speeches that were in vogue among ordinary folk, the so-called prākritis. Thus the name 'Sanskrit' was coined to designate the literature of that particular stage which we now call classical; yet owing to its being a substitute for the whole of the divine speech—the language of the classical literature not totally differing from that of the Vedas—the epithet 'Sanskrit' can very well apply to the Vedic as well as the classical literature equally and when we proceed to determine Dyā Dviveda's place in Sanskrit literature, we mean to point out his concern with both the sections of the same language.

The Sanskrit literature, thus, falls into two broad divisions, *viz.*, Vedic and Classical. It is generally seen that the scholars who have thoroughly laboured in one, have not been able to master the other to the same extent. The scholars like Sāyaṇācārya and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, who were the first-grade Vedic scholars and manifested their versatility in more than one branch of the classical literature such as Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra etc. are rarely found to have flourished in the last few centuries of the Christian era. Sāyaṇācārya, the great Vedic exponent of his age, had his predecessors too, equally renowned and competent, whom he himself has not failed to mention in his great commentary, called 'Vedārthaprakāśa'. Not only did he make mention of them, but has also followed some of them literally. It is well-known to the scholarly world that Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara flourished long before Sāyaṇācārya appeared in the field and he has been an able commentator of the Vedic texts of the Taittiriya school which are now duly published. If we carefully compare the commentaries of both the scholars, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara and Sāyaṇācārya on the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, we shall not fail to notice that the two agree word for word in most cases. The natural inference one can draw from this coincidence is that one must have imitated the other and that the originality falls to the lot of him who flourished earlier.

1. Here we do not mean that Sāyaṇa's Commentary has no originality; we find great dissertations by him on Vedic ritual which are missing in Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's, but they are only at the beginning of each section but the comment on the mantras and other contents is literally the same in both; which fact also shows that Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara was held very highly in the opinion of Sāyaṇācārya.

We have no means to say whether Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara too had similarly imitated some one of his predecessors and further, we shall not be in a position to determine this fact unless we are able to procure and possess all the documents that existed before Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara. Similarly Durgācārya, the commentator of Yāska's Nirukta is also a predecessor of Sāyaṇa. In the whole of the Ṛgveda no less than three stanzas or Ṛcas have their commentary word to word similar in both. It is thus obvious that Sāyaṇa had purposely taken down other's commentary where he perhaps thought his own to be superfluous. We have yet to decide, as these older commentaries come to light, how far the originality of Sāyaṇa's commentary lay with him. There is not the least doubt that this great scholiast was a versatile genius, unsurpassed by anybody in his knowledge of Pāṇini and Jaimini and also in that of all the main and ancillary texts of his own Śākhā, viz., the Taittirīya School.

Sāyaṇācārya in his great commentary on the Ṛgveda mentions among others his predecessors Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and Skandasvāmī. Fortunately we are now in a position to form an estimate about the scholarship of Skandasvāmī as we can very well go over his able commentary on the Nirukta of Yāska and also his commentary on the Ṛgveda which is now partly available, the remaining portion being expected to come out of the press very soon.¹ We know something of Mādhava Bhaṭṭa too; there have been no less than three Mādhavas, all of them being the scholars of the Ṛgveda. We are not aware how many others of this type of Vedic and classical scholarship would have existed in ancient and mediæval India. But we can have a fair idea of the type of such scholarship from the few instances which have been already known to us and we can very well infer how the Vedic study was promulgated in ancient times in this country.

Every Sanskrit scholar formerly obeyed the great rule of Manu, which says that 'the' twice-born (Dvija) who without

1. The Madras University is giving publication to it.

2. Manu Smṛti II. 168, Cf.

योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम् ।

स जीवन्नेव शूद्रत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥

studying the Veda, labours in other sciences, in his very life becomes a Sūdra with his succeeding generations.' Therefore, he studied the Vedas first before he laboured in the Śāstras. It is a quite different thing that the commentators of this verse interpreted the word 'Veda' by enlarging its sphere by acknowledging the study of the Vedāṅgas and the Smṛtis even without the study of the Vedas themselves as the Vedic study¹ implied here. All the Vedic commentators who have been mentioned hitherto were firstly Vedic scholars, who afterwards had laboured in Dharmaśāstra, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and other Vedāṅgas. Then we should not be surprised when we come to realise that the three great *savants* (मुनित्रय) of grammar, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali too were great Vedic scholars who made the subject of their great treatises the language of both the Vedic and classical literature by distinguishing between the two by the words, वेदे, छन्दसि, लोके, भाषायाम् etc. The very terminology of Pāṇini and the letters inserted or appended for elision (इत्त्व) indicate how particular they were in acknowledging the accent of each and every word under topic. What we now call as the Vedic accent, was once the part and parcel of the entire tongue, and the importance which was once greatly attached to the pronunciation of the words, and which seems to have been recognized even so late as in the times of Pāṇini and his two great followers, gradually came to be ignored and the accent seems to have lost its significance completely with the development of the Prakrit speeches. We can add a few more points to differentiate the Vedic from the classical literature well-known to the literary world that we need not dilate upon them here.²

If we leave these and other such special points out of consideration, there is hardly anything which can differentiate the language of the two literatures.

The present mode of studying the classical literature and philosophy, entirely ignoring the acquaintance with the Vedic,

1. Cf. Kulluka Bhaṭṭa's Commentary on the verse of Manusmṛiti II. 1-168.

‘वेदमनधीत्यापि स्मृतिवेदाङ्गाध्ययने विरोधाभावः । अत एव शङ्कलितौ न वेदमनधीत्यान्यां विद्यामधीयीतान्यत्र वेदाङ्गस्मृतिभ्यः ।’

2. Pāṇini III. 4, 9, 10, 11; Apte's Guide to Sanskrit Composition, lesson XV.

is not very commendable and it has totally severed the connection of both that were once studied side by side. The present Vedic scholars who commit with great pains the entire texts of their Śākhā to memory, do not at all labour to understand the meaning implied in them. This method has its origin long, long ago as far back as in Yāska's times i.e. the 7th or 8th century B.C. and even anterior to it. In Yāska's Nirukta we find a dialogue between a typical Vedic scholar Kautsa and an expert exegetical exponent wherein the Vedic scholar maintains that the Vedic mantras bear no meaning (अनर्थका हि मन्त्राः).¹ In these days almost all the Vedic scholars studying Vedic texts on indigenous lines are not only found to ignore this side of semantics, but also the knowledge and study of grammar and literature in general, so that they are completely unaware of the meaning and significance of the mantras they utter and utilise for their daily purposes. The Mīmāṃsakas who profess to be the interpreters of the Vedas do not seem to have thoroughly laboured in the Vedic literature. The Vaiyākaraṇas or grammarians who with great efforts study and master the entire Pāṇini system, including the particularities of the words in the Vedic literature and accent, hardly care to apply them to the original Vedic texts, nay, they are not even aware of the original texts from which the quotations of words for their purpose are extracted. They possess a very poor knowledge of the Vedas themselves. The two other āṅgas or branches of the Vedic literature namely Jyotiṣa and Dharmaśāstra, the former including astronomy and astrology both and the latter called as the science of theology, have now so grown up in bulk as to become independent lores in themselves. Most of the good astronomers and astrologers of these days are seen inclined towards not having even the full command on the language in which they learn their science. The general tendency of the curriculum of the studies of the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās and Boards is towards making each branch of Sanskrit literature and philosophy stand quite independent of the other, preserving no mutual connection between any two of them. For instance, if we look to the syllabus of the course of Jyotiṣa, we shall see that only a poor knowledge of the language and literature that is acquired by

1. Cf. Nirukta, I. 15.

passing the first or Praveśikā examination is regarded as sufficient to serve the purpose of understanding all the books of the science ; on the contrary, if we study the life of the authors of the great astronomical works such as पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका, बृहत्संहिता, बृहज्जातक, सूर्यसिद्धान्त, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि, ग्रहलाघव, etc., we find that they were great poets having full command over the language and literature in which they composed their works. If we omit a few exceptional cases such as M. M. Bapudeva Sastri and Sudhākara Dvivedi, we shall see that almost all the renowned astronomers of the present day have paid little attention to having the command on the language, which is the medium of their study, the result being that they have not been able to compose any original works throwing fresh light on their own science. This very rule applies to each and every branch of Sanskrit literature or philosophy that is studied at present. It is now a great problem before the Sanskritists how to make one able to grasp the essential knowledge of each and every branch of this vast lore so that he may not remain ignorant of the principal underlying truths exposed in each science connecting them with those in others. The reverse was the case of Vedic scholars who have been already mentioned and referred to such as Bhaṭṭa Bhaskara; Skandasvāmī, Sāyaṇācārya etc., who were great typical scholars generally having a fair knowledge of every branch of the classical literature directly connected with the Vedas. We have to point out that our Dyā Dviveda was also one of them.

THE LIFE AND DATE OF 'DYĀ DVIVEDA'

It is true that Dyā Dviveda is not known to the scholarly world by writing any learned commentary on the text of any Veda as these scholars ; yet he has revealed his profound knowledge of the Vedas, placing himself in a line with these great scholars by composing a unique work known as the 'Nīrmaṇjarī¹'. This important work has been recently given publication to and in the introduction to it, I have tried to bring forth almost all the important points regarding the life, work, scholarship etc., of this great scholar, to the notice of the interested public, in general and Sanskrit scholars in particular.

1. Published in 1933 at the Hetachutah Press, Ramghat, Benares City, by Shalegram Sharma, Hari Hara Mandal, Kalbhairava, Benares City.

From the initial verses of his work, viz., *Nītimañjarī*,¹ we know something of his lineage, parents and other family matters. He tells us that his great-grandfather was a renowned scholar of his time, by name Mukunda Dvivedi. Atri was his grandfather and his parents were by name Lakṣmī and Lakṣmidhara. He reveres his great-grandfather, Mukunda by the epithets 'वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञ' the knower of the principles of the Vedas and their ancillary texts called āngas, 'स्मृतिसन्दोक्षित' consecrated by the knowledge of the Smṛtis or Dharmaśāstra, प्रभु master of his Vedic lore, etc. We know nothing about the scholarship of his father and grandfather. As Dyā Dviveda particularly makes mention of the learning of Mukunda Dvivedi, his great-grandfather, it seems that he himself was able to acquire all the knowledge possessed by that great scholar, which fact he himself mentions by the verse immediately following it.² The Vedic scholars have developed a peculiar method of the recitation of the Saṁhitā, which varies in ten or eleven ways. There is a technical and scientific way of splitting up every compound word into its component parts, called Pada-pāṭha or Pada-text. The Vedic scholars are very particular about studying the Saṁhitā-text correct to every syllable and accent, always bearing in mind the rule³ that the wrongly pronounced syllable reduces the duration of life and mispronounced accent brings affliction of diseases. As ably they can recite the Saṁhitā-text, so ably they learn to recite the Pada-text too of that Saṁhitā. The labour utilised by the present Vedic scholars in learning Pada-text without possessing the knowledge of the rules of coalescence or Sandhi can to a great extent be minimised if they are taught the rules of grammar and accent before they labour in learning their Pada-text.⁴ It is

1. These verses were found in only one manuscript of the three that were available to me. i. e. Ms. (ग...); they are given in the introduction to the work under "Author".

2. तस्य नप्ता युवा यज्वा युवधर्मोऽल्पबुद्धिमान् ।

एकादशप्रकारैस्तु संहितापाठतत्परः ॥

3. अवाक्षरं हनायुष्यं विस्वरं व्याधिपीडितम् ।

अक्षताः शस्त्ररूपेण वज्रं पतति मस्तके ॥

4. The Vedic scholars study the Prātiśākhya of their Śākhā which if understood are also of great help in learning Pada and Krama-Pāṭhas.

also true that the thorough and unobstructed recitation of the Saṁhitā-text is most helpful in reciting their padas. Then there is a Kramapāṭha in which every following pada is recited in connection with the preceding one. The following seven or eight kinds of recitation are the ingenious commingling of these three, all of them wholly depending on the thorough knowledge of the recitation of the Saṁhitā and Pada-texts.

The Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda being the largest in extent, the Vedic scholar reciting the whole of the Ṛk-Saṁhitā in these ten or eleven ways is regarded the most eminent of them. Dyā Dviveda was, therefore, such a great scholar and he, besides knowing the Ṛgveda, had laboured, it seems from the epithet of a Dvivedin, in some other Veda, that most probably being the Sāman, as he adduces a good many ancillary texts of that Veda in explaining the Ṛk-stanzas in the Nīti-mañjarī.

It seems that Dyā-Dviveda was a devotee of the Sun-god, belonging to the Atri gotra and he studied the Ṛgveda, not of the Śākala school, but of the Bāṣkala¹ of which the ancillary texts are Kauṣitakī Brāhmaṇa and Śāmkhāyana Sūtras and not the Aitareya, and Āśvalāyana texts, yet he had had a fair knowledge of this other Śākhā or school of the Ṛgveda. In his knowledge of the Ṛgveda he excelled any other Vedic scholar including the Great Sāyaṇācārya who belonged to the Taittirīya School. This inference we have drawn from the profuse parallel passages he has adduced in support of the legends depicted in his work of Nīti-mañjarī. He seems to have studied all the Vedāṅgas and the ancillary texts (परिशिष्ट-ग्रन्थ) of the Vedas very thoroughly. His knowledge of the Nighaṇṭu was so sound that he has composed in one place of his Nīti-mañjarī (pp. 249-250) a few verses out of entirely obscure words from Nighaṇṭu alone which would not have been legible to a scholar unless he had the knowledge of the meaning of those words occurring in Nighaṇṭu. Similarly he seems to have studied Pāṇini including the Mahābhāṣya of

1. It seems that the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā was available in his time and he himself had studied it, which fact can very well be confirmed by the order of the Ṛcās he has followed in his Nīti-mañjarī. Cf. Nīti-mañjarī, Footnote on pp. 55, where the Ṛk. I. 104.5 is quoted before Ṛk. I. 103.8, perhaps following the order of the Bāṣkala Saṁhitā which might have differed from the Śākala in having it first.

Patañjali. He possessed a thorough knowledge of both the Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra, as he bears the epithet of यज्वा i.e. a person who has sacrificed according to the Vedic rites. He says that he was a resident of Ānandapura to which place the great Vedic scholar Uvvaṭa also belonged. Uvvaṭa has written a learned commentary on the Vājasaneyī Samhitā of the White Yajurveda of the Mādhyandina school and his able commentary on the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya reveals his thorough knowledge of the Ṛgveda also. We are not, at present, able to say whether Dyā Dviveda had any connection with the family of Uvvaṭa or they both belonged to the same Ānandapura. Uvvaṭa is anterior to both; and Dyā Dviveda is surely posterior to the great Sāyaṇācārya whom he reveres very highly calling him a Bhāṣyakāra.

Dyā himself gives us his date as follows :—

‘विन्दुपञ्चपञ्चेकाङ्कमिते (१५५०) संवति दुन्दुमौ वत्सरे
माघशुक्लादावकरोद्धा (१) तिथाविमाम्’

i. e. he composed his Nīti-mañjarī on the first day of the bright half of the month of Māgha in Samvat 1550, corresponding to the year 1494 A.D.; Sāyaṇācārya having flourished in the latter half of the fourteenth century after Christ.

The main propaganda of Dyā Dviveda in composing his work was to create a genuine interest in the mind of Sanskritists for the study of the Vedas by preaching moral and ethical axioms or maxims through the illustrations drawn upon from the Vedic legends, instead of from those of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which were popularly known to the public-at-large. This special scheme of Dyā Dviveda was particularly meant for those Sanskrit scholars who laboured in the classical literature ignoring the knowledge of the Vedas. He cherished a cordial desire to introduce them to the Vedic literature without much difficulty by amusing them by means of various stories pertaining to the Vedas and secondly he wanted that the Vedic scholars who do not labour to understand the meaning of the texts they commit to memory, should be tempted to be interested in it by reading these stories. Thus he had a double motive in his mind. He has been quite successful in achieving this two-fold noble object. Unfortunately this book, though known to the scholars long ago in the year 1876, when Doctor F. Kielhorn wrote

an article in the Indian Antiquary,¹ could not see the light of the day to be available to the scholarly world upto this time. The blame partly falls on the shoulders of those western orientalists, who knowing the existence of such a work could not express their valuable appreciation for it; on the other hand, they denounced the value of the work by accusing it with false charges. Let us now in brief consider the few charges or accusations brought against Nīti-mañjarī by these eminent scholars of the Sanskrit world.

This book was first brought to the notice of the Sanskrit knowing public by Dr. F. Kielhorn by writing an article in the Indian Antiquary of 1876, where he describes the work as follows :—"The Nīti Mañjarī is a collection of moral maxims in verse which differs from similar collections in this that the maxims propounded in it are in every case illustrated by some story told or alluded to in the Ṛgveda." Then this scholar, without attaching much importance to the maxims themselves, proceeds to praise the ingenuity of Dyā Dviveda in these words :—"For illustrations of such maxims he has searched through the whole of the Ṛgveda and in making the Vedic legends serve his purpose he has shown no small amount of ingenuity." After this the learned doctor describes the contents of the work in brief and denouncing every kind of originality on behalf of the author in these words that "*the large number of works adduced as an authority give to his work at first sight some appearance of originality, but it loses as soon as one discovers that in this, as in everything else, the author has simply followed Śāyaṇa.*" The only work of which he does cite long passages that are not to be found in Śāyaṇa's Commentary is the Bṛhaddevatā, a fact from which a future editor of the latter² may be able to derive some advantage." Then he forms a general estimate of the work itself by saying "On the whole, Nītimañjarī together with its Bhāṣya appears to me to be of little value and not to deserve a complete edition." With these remarks he proceeds to give all the verses of the first Aṣṭaka of the Ṛgveda to form an idea of their nature

1. Cf. I. A. Vol. V. Pp. 116. Year 1876.

2. Dr. Macdonell has fully made use of this suggestion in his edition of Bṛhaddevatā published in H. O. S.

with reference to the Vedic passages alluded to by the author of the *Nitimañjarī*.

It will thus be seen how horribly the author of the *Nīti-mañjarī* has been wronged by the hasty judgment of this eminent scholar of Sanskrit Grammar. Had the scholar taken pains of going through the work carefully, he would have certainly noticed that the method of explaining the Ṛgvedic passages alluding to the legends is quite independent of Sāyaṇa. If he has imitated Sāyaṇa, it is only in giving the necessary meaning of the words occurring in the Ṛcās, as Sāyaṇa himself has done by imitating Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara in his commentary on the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*. Dr. Kielhorn's statement that 'his adducing all the various Vedic texts as an authority is mere imitation of Sāyaṇa, is totally wrong. The scholar says that it is only the long passages of the *Bṛhaddevatā* that are not found in Sāyaṇa's commentary, but we are sorry that the scholar is not alive to see that the quotations from the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya are from Dyā Dviveda's own memory, none of which are being found in Sāyaṇa's great commentary. Had the author of *Nīti-mañjarī* blindly imitated Sāyaṇa, he would not have been able to quote parallel passages from all the *Maṇḍalas* of the Ṛgveda at the end of each legend quite unknown to the Sāyaṇa's commentary. Moreover not only this scholar, but the scholar A. B. Keith also while writing another article on the *Nīti-mañjarī* twenty-four years later, has failed to notice that the *Śrauta Sūtra* applications are always quoted in Sāyaṇa's commentary from *Āśvalāyana* while Dyā Dviveda quotes invariably in *Śāṁkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, which he knew by heart. Not only this much but also the adoption of Sāyaṇa's commentary for the elucidation of the Ṛcās quoted by him is not without discrimination. It is certainly a great injustice on the part of the scholars not to recognize the real merit of Dyā Dviveda who has exercised his valuable talent in making the vedic study interesting for the classical scholars by culling out *Subhāṣitas* or proverbial maxims illustrated by means of the Vedic legends, to learn which he has put forth at our service his whole knowledge of so many Vedic texts for which he really deserves our great indebtedness.

इति शम् ।

AGNI AND SOMA

CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL

(Fatah Singh)

There is hardly any other myth so common to Indo-European mythology as the descent of fire and nectar from the celestial region.

The basis of these myths is said to be the phenomenon of lightning and rain which, however, stands in obvious contradiction with the details of the myths. The dark clouds, out of which comes the lightning are quite opposed to the resplendent palace of Zeus, whence Prometheus steals the fire, or from the bright heaven or *guhā*—which is equated with the other equally mysterious places like luminous *padam* of Viṣṇu, and of bird—wherefrom *Mātariśvan* or some other god brings it down. Moreover this theory does not explain the other myths of the origin of the celestial fire, nor does it say anything about *Sūcika Agni*, *Naciketas Agni* and other relevant things that we shall explain below.

The descents of fire and nectar (*amṛta* or *Soma*) are, as in R. V. (1, 93, 6), closely connected and seem to be founded on the down-light of the North Pole with which Aryans were, indeed acquainted. In spite of the efforts of some scholars to prove the contrary, the presence of polar phenomenon in Aryan mythology cannot be denied. Even Mr. Chocklingam Pillai,¹ while bringing the *Velo-Suran* (Indo-European) race from the Atlantic in the far South, has to accept its connection with the snow-capped regions of the North pole.

The clue to the myths of *Agni* and *Soma* (*amṛta*) mentioned above is found in the myth of *R̥bhus* that combines, as we shall see, the origin of *Agni*, *Soma* and sacrifice into one. It is the combination of these three that solves the problem.

We shall, however, for convenience's sake take the origin of celestial *Agni* and sacrifice first.

1. Origin of Indo-European.

I. Agni : Celestial and Physical

Ṛbhus as the originators of fire, and the ancient sacrificers

1. The close relation of Ṛbhu with the Agni has utterly been neglected by the scholars. Ṛbhu is the name of Agni (5, 777 ; 2, 1, 16 etc.) and he is also said to have created him (Agni 3, 5, 6), knowing the abode of the birds (Padam Veḥ). Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa (14, 2, 5), according to Sāyaṇa, states that Indra's dear home is Ṛbhu, and with that home (dhāma) he generates Agni, from behind (parōkṣa). Like Ṛbhu, Mātariśvan also generates or brings Agni and is also identified with him (3, 5, 9 ; 26, 2, 9 ; 1, 96, 4-5). It is also curious that Ṛbhu and Mātariśvan are coupled together in one expression, Mātariśvā-Ṛbhu, one being the epithet of the other, suggesting thereby that Mātariśvan was also a kind of Ṛbhus.

2. In interpreting the originators of Agni it must be borne in mind that the identification of Agni with his creators is not peculiar to Ṛbhu-or-Mātariśvan-myth alone and that all the creators are interconnected. Bṛhaspati who found Agni (10, 68-9) is not only called Agni (1, 38, 13 ; cf. 2, 1, 3 ff), but also Mātariśvan (1, 190, 2 ; 3, 26, 2) with whom Ṛbhu has been already identified. Trita eagerly seeking Agni found him on the head of the cow,¹ while Dvita (the previous stage of the divinity found in Trita²) is identified with Agni (5, 18, 2). Atharvan who is associated with Trita, Mātariśvan and Dadhyānc (10, 48, 2 etc.) is said to have produced the Agni (10, 21, 5 ; 6, 16, 13 ; 6, 15, 17) and is the name of Agni itself (8, 9, 7). Aṅgiras, the finder of Agni (5, 11, 6) is the epithet of Agni who is the first seer Aṅgiras (1, 31, 1), the ancient Aṅgiras (10, 92, 15) and the oldest or most inspired of Aṅgirasas (1, 127, 2 ; 6, 11, 3). Aṅgiras is also the name of Bṛhaspati (2, 2, 3, 18) and is often mentioned with Mātariśvan, Atharvan (AV. 11, 8, 13) and Bhṛgu (10, 14, 3). Bhṛgu, the kindler of fire is the fire itself (RV. 4, 7, 1 ; 4 ; cf. 8, 91, 4).

3. Another great factor in the originators of the Agni is that they are generally the early sacrificers or priests also.

1. Macdonell : Vedic Myth p. 67.

2. See Trita, below.

Mātariśvan is mentioned as a sacrificer in the Vāṇakhilya (VII. 52, 2) along with Medhya and Pṛṣadhra. Elsewhere also he is stated to be a sacrificer (ŚSS 5 ; cf. RV. 10, 48, 2 ; 105, 6) Bṛhaspati, the first born (4, 50, 4 cf. 10, 68, 12) has been placed in the front by the ancient seers (4, 50, 1 पुरोधा) probably for the sake of sacrifice, as he is called the domestic priest (2, 24, 9 ; Vs. 20, 11 ; TS. 6, 4, 10 ; AB. 8, 26, 4). Bhṛgu (2, 4, 2-4 ; cf. 3, 3, 10 along with 10, 46, 9 etc.) and Dadhyañc (1, 80, 16 ; 138, cf. 6, 16, 14) are also said to be the ancient sacrificers. Atri thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice (10, 67, 2) and by sacrifice they obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra (10, 62, 1). Atharvan also first established order to sacrifices (10, 92, 10). Atri who created sun or Agni and sharpened the blade of Agni with his prayer (4, 40, 5-8 ; 8, 62, 8 etc.) is the priest who dispelled darkness (SB. 4, 3, 4, 21). Tvāṣṭri the originator of Agni (RV. 1, 95, 2) is found performing sacrifice in T. S. (2, 4, 12, 1 cf. SB. 1, 6, 3, 6 etc.). Apart from this, Agni himself is the oldest sacrificer (5, 3, 5) and the names of the ancient sacrificers or priest, are often the names of Agni.

If the ancient sacrifice and celestial fire is the Polar light at dawn, how could the human fathers or priests be connected with its origin ?

The connexion becomes quite clear when we know that the dead man was supposed to go to heaven with a luminous body; and that the manes were thought to reside in the moon, dawn, stars or some other light phenomenon. Thus the moon is the place, the eye, and the light of the manes (K. B. 10, 2 ; M. S. 4, 2, 1 ; S. B. 2, 4, 2, 2). Their connexion with moon, in various respects, is often referred to (Rv. 10, 90, 13 ; AA. 11, 4, 1 ; B. A. Up. 1, 3, 16 ; 3, 2, 13 ; 6, 2 ; Ch. Up. 5, 10 ; J. B. 1, 2, 8 ; V. S. 1, 28 ; Ś. B., 1, 2, 5, 8 ff)² manes seat in the ruddy ones (twilight rays R. V. 10, 15, 7). Stars are the lights of the virtuous men who go to heaven (T. S. 5, 4, 13 ; Ś. B. 1, 9, 3, 10) and the ancient fathers especially seven Rishis, besides Atri and Agastya, are said to have been raised to the stars (T. A. 1, 11, 1, 2). Their co-

1. Cf. संगच्छत्व तन्वा सूवर्चा.

2. Cf. Plutarch, de facie in Orbē Lunæ, 28, pp. 943a, 943c; Iamblicus, 5, p. 841, Keith : Rel. Phil. 28.

nexion with the Sun and its rays is very common (RV. I, 10, 9 ; 7, 125, 6 ; 10, 107, 2 ; 154, 5, S. B. 1, 9, 3, 10 etc.).

Therefore, the fathers, being the resident in dawns etc., could naturally be said to bring about the phenomenon of dawn etc. Any ancient forefather could, thus, attract the strange myths, impossible for human beings. Therefore, it will not be wrong to identify, as we have sometimes done below, the ancient forefathers and sacrificers like Ṛbhus and Mātariśvan with the rays of light.

1. *Ṛbhu : Mātariśvan and the dawn fire*

4. Ṛbhus are also credited with the bringing down of the sacrifice from high heaven,¹ and establishing it amidst the tribes of Manu.² This reminds firstly of the Prometheus who brought the fire from the resplendent palace of Zeus to the earth, and taught men the use of it, and secondly of the divine sacrifice, performed, in the first Polar dawn-flames, which Nansen³ calls as 'the glowing fire lit on the uttermost edge of the ice', by Tvaṣṭṛ, as we have seen⁴ and by Yama or Manu, as shown in a subsequent chapter.⁵ The identification of this sacrifice of Ṛbhus with that of Manu, becomes more probable, when we learn that they brought down the sacrifice like Manu (Manuṣvat), and established it during the last of the shining days.⁶ That this descent of sacrifice is identical with the descent of fire from heaven will be clear from the comparative study of the myths of the bringing down of the fire and from the facts stated in the above paragraphs.

5. The identity of the above-mentioned act of Ṛbhu with the bringing of fire by Mātariśvan will be evident from the interpretation of Mātariśvan-Myth, and the identity of the two divini-

1. अयं यो यज्ञ ऋमवोऽकारि यमा मनुष्वत् प्रदिवो दधिध्वे i. iv. 34, 3.

2. उपनो वाजा अध्वरमृमुक्षा देवा यात पथिमिद्वयानैः
यथा यज्ञं मनुषो विक्ष्वाऽसु दधिध्वै रण्वाः सुदिनेष्वहाम् iv. 37. 1. cf. ks.
38. ii ; Mss. 11, 12. V. S. 21, 23 ; TS. 11, 16 ; T. B. 3. 6. 19. 1 ;
K.S. 7, 17.

3. Farthest North : Page 244.

4. See 'Ṛbhus and Tvaṣṭṛ.' Section iii. i.

5. See 'Yama, the lord of manes' Section 5, paragraph 20.

6. iv. 37. 1.

ties has also been suggested in one hymn of R̥gveda where Indra is said to have fashioned (Agni) with the might as Mātariśvā R̥bhu did with Kratus¹ (तत्क्ष क्रतुभिः). Mātariśvān like R̥bhu is also used in plural, and the Mātariśvā gods are said to have manufactured (तत्क्षुः) the yajatraṃ (fire) as R̥bhū did the yajnaṃ. R̥bhu in an Agni-hymn, is said to have created the wonderful Nāma (the Agni) "which is adorable (3-5-6.)."

6. The etymological meaning of the word 'Mātariśvān' also goes to prove the equation of the two deities. Yāska takes it to mean vāyu which breathes or goes fast (āsum) in the mother, antarikṣa.³ But the more probable derivation may be had from the root Śva to go, to grow,⁴ which is corroborated by the evidence of R̥gveda itself. The description of the god as Amitā mātari (manufactured in the mother) suggests that Mātariśvān means 'the one growing in the mother,' a trait once given to Agni whom Mātariśvān churned down from high heaven⁵, and who is elsewhere identified with him.⁶ Mātariśvān would, therefore be, as Macdonell thinks, a personification of a celestial form of Agni, who at the same time is thought of as having like Prometheus brought down the hidden fire from heaven to earth.⁷ But the natural basis of the myth is not probably lightning, as suggested,⁸ but the coming of the glowing light of the dawn of North pole which could be considered to grow in the mother i.e. the southern quarter.

Now, as the changing flashes of light are seen moving in the sky even before the glowing of crimson dawn, those rays of light called Mātariśvā R̥bhu, or simply Mātariśvā Devas or R̥bhū, could be thought to bring or herald the arrival of the flaming-like dawn, and as the rays and the dawn are both at a time is-

1. प्रास्तौदृष्ट्वौजा ऋष्वेभिस्तत्क्ष शूरः शवसा । ऋभुर्न क्रतुभिर्मोतरिक्षा.

x. 165, 4.

2. RV. 10, 46, 9. Cf. iv. 34, 3 ; iv. 37, 1.
 3. मातरिश्वा वायुमीतरि अन्तरिक्षे श्वसिति, मार्याश्वनितीति वा-नि. ...
 4. श्व गतिवृद्धयोः- पा. धा.पा., cf. शिशु, cf. also Whitney's 'Sansk't roots' p. 176 ; Roth, Nirukta, III—3 ; Weber : Ind. Stud., 1, 416, Revue k. z., 31, 544-5 ; Macdonell : Ved. Myth. p. 72.
 5. RV. 1, 141, 3-5.
 6. RV. III. 5, 9 ; 26, 2 ; I. 96, 4. Ved. Myth. 72.
 7. Ibid.
 8. X. 46, 9 ; X. 2, 7 etc.

distinct from each other in the sky and are also produced after their growth in the southern quarter, as it were, the both of them could be called Mātariśvan and be identified with each other.

7. That this fire brought by or identified with Mātariśvan is the Dawn-light would be clear from the description of that Mātariśvan fire itself. The Poet clearly says that this is another (अन्यः) Agni, the first, whom Dyaus, earth, waters,¹ Tvaṣṭṛ and Bhṛgu generated and the Mātariśvā gods manufactured for Manu.¹ In the other verses of the same hymn, this fire is described as being obtained by Bhṛgu and Trita in the horizon or in the head of the cows (probably dawns). Agni being the highest of the luminaries supports up, with his flames, the firmament, when Mātariśvan kindles him the oblation-bearer, existing in guhā.² Mātariśvā fire identified with Vaiśvānara,³ is the well, oozing forth having hundred torrents, which Rodasī filled,⁴ in the horizon (उपस्थे)⁵, a reference most probably to the red orb of the rising sun, with crimson rays issuing from it. Again Mātariśvan, also called Draviṇo-dā fire is the Child (शिशु) whom Night and Uṣas, together, conceived or bore.⁶

8. That the sacrifice of Ṛbhus is the glowing light of the dawns, and the Mātariśvan fire may be supported by the fact that dawns also gave birth to the sacrifice as well as sun and Agni.⁷ Again from another point of view this first sacrifice, attributed to Yama or Manu, is also said to be conducted by Agni⁸ himself who is, therefore, the oldest sacrificer.⁹ Agni shone

1. द्यावा यमग्निं पृथिवी जनिष्ठा मापस्त्वष्टा भृगवो यं सहोभिः

इळे-थं प्रथमं मातरिश्वा देवास्ततश्चूर्मनवे यजत्रम् । X. 46. 9 ; X. 2. 7.

2. R. V. 3. 5. 9. This description refers evidently to the Arctic dawn that can fitly be called as propelling up the sky with its flaming light.

3. For Vaishwanara = Sun, see Nir. 7. 17 ; cf. Roth. Nir. 7, 19 also पृथ. उप. 1, 8 which quotes a Rik in favour thereof.

4. RV. 3, 26, 9, पृ पालनपूरणयोः पा. द्या पा.

5. Cf. सधस्थं. Where heaven and earth are brought close to each other cf. Sāyaṇa : सहस्थानं लोकत्रयाश्रयभूतमन्तरिक्षं—Sāyaṇa on RV. 1. 154, 2.

6. RV. I. 96, 4-5 नक्तोषासा वर्णमामेम्याने धापयेते शिशुमेकं समीची.

7. 7, 78, 3.

8. RV. III. 15. 4.

9. V. 3. 5.

forth after the former dawns,¹ and the part played by him in the sacrifice of the ancestors, which, as we shall see, is the same as the glowing light of the twilights, has also been often referred to.²

II. Agni and its Guhā

The Source of Dawn-fire

9. Agni's relation with guhā (secret place) may also corroborate to the same view. The secret place (गुहा) being the place in which Agni is churned, kindled or created (तत्क्ष) by Mātariśvan or Ṛbhu Mātariśvan,³ seems to correspond to padaṃ vā, gōṇaṃ padaṃ or gavāṃ nāma and the other mystic places or names, so frequently mentioned in Rgveda,⁴ and may be identified with that mysterious source whence came, again and again, the rays of Dawn lights which are so often called cows and birds. This Padaṃ (place) is often called Nāma,⁵ because Nāma is derived from mnā 'to repeat',⁶ and the place (in the southern direction) which could repeatedly absorb and release the polar lights could appropriately be called Nāma, full of miraculous mystery. The word seems to mean firstly any recurring phenomenon (cf. Punarpurjāyamānā Uṣas), and secondly the name of a thing or person, because of its repeated use to denote that thing or individual. The meaning of the word may appear far-fetched, at the first glance, but no doubt remains as to its correctness when we find that Agni, as the dawn-light is called the adorable and wonderful nāma which Ṛbhu are said to have created,⁷ and which is same as the sacrifice brought down by them. This secret guhā where rays of light like birds were seen issuing forth, at the end of the night, and re-entering, at the end of the day, was also called the nest (Nīla), of the bull and the birds, the dawns.⁸ Curiously in this very Nīla of bull (वृषभस्य नीले) which is identified with the Pastyāsu, the great bottom of sky (makā

1. I. 44, 10.

2. VIII. 43, 13 etc.

3. RV. I. 141, 3; III. 5, 10; X. 46, 9; cf. X. 105, 6; IV. 705 and often.

4. RV. III. 5, 6; IX. 87, 3; IV. 3, 9; I. 11-12 etc.

5. IX. 87, 3; III. 5, 6 and often.

6. म्ना अभ्यासे-पा. धा. पा. see also Pr. Sams. Dict. III ed, by Agn. under नाम.

7. RV. III. 5, 6.

8. RV. IV. 1. 11, 12 and elsewhere.

budhnē rajasah), is born the first fire, without feet and head concealing and uniting the ends (of quarters?).¹ This can be compared with the fashioning of the first fire by. Mātariśvan or with the establishment of it by Trita in the same Pastyāsu² which is also the abode of Varuṇa elsewhere,³ and may be the sky, if Varuṇa is Ouranos or moon.⁴

10. The guhā of this primaeval Agni can also be compared with the equally mysterious source of Ṛta, which is called the Niḷa or Yōni of Ṛta, which is identified in Ṛgveda itself with the Niḷa of the bull, and where the first fire (dawn fire of above) is said to have been born.⁵ To understand the full significance of it, it is essential to know what Ṛta is. N. Ṛta, though in Ṛgveda, essentially denotes the cosmic or moral order, seems to have a more concrete origin in some natural phenomenon. Ṛta is so often equated with Avestan asha which is again compared with Astu, Vesta, Hestia, vasu, and derived from Vas 'to swell'⁶ or shine.⁷ The suggestion cannot be dismissed as something improbable, and the asha of Avesta can be traced back to the Norse asa⁸ that is the power of the gods, especially of Odin and

1. RV. IV. 1, 11-12.

2. X. 46. 9, 6.

3. निषसाद-धृतव्रतो वरुणः पस्याइस्वा साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः, I. 25, 10.

4. See Keith Varuṇa and Ouranos in 'Indian Culture' January 1936, pp. 121-126 cf. also M. Dumezil, Ouranos-Veruna in "Etude de mythologie comparée indo européenne" and Solmen: "Untersuchungen zur griech. Leut und verslehre," pp. 297 ff., For Varuṇa as moon see Oldenberg: Rel. des. ved. 285-98, for refutation see V. Schroeder, WZKM. 9.118; n Macdonell, JRAS 27, 947-9.

5. RV. IV. I. 11-12 and elsewhere.

6. Preller: Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology p. 77.

7. Cox: Myths of the Aryan Nations, 425; Keith Rel. Phil. Ved. Up. P. 625. Brugmann, Griech. Gramm. 4, p. 52, Ehrlich, KZ. X. 1, 289.

8. or again, Wax not, Weimer

Since to wade I desire
To the realm of the giants
Knew, if thou waxest
Then waxest my *asa-might*
As High as the heavens.

H. A. Gurber (Page 81) cf. also asa as a god, the brother of Odin (the Sky-god)—P. 15 (ibid.). Asa is also equated with Odin (ibid P. 123) and Balder (192 ibid), just as Indra and Varuṇa are associated very closely with Ṛta. See also asha on page 14 (ibid).

Thor just as *Rta* is of *devas* and of *Varuṇa*.

See Thor boasting :—

"Once I employed *asa*—might,
In the realm of giants,

When the *Gialp* and *Griep*,

Gerrod's daughters wanted to lift me to heaven."

(quoted in H. A. Guerber's *Myths of Norsemen*. p. 82)

Farrell's derivation of *Vesta* from *Vas*, 'to live' does not seem to be correct.¹

11. The same root as *or* *vas* 'to shine' is found in the *as* or *asir*² (Pl.) the *norse* equivalent of *Asura* or *Ahura* of *Indo-Iranians*. This also goes to suggest that the *Asura*, like *Devas* originally meant 'shining ones', the gods, as is proved by *Rgveda* itself. *Aesir* are 12 in number and live in high heaven, and are always the destroyers of the demons of darkness and frost.

12. Thus not only *Varuṇa* is once definitely called *Asura*, but other gods including *Agni* are also given the same designation.³ *Agni* is *asura Samrāj*,⁴ or *Asura* of the wise (*Vipaścītām*), or simply *Asura*. *Agni* is also said to have been born from the belly of the *asura*.⁶ *Asura* has also been suggested to be parallel to *Babylonian Assur*⁷ though scholars do not agree to it.⁸

13. *a*. It seems, therefore, that originally *Rta*, *asha*, *as* as the power of *Asuras*, *Ahuras* and *aesir* was the pure light of the shining ones at the time of dawn. Hence with the *Rta* the gods smite down darkness demons. With *Rta* *Ṛbhus* make or measure the cup. *Indra* can do all his exploits with *Rta*. *Oṣas* kills the demons with his *asa*-power,⁹ and *Ahura Mazda* is able to resist the onslaughts of demons with *asha*. The *Dawns* are said to give over the ray of *Rta* (*Ṛtasya Raśmim*), when they

1. *Cults of the Greek States* V. 358.

2. Thorpe : *Northern Myth*. Vol. I, P. 1-3 (footnote).

3. Keith : *Phil. Rel. Veda Up* p. 33, see also Oldenberg *ZDMG*. 1. 48; Meyer : *Gesch. des Alt.* 3, I. ii. pp. 913-27.

4. *RV.* (7, 6, 1).

5. *RV.* III. 3, 4.

6. III. 29, 4.

7. Thomas, *JRAS.* 1916, p. 364 cf. Chadwick in *Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 31.

8. Keith. *Rel. Phil. Ved. Up* p. 13.

9. *RV.* IV. 2, 5 cf. Oldenberg. *Rel. des Veda*, p. 104.

shine.¹ The first fire is called the child of R̥ta and the first fire means the dawn fire. With R̥ta the mountain (of darkness) is pierced, and as a consequence of this, when Agni is born, the dawns and sun also come into existence (4, 3, 11). With R̥ta are also (ib. 12) brought the immortal waters (ice waters of Arctic day) along with the bloods of Madhu (light, cf. next chap., RV. 4, 1, 19, etc.). The red horses (rays) of R̥ta go between men and gods (4, 2, 3), illumine the heaven and uṣas shine after them (3, 6, 6). Ásvins enjoy the first R̥ta (4, 44, 3) i.e. first light.

13. b. Now R̥ta as the first dawn-light, analogous to flaming fire of dawn light as we have seen was conceived as the first sacrifice of Yama, Manu, Agni, R̥bhus, or the first fire manufactured by Mātariśvan. It is, therefore, that the source of the first fire and that of R̥ta is identified. Thus the first Agni is to be adored in the abode of birds (veḥ padaṃ),² when the gods enjoying the great Sāma join together in the common udder of Sasa, or of the R̥ta.³ The conception of twilight land as Dēva-loka we have already seen, and may be compared to the twilights of the gods in the Norse mythology.

13. c. The sacrifice of Manu, the first sacrifice being the proto-type of the Vedic sacrifice R̥ta, became the name of the ordinary sacrifice⁴ in India. In Greece the astu (from as or vas) became the abode of Argive Phoroneus, the Vedic Bhuranyu.⁵ Astu is same as Cr. Hestia or vesta of Rome, the inviolable fire on the sacred hearth which may not be moved and stands fast for ever, and Argive Phoroneus is the Argive Hestia, with its holy flames of everlasting fire, conceived like Manu, as the first man, the father of all mortals.⁶ In Iran also, Asha or Vr̥ta, like Indian R̥ta, is not only conceived as one of Amesh Spentas, but also included in the list of Yaztas as Atar, the genius of the fire which the Iranians worshipped. Perhaps, the same arta

1. RV. I. 123, 13.

2. IV. 7, 6-7 etc.

3. Cf. वेःपदं above.

4. Cf. निवृद्धः, यज्ञनामानि frequently in R̥gveda.

5. Cf. Gr. Phur. Feut. feur.

6. Cox Myth Ar. N. 422-25, cf. Preller Gr. Myth. II. 37.

7. A. J. Cornoy : Iranian Myth pp.

appears as an element in Artashuvara, (ऋतस्वर) Artatama (ऋततम) mentioned in the Tel-el Amarna correspondence, and in the later names like Art Xerxes, Artaphernes¹ of Iran and Ārtabhāga of Upaniṣads.

13. *d.* The Rta, as the light of dawn, being itself the follower of an order, and making sun, waters etc. follow a definite order was also conceived as the embodiment of law and order, and the same idea was transferred to its counter-part, found in the fire-cult. Originally Rta stood for the cosmic order but in course of the natural development, it came to include the moral order also.³ Thus Astu, Hestia and Vesta are the symbols of law and equity,⁴ so is the yasna or Yajnya of Indo-Iranians. The association of virgin maidens with the vestal fire might be based on the fact that dawns, the kindlers and the keepers of the cosmic fire of dawn light were often regarded as virgins.⁵

14. It may be, therefore, concluded that Rta, is originally identical with the first flowing dawn-light, the first fire of Mātariśvan, and the udder, nest, birth-place, and abode of Rta is the same as the guhā and the Yoni of Agni, the nīla of the bull the secret sadam, padaṃ or nāma of birds, or cows. It explains why in the texts of ritual, the sacrificial fire was required to be kindled at dawn and before sun-rise.⁶ The Agni kindled by gods as contrasted with the men⁷ seems to refer to the same fire. This notion seems to assume that gods also sacrifice, in the celestial fire like men.⁸ The fact that fires (agnayah p. 1) like water, after descending to earth again rise to heaven,⁹ can be

1. Bloomfield, AJP. XXV. 8; Hall, Anc. Hist. of near East. pp. 201, 331. For the controversy regarding the Aryan origin of the word see W. E. Clark, Am Journ. Sem. lang XXXIII. 261-82.

2. Griswold: Religion of Rgveda, p. 24.

3. Ibid pp. 133-138, 201, 252, 122-133, 239; and also Cornoy: Iranian Myth. pp.

4. Preller: Greek Myth. II. 37.

5. Cf. Agruvah in IV. 30, 16, 19; II. 13, 12; I. 112, 8 is Ussas. See also the chapter on 'Indra and Pbhush'; 'Purāṇī yuvatih,' is the standing epithet of Dawn in Rgveda.

6. M. S. 1.6.10.

7. RV. 6, 2, 3; cf. Bergaigne: La Religion Vedique; 1, 103.

8. Cf. AB. 2, 3, 4.

9. I. 164, 50-51.

applicable only in the case of the twilight-fire, and accord with the Vajra that Tvaṣṭr sprinkled (asincat) at Vṛtra.¹

The Saucika Fire

15. The Saucika Agni (Rv. 10, 51-53 ; 80 ; 124) pointed out by Leopold Von Schroeder, in his article "Die wierdergeuinnung des Agni," is also a form of celestial fire. Schroeder compares the three escapes of Agni with those of Locki and points out that Saucika is derived from Sūci 'needle' as Locki's mother also is named 'Nal', needle. The name 'needle' appears a curious one, but the whole problem becomes quite evident if we take the help of Arctic phenomenon. It refers to the needle like streaks of light seen after dawn before sun-rise and is thus described by Nansen³ :—

16. "According to the enthusiastic description given by many Arctic travellers of the first appearance of this god of life after the long winter night the impression ought to be one of jubilant excitement, but it was not so in my case. The mirage was at first like a flattened out glowing red streak of fire on horizon, later there were two streaks, the one above the other, with a dark space ; and from the main I could see four or even five such horizontal lines directly over one another."

17. These thin lines of light are not only like needle but also indicate (Sūcayanti) the rise of the sun. Therefore the Saucika fire is, in fact the rising sun, who is indicated or produced by these needles. It is the heat of the sun that claims as Saucika fire to have entered unseen into the trees, plants and waters (10 ; 51) and that being ordered by gods to become the oblation-bearer for Manu Vivasvat⁴ (10, 52, 1) who, desirous of gods and sacrifice, was formerly living in the darkness (10, 51, 5). It is the beneficial Agni that entered heaven and earth, killed many Vṛtras, and to whom the 1,000 birds, bayah (rays) fall upon in the aerial region, goes round the cows (10, 80, 4-5) and for whom Rbhus fashioned out the Brahma, the sacrifice (of Naigh.) or prayer (ibid. 7). Saucika fire follows the glow, in the

1. TS. II. IV. 12 ; See also 'Tvastr and Rbhu' Section III.

2. See his book "Mysterium und Mimus Im Rgveda" Pages 181-220.

3. Fritzolf Nansen: "The Farthest North" Page 244.

4. Manu-bright sky: see Section I.

aerial region, on the radiant path (10,53,6), and when it is born, 3339 gods (evidently the rays of the sun) wait upon it (10,52,4). This fire is also called *trivṛtam*, thrice-turned (cf. three steps of Viṣṇu) and seven-threaded (*Saptatantusa* cf. seven rays of sun).¹

18. *Saucika* fire becomes also probably the *Naciketas* fire (नचिकेताहमग्निः- 10.51.4) that enters, *guhā* in many ways, at sunset. This identification is quite appropriate, for *Naciketas* fire is only the sun, in the womb of the southern quarter whom *Yama* the lord of death alone can see (*Yamo acikēcit*). This conception of fire has been adapted to suit the philosophical notions of Upanishads, never-the-less we do find, even there, some traces of the original idea. There *Nacikētas* (lit. {unburnt or unknown}) the boy is said to go to the realm of death; *Yama* describes him the *Naciketas* fire as the *Agni* existing before light (*Loka-dimāgnim*), shining in three ways, coming to the joint (*Sandhi*) in threefold manner. The description clearly refers to the polar-light, yet in the womb, manifesting itself in the three forms of twilight, sun and auroraborealis, and coming to the meeting point of sky, earth and the netherworld at every *saṃdhi*⁴ i.e. evening or morning. The origin of the *Nacikētas* story is, however, found in *R̥gveda*, 10,135 where some *kumāra* is mentioned and whom *Sāyana* rightly identifies with *Nacikētas* of Upanishads. First of all addressing *kumāra*, the Poet refers to the new, wheelless chariot, made by mind, having one pole moving in all sides, rolled round for the sake of worshippers. Then he begins to question "Who created *Kumāra*? Who rolled on the chariot? Who can tell us now to-day? How he became worthy to be given away (*anudēyī*)". Then comes the answer: "As he became *anudēyī* (to be given away to death), in the same way he was born first. From his front he extended the sky (*Budhna*) from behind he made (its) exit (*Nirayanam*)". This is

1. 10, 52, 4.

2. तं त्वा यमो अचिकेचित्तमानो दशान्तरुष्यादतिरोचमानम्
होत्रादहं वरुण विभ्यदायं नैदेव मा युनजन्न देवाः
तस्य मे तन्वो बहुधा निनिष्ठा एतमर्थं नचिकेताहमग्निः । (10. 51. 3-4)

3. Kath. Up. 1. 1-20.

4. For the same conception see the 'Yaggetrisalal tree' and 'Soma tree' mentioned elsewhere (Next Chapter).

obviously a reference to the Polar sun who revolves round the horizon and is given away (anudeyī bhavat) to the darkness (death) at sunset, in the same splendid way in which he is born in the morning. When he rises (purastāt) he spreads heaven and earth, (out of the darkness) and when he sinks (paścāt), they are enveloped in the darkness, lost for some time, as it were.

The Naciketas fire is like other agnis also said to be hidden in guhā, (Kath. Up. 1. 14).

19. The comparative mythology also shows that the fire which was brought from high heaven to the earth was the light brought by Dawn itself. The scholars so far strongly believe that the descent of fire has its natural basis in the stroke of lightning falling on earth, because, on overlooking the Polar phenomenon of long glowing dawn and our dawn being so transitory, there is no other phenomenon but lightning, that can serve as a prototype of the myth. But the analysis of these fire-myths prove, as we found in the case of Mātariśvan that the fire brought therein is most likely the radiant dawn-fire, though the myths may betray sometimes, the traces of later influence of the temperate zones, as in the case of the Vajra of Indra.¹ Here below are discussed a few myths that will support our view regarding the descent of fire.

a. *Hermes*

20. In the Greek mythology, Hermes is one of those gods who are said to have brought fire.² He has been thought to be like Mātariśvan, a wind-god, by some scholars,³ but more correct view is that of Max Müller. To him Hermes is "a god of twilight, who betrays his equivocal nature by stealing, though only in fun, the herd of Apollōn, but restoring them without the violent combat that is waged for the same herds in India between Indra, the bright god and Vala the robber. In India the dawn brings the light, in Greece the twilight is itself supposed to have

1. See Indra's Vajra. Section I.

2. Hymn to Hermes, 110.

3. Kelly, following Kuhn, sees in Hermes and Rbhus, the storm winds: Curiosities of the Indo-European Folklore, 17; cf. also Dr. Mommsen History of Rome, I, 18.

stolen it, or to hold back the light, and Hermes, the twilight surrenders the booty when challenged by the sun-god Apollo.¹

21. Hermes is undoubtedly the god of both twilights. At the time of evening twilight he removes the sunshine, the herd of Apollo, the sun-god. When Night ends, the similar twilight is again seen. It is Hermes; just following close at its heels comes sun, as if searching him. He (Hermes) is said to leave the footsteps after stealing the herd,² for how otherwise could Apollo find out? His proper home is summer land,³ and after delivering the sunshine (herd) to the sun, he is rightly said to make a contract with Appollo not to hurt him⁴ for there is no danger for sun after Dawn as it is at the evening twilight.

22. Cox's objection⁵ as to how Hermes as twilight could carry on a search throughout the whole night⁶ has no weight, for the twilight or dawn in the form of, the Aurora Borealis (dawn light in disguise) as radiant as dawn hues, could easily be conceived as roaming in the dark night. Equally implausible seems his view that to a twilight god cannot be attributed music; for we know that, in R̥gveda uṣas frequently comes, while making sweet notes,⁸ and Orpheus, the Greek sun-god is the musician par excellence. How the voice or sound is associated with light-god, will be clear from the fact that there are different noises at the time of dawn, at North Pole. The coming heat causes ice to melt, and thereby the displacement of ice, resulting in noise.

23. He is the leader of charites whom Max Müller identifies with Harits⁹ who bring the dawns. He loves Herae, the dew, and Aglauros is his sister just as glow is the sister of twilight. Among his sons is Kepholos, the head of the day, as sun

1. Max Muller: Lect. on lang. second series, 475.

2. Hymn to Hermes, 110.

3. Ibid, 267-268.

4. Cox: Myth of Aryan Nations, Page 453.

5. Ibid, p. 452.

6. Hymn to Hermes, 141.

7. Myth of Aryan Nations Pages 452-455.

8. Sunrta irayanti III, 61, 2; Sunrta Maghoni VII, 57, 6, also Sunrta IV, 55, 9; I, 23, 5; 124, 10; VIII, 9, 17, I, 113, 8 etc.

9. Lect. on long. 4, 473.

is the son of dawn. He is the herald of gods ; so is the twilight ; so was Sarmā the messenger of Indra.¹

24. Hermes, though giver of dawn-fire, is also like Mātariśvan, the fire itself. But here he is not only the glowing fire of dawn, but also the ordinary fire of the altar or hearth. Therefore, he is the guide of souls to the realm of Hades just as Polar evening twilight to the dark dreary winter-night, and the ordinary fire to the other world. As the ordinary fire, he is ever hungry, longing for food whose savour fills his nostrils, a trait so well marked in vedic Agni, and thus it does not support the view of Cox² who assigns the permanent hunger to Hermes as wind-god, a thing perhaps unparalleled in mythology. Again like vedic Agni he terrifies gods and men, though still in his cradle.

b. *Premetheus*

25. Prometheus is the fire-thief par excellence. He belongs to a class of Titans, and the conception of him will not be clear, unless we know what the Titans are.

Titans

26. Titans have been equated by A. A. Guerber with subterranean fires and the ice-giants of the Norse mythology,³ to which there is hardly any evidence. They are twelve in number and include even Hyperion, (rising sun), Phoebe (moon) and other luminaries, and their banishment to Tartarus does not mean their going down to the subterranean region, but to the dark wintry night of North pole, in the form of the lights of Aurora Borealis. The very fact that the ice-giants are destructive to human and plant-life makes them contrasted with the Titans who are decidedly beneficent to men, so much so that one⁴ of them endangers even his life for the sake of them. Eos (Aurora) marries one of the Titans and produces the luminous evening star.⁵

27. It seems, therefore, that the Titans represented the violet and crimson hues of light that come from rising sun,

1. Ibid 436.

2. Aryan Myth p. 422.

3. Myths of Norsemen 343.

4. Prometheus.

5. The Myths of Greece and Rome.

moon, and dawn etc., and in the evening when the twilight etc. disappeared with all its hues, from the bright and long summer day, to the dark Arctic winter night, it was thought that they were hurled down to the cold Tartarus, the night where they are found in the form of Aurora Borealis. Again the Dawn was supposed to be the war of Titanomachia which ended in the supremacy of zeus, the brilliant sky over Cronus, the god of the night sky who swallows up all his children (the stars), but zeus! i.e., day sky.

28. The above description makes the view of Guerber untenable, and curbs the opinion of Cox who regards them wholly as personifications of lightnings.² Of course, from the flashes of lightning described in the battle of Titanomachio, it may be concluded that the lightning was also one of the Titans (though it could very well be an influence of the later Aryan habitat of Greece etc.), but all of them cannot be lightnings. The lightnings of Titanomachio may better be taken as the lightning of Aurora Borealis that may be found in early dawn.

Prometheus

29. From the myth of Prometheus also it does not appear that he personified the lightning. He brings the fire from the resplendent palace of zeus, which cannot be the cloudy sky but the bright guhā of Agnī. His punishment takes place in remote region of everlasting ice and storm, comparable to Tartarus, where the Titans were thrown down, presenting the most awful contrast with the sunlit palace of zeus.³ This clearly refers to the transformation of the red and violet twilight into the Auroras of the Arctic night; and that his heart is daily eaten by the Vulture and it daily grows up again, refers to same Northern lights that disappear often to appear again. This torture of Prometheus goes on till Eos, the dawn the mother of Heracles (sun) releases him;⁴ as dawn-light replaces the Aurora, when it dawns.

30. We also find in Prometheus myth an echo of the another exploit of Rbhus. His cutting of a bull for zeus, is parallel

1. Ibid.

2. Myth of Aryan Nations, Page 437.

3. Cox: Myth of Aryan Nations Pages 430-432.

4. Ibid, Page 436.

to the slaughter of the cow by the Ṛbhus for their parents (Dyāvā-Prithivī). He divides the body of bull into two heaps—one containing entirely the red flesh, the other consisting of the bones covered with fat, just as the rays of Dawn or rising sun may be said to make two heaps, one comprising the red light of dawn, and the other made of white sunshine. Zeus, the resplendent sky prefers the latter, the sunshine, thinking that it is all fat, a better substance.

31. Sometimes a distinction seems to have been made between the rays of the two twilights, and the morning twilight is personified in Prometheus and the evening twilight in the Epemetheus. Scholars have identified these two brothers with fore-thought and after-thought, but neither the myths connected with them, nor the etymology warrants this identification. In the two names, we have, apart from the two prefixes, the word Metheus which, as we shall see in the next chapter, is same as Madhu, and which signified light. Therefore Prometheus is the dawn twilight Epemetheus the other twilight.

32. The myth of Pandora also leads to identify the two brothers with the rays of two twilights. Prometheus, the morning light possesses the Polar day, containing all the blessings of heat and light etc. In the evening, when Prometheus is away, his brother Epemetheus (evening twilight) is in charge of the jar. Beautiful Pandora, the evening twilight, or Aurora Borealis the work of Hephaistos, who as we shall see is Tvaṣṭṛ, comes to Epemetheus who in spite of his brother's warning, allows Pandora to open the lid of the day-jar and away go all the blessings of light, sun, heat and all, leaving only Hope that they will be obtained after the dark wintry night.

c. *Hephaistos*

33. Another fire-god is Hephaistos who, whatever be the etymology, corresponds to vedic Tvaṣṭṛ, who as we shall see is the same as Norse surt, the guardian of the Southern quarter (Muspell-heim). Like Tvaṣṭṛ he is a great manufacturer. Thus like Tvaṣṭṛ he fashioned the thunderbolt for zeus. He fashioned the two images of gold (perhaps sun and moon) endowed with motion. The glorious palace of gold made by him on Olympus is the bright heaven from where Prometheus steals the fire, the

dawn light He also manufactured for the other gods, edifices to live in, and golden shoes to trod upon the air or water, so does the Southern sky endow golden light to all shining ones.

34. His masterpiece is Pandora who is, as we have found, the evening twilight or Aurora Borealis that robs the mortal of all the blessings by lifting the lid of the day-jar. This malevolent trait of evening twilight may also be found in Uṣas who are said to ever shorten the ages of men¹ and wasting the life of mortals.² From another point of view he is said to marry with the help of zeus, the dawn-goddess Aphorodite who laughs, as it were, when shines, at his deformity.

35. From the above analysis, we cannot but conclude that the fire created by him must be the down-fire with which he himself, like Mātariśvan may be identified. As in Agni, we find the combination of both the fires, terrestrial and divine, so Hephaistos, too, could be conceived, later on, as the deity presiding over the fire of Hearth and Home.

D. Loki

36. Scholars are unanimous in regarding Loki as the god of fire,³ but he is more than ordinary fire—In the phrases like 'Locke drinker vand' and 'Locki drinks water', we find a reference to the celestial light-streams issuing in shafts through the cloud-rifts, or the beams of the rising sun making a path or trunk of elephant as it were from sky to the ocean or earth. He is like Tvaṣṭṛ, R̥bhus and Hephaistos a great manufacturer, and provided Odin with Gungnir, his wife Frey with the ship Skidbladnir and Thor with golden hair.

37. The triple character of Loki as the two twilights and Aurora Borealis is also quite clear, and in this he shares with other fire-gods, like Hermes and Prometheus. Thus while as morning twilight he manufactures various gifts for gods, as evening twilight he manages the death of Balder (the sun-god) through blind Hodur, the god of darkness. In the same capacity

1. 1, 124-2.

2. 1, 12, 10.

3. H. A. Guerber : Norse Mythology , Cox. Myth. Ar. Nat. p. 426 and others cf. for etymology 'liuhan', Latin 'lucre' to shine and also German 'lohe', meaning blaze, fire.

he may be said to be sent by Odin to the dwelling of the dark elves, an emblem of dark wintry night, to give up the golden treasure (kept in the form of Aurora Borealis) which he had hoarded in the strong cave.¹ This cave reminds us of the guhā from which is brought the Agni by Mātariśvan, and which we found also to be the nest of the bull, the abode of Rta, and of the cows. In the same form again, Loki goes to recover the hammer of Thor, which is stolen by the giants of darkness living in the cold Jatunheim, and in this respect he may be compared with Hermes going to reclaim the maiden from the rugged lord of Hades.² As Aurora Borealis he is said to exist in the Nifel-Heim cold, dark region of the extreme North, identical with Wintry Arctic Night in the form of his offspring Hel who is the goddess of death and the ruler of that realm. He also steals away the most cherished ornament, the light, of Odin's wife Frey who as we have seen is the goddess of twilights of Polar region. From another point of view Aurora Borealis living in the dark wintry night was conceived as Utgard-Loki on whose vanishment such a mist enveloped it that the castle of the giant was not visible and Thor could not dash it down.³

38. Loki is peculiarly connected with the winning of wives for certain deities. He unites the unwilling Skadi, the daughter of the frost giant, the goddess of winter, with Niord, the god of summer⁴. Skadi's anger and dislike against the gods who had slain her father is an emblem of the unbending rigidity of the ice-enveloped earth of the Polar night, which softened at last by frolicsome play of Loki, the Aurora Borealis and dawnlight; at the commencement of spring she smiled and permitted the embrace of Niord (the summer). His love, however cannot hold her for more than three months of the year (typified in the myth of the three nights), as the winter and the summer, the Polar night and the Polar day can only be said to be united at the time of the Polar twilights which does not exceed three months. This couple, however, gives birth to Frey who, as we have seen, is the

1. Cox. Myth. Ar. Nat. Page 106.

2. Ibid.

3. H. A. Guerber : Myths of the Norsemen.

4. Ibid.

personification of the Glow of the sun. Polar night and the day necessarily give birth to the Glow of the sun. Loki again does the work of mating together Frey and Gerda though for a short time, in the land of Burii or of the dawn. He is again responsible for enticing away Idun, the personification of immortal youth like vedic Uṣas,¹ from Asgard, the land of Aesir to the Giant Thiassi, just as evening rays of light may be said to take away the twilight to the wintry night, the land of giants. On her going, gods begin to feel the loss of vigour and the approach of old age. Then Loki, like the suparna of veda, assumes the form of an eagle and brings back Idun; so does the morning beams of light the dawn. Idun once more faints and drops down from the branch of Ashyagdrasil which is sky as we shall see in the next chapter. She continues falling and tumbling till Odin spreads up the wolf skin, just as twilight goes on slipping away from the sky till the darkness envelops the whole thing.

e. The conclusion

39. From the above discussion, we can firstly conclude that the light of dawn, which Nansen calls the 'glowing fire lit above the uttermost edge of the ice,' was conceived as the fire itself. It is this fire which Ṛbhus, Mātariśvan or Prometheus bring from the high heaven to the earth, it is only in this way that we can justify the creation of Agni by Ṛbhu mentioned in Ṛg-veda,² and also his connection with the creation of Agni by Indra, mentioned in the Tāṇḍya-Mahā Brāhmaṇa.³

40. Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇ mentions that Ṛbhus are the dear abode of Indra,⁴ and with that dear abode (i.g. Ṛbhus); he creates the fire beyond. It seems to refer to the sun or dawn-fire yet in the womb, which cannot be brought by Ṛbhus, unless we assume that Ṛbhus are the lights of the dawn. In the Ṛg-veda, also the strange fire which he created must mean, as we have seen, the same fire, released from its guhā or secret abode.

1. Cf. पुराणा युवति as an epithet Cf. 4-19-7 etc.

2. 3, 5, 6.

3. 14, 2, 5, cf. also Sāyana's commentary on it.

4. Cf. RV. 1, 63, 3; 1, 16, 21; 1, 167, 10 etc. for the same conception; see also 'Ṛbhus and Indra above,' section I.

41. Secondly, we have seen that the Dawn-fire is the fire in which the first sacrificers performed their sacrifice, and that the sacrifice which Ṛbhus brought is the same. This is the sacrifice of Yama, Manu, and Tvaṣṭṛ, this is the fire which gods kindle and perform the sacrifice therein. This is also the Ṛta itself, as the sacrifice is also called Ṛta later on. With this Ṛta sacrifice, light or fire, the gods are able to smite down the demons of darkness, and of frost and cold, and therefore, we may account for the efficacy of sacrifice in chasing away the demons, and also for the disturbance created by them, in the sacrifice of gods (in the second twilight of Polar region), an idea so predominant in the later literature.

42. Thirdly, the ordinary sacrifice performed by human beings, was the counter-part of this divine sacrifice; and it is why Ṛbhus, who brought that sacrifice, were also regarded as bringing that sacrifice. So important is this exploit of Ṛbhus that it becomes the standard of comparison in this respect¹, just as Manu's sacrifice becomes the Norm of any sacrifice, and every sacrifice is said to perform the sacrifice like Manu (Manusvat).

(To be continued)

1. कां० सं० 7. 17; TS. II. च० 11, 61.

MOGHUL PATRONAGE TO SANSKRIT LEARNING

(M. M. Patkar)

Although the subject of the present paper includes the whole of the Moghul period in general, it is limited, in particular, to the period between 1556 and 1707 A.D. i.e., from the beginning of Akbar's reign in 1556 to the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The years of the first two Moghul emperors namely, Babar and Humayun, were mostly spent in the struggle for dominion in India and hence neither of them had time for literary activities. Babar, as will be seen from his delightful memoirs, was certainly a man of fine literary taste but as much of his time was spent in military activities he could hardly attend to literature and other fine arts. Humayun, although a cultured gentleman not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. Besides, many years of his reign were spent in wanderings and although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Babar in 1530, the actual period of Humayun's reign subsisted only for about ten years. This is why we find no reference to the first two Moghul emperors in the Sanskrit literature of that period.

1. AKBAR (1556-1605)

The activity of Akbar's mind was not limited to the conquest and wars like his two predecessors. By the time Akbar ascended the throne the rebellious attitude of the enemies was considerably suppressed and Akbar could devote much of his time to cultural development. He encouraged Sanskrit learning and got prepared for himself Persian translations of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the two sacred books of the Hindus. Apart from the translations of the standard Sanskrit texts he got several original Sanskrit works composed under his patronage and patronized many Hindu pandits. I now proceed to mention such of the Sanskrit works as were composed by several learned men under the patronage of Akbar and his three successors.

(i) RĀMAVINODA by Ramacandra

Rāmavinoda is a *karāṇa grantha* which gives a series of rules and data for the computation of calendars. It was composed by

Rāmacandra for Ramadāsa Bhupāla who was a minister of Akbar. At the beginning of the work the author gives the genealogy of emperor Akbar. He takes for his calculation the year 35 of the era of Akbar i.e., from A. D. 1556 when Akbar ascended the throne. The date of composition is given as śaka 1535 = A.D. 1613.¹

Rāma was the son of Ananta who wrote a commentary on the Kāmadhenu of Bopadeva. He also wrote a work on horoscopy called the Jātakapaddhati. He had two sons viz., Nilakaṇṭha and Rāma. Nilakaṇṭha also was a reputed author like his father and composed the celebrated work Ṭoḍarānanda for Todaramalla, the famous finance minister of Akbar. The family of Ananta belonged to the Gārgya gotra and lived at Dharmapuri, probably a place near Nasik.

Besides the Rāmavinoda, Rāma wrote in 1600 another work called Muhūrtacintāmaṇi which is a treatise on auspicious moments for the performance of religious ceremonies. He also wrote a commentary called Pramitākṣarā² on this work. His genealogy, as given in his Muhūrtacintāmaṇi, is as under :—

Cintāmaṇi

Ananta

(a. of Kāmadhenuṭikā and Jātakapaddhati)

Nilakaṇṭha
(a. of Ṭoḍarānanda)

Rāmacandra
(a. of Rāmavinoda and
Muhūrtacintāmaṇi with
commentary.)

(ii) NARTANA-NIRŪPA by Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala

Nartana-nirūpa is an elaborate treatise on dancing and its accompaniments. Although the name of the work is *Nartana-nirūpa*, it deals also with other parts of music viz. tāla, gāyana, different rāgas, the merits and defects of a singer and so on. The work contains four chapters, only the last which is devoted to the treatment of dancing. Before concluding the work the author states the purpose of composing his treatise. He states:—

1. This date is given in the I. O. Cat. Pt. V, No. 2944. Mr. Dikshit, however, gives the date of composition as Śaka 1512 i.e. A.D. 1590 Cf. Bhāratiya Jyotiṣśāstra, p. 278.

2. Bhār. Jyo. p. 278.

लक्ष्यलक्षणसंदिग्धं परं पारान्धसङ्गतं ।
 तन्नर्तनं विट्टलेन निःसंदिग्धमकारि हि ॥
 अकवरनृपहृद्यर्थं भूलोके सरलसङ्गीतं ।
 कृतमिह बहुतरभेदं सुहृदां हृदये सुखं भूयात् ॥
 श्रीमत्पुण्डरीकविट्टलेन रचितं लोकोत्तरं सुन्दरं
 दृष्ट्वा नर्तननिर्णयं भुवि कलौ तत्तत्प्रयोगाधिकान् ।
 श्रीमत्तालमृदङ्गगानचतुरश्रीवंशनृत्याग्रिणां ।
 सर्वेषामपि दर्शयन्तु गुरवो भूत्वा सदा पण्डिताः ॥

The above verses clearly show that Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala composed his Nartana-nirṇaya to please emperor Akbar (अकवरनृपहृद्यर्थं). Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala originally belonged to Karnataka. He was a native of the Mysore province which was about that time (about 1500 A.D.) a tributary state of the Vijayanagar empire.¹ From his *Ṣaḍrāgacandrodaya* we see that Puṇḍarika was a resident of Śātanurvā, a village near the hill called Śivagangā in the Kārnāṭa country. He was a brahmin of the Jāmadagnya gotra of the Karṇāṭa Jāti. He flourished at the court of Mohomedan king Burhan Khan of the Faruki dynasty which ruled between 1574-1600 at a city called Ānandavalli in Khandesh in the South.² Later on he seems to have been introduced to emperor Akbar through Manasimha and Madhavasimha, the two feudatories of Akbar. In his *Rāgamañjarī* he refers to these two vassals:—

अकवरनृपधर्मो शक्रतश्चातिभीमो
 धरणिगगनमध्ये जङ्गमो मध्यमेरुः ।
 सकलनृपतितारा चन्द्रसूर्याविमौ द्वौ
 जगति जयनशीलौ माधवामानसिंहौ ॥

Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala composed some other works besides the Nartananirṇaya. As these works were composed under the patronage of different princes, the following tabular statement will enable us to form a better idea of our author's literary activity:—

Works	Patron	Date of Composition
Ṣaḍrāgacandrodaya	Burhan Khan	—
Rāgamañjarī	Manasingh and Madhavasimha	After 1556 A. D. 1576
Rāgamālā	—	—
Nartananirṇaya	Akbar	—

1. K. Hulgur : *Vijaynagar Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, 1956 p. 371.

2. P. K. Gode : *Journal of Music Academy*, vol. VI to VIII pp. 1-8.

(iii) **ṬODARĀNANDA** by Nilakanṭha

Ṭodarānanda, which is an extensive work on religious and civil law, astronomy and medicine, was composed by Nilakanṭha; the brother of Rāma, for his patron Todarmalla, the celebrated finance minister of Akbar. The work is divided into three parts, namely 1 Dharma or religious law, 2 Jyotiṣa or Astronomy and 3 Vaidyaka or Medicine. The Dharma section deals with religious and civil law, several parts of judicial procedure, marriage etc. The Jyotiṣa section constitutes the *samhitā* branch of Indian Astronomy and deals with such topics as the results of eclipses, the rise of the comets, the signs of the zodiac and so on. The last section deals with the medical aspect. The vast nature of the work shows its encyclopaedic character.

Nilakanṭha, as we have already seen (vide under Rāmavinoda) was the son of Ananta and brother of Rāma. His mother's name was Padmā. Nilakanṭha's son Govinda mentions him as a learned man honoured at Akbar's court. Nilakanṭha was well-versed in the two sciences viz. *Mimāṃsā* and *Sāṃkhya*. He also composed many astronomical treatises one of which is popularly known as *Tājikanīlakanṭhī*,¹ composed in A. D. 1587.

(iv) **JAGGANNĀTHA-PRAKĀŚA** by Sūra Miśra

Another great work on *smṛti*, composed in Akbar's time, is the *Jagannātha-prakāśa* composed by Sūra Miśra for Jaggannātha, a Kamboja warrior who lived at the court of Akbar. A unique Ms.² of this work exists in the Mss. library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta. The work deals with the following ten subjects in ten *prabhāṣas*: 1 Virtue, vice and duty, 2 caste, 3 sacraments, 4 diurnal religious duties, 5 times meet for fasts, 6 loyalty and expiations, 7 impurity of the person from birth or death in one's family, 8 *śrāddhas* and gifts, 9 religious calendar, and 10 emancipation. The author praises his patron in the following verses :—

अज्ञानध्वान्तनाशं विकसितसकलस्वान्तकल्हारजातम्
धर्मानुष्ठानकामी जनकृतनिचयं प्रीणितः प्राणिकोकम् (?) ।

1. S. B. Dikshit : *Bhār. Jyo. P.* 275.

2. A. S. C. B. Dargapuri : *Catalogue*, Vol. III (Smṛti Mss.) No. 2041.

प्रत्यादिष्टारिवर्गप्रमुदितमनसा श्रीजगन्नाथनाम्ना
निर्दिष्टोऽसौ व्यधत्त प्रकटितयशसा सूरमिश्रः प्रकाशम् ॥ १ ॥
अशेषकाब्जोजकुलावतंसः श्रीमज्जगन्नाथ इति प्रसिद्धः ।
अकारयद्धर्मनिबन्धमेतं धराधिपेऽप्यर्कवले नरेशे ॥ २ ॥

The date of the composition of the first *prabhā* is given as *Samvat* 1654 i.e. A. D. 1598, which means that the work was composed in the last days of emperor Akbar.

(v) *NĪTISĀRA* by Gaṅgādhara

Nitisāra is a small work which deals with various topics in three śatakas viz. 1 Rājanītivarṇana, 2 Sṛṅgārādivivarāṇa and 3 Paramārtha śataka. The author is one Gaṅgādhara who states that he composed the work at the instance of King Akbar. The colophon reads as under :—

इति श्रीमन्महाराजअकबरशाहिआज्ञया गंगाधरदीक्षितविरचितं नान्वितं
तृतीयपरमार्थशतकं संपूर्णम् ।¹

(vi) *PĀRASI-PRAKĀŚA* by Bihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa

Pārasiprakāśa is an astronomical work which gives Sanskrit equivalents for Persian astronomical terms. It is, so to say, a Persian-Sanskrit glossary of astronomical terms.

The author of the work is one Bihārī Kṛṣṇadāsa. He states in the colophon that he composed the work at the instance of emperor Akbar. The colophon is as follows :—

इति श्रीशाहजलालदीन्द्र (= अकबर) कारिते विहारिकृष्णमिश्रकृते पारसि-
प्रकाशे कृतप्रकरणं समाप्तम् ।

It is clear from the above colophon that the work was composed under Akbar. The exact date of the work is not known, but the oldest Ms. of this work which is described by R. Mitra in his Notices (Vol. III. No. 1321), bears the date *Samvat* 1666 or A.D. 1610 as the date of the copy. The work, therefore, must have been composed a few years earlier than 1610.

2. JAHANGIR (1605-1627)

Jahangir was a lover of art and himself could write sufficiently well. He patronized learning and encouraged literature in Persian and Sanskrit languages. His reign was, on the whole, fruitful of peace and prosperity to the empire. Under its auspices

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (Kāvya Mss.) No. 5505.

literature flourished as it had never done before¹ and a host of remarkable pandits gathered at his court and composed works in his honour. I shall mention here a few of such Sanskrit works as were written in his reign.

(i) *BIJANAVĀṆKURA* by Kṛṣṇa

Bijanavāṅkura, also called *Kalpalatāvatāra* or *Bijapallava*, is a commentary on the metrical portions of Bhāskara's *Bijagaṇita*, a famous work on Algebra.

Kṛṣṇa Gaṇaka, the author of the present commentary, was the son of Ballāḷa and played a conspicuous part at the court of emperor Jahangir. From Munīśvara's statement in his commentary on the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi*, composed in Śaka 1560, it appears that Kṛṣṇa was very much honoured at the court of Jahangir. In his commentary Munīśvara states as follows :—

यः श्रीकृष्णपदाम्बुजहितमतिः सिद्धान्तवारं निधेः

पोतः श्रीजहगीरभूमितिलकस्याननविश्वासभूः ।

पट्टशास्त्रेषु कृतश्रमोऽखिलगुरुमन्यो वदान्यो विदाम्

श्रीकृष्णः किमु वर्णनीयविभवः श्रीकृष्ण एवापरः ॥ ८ ॥

In his commentary Kṛṣṇa calls himself a disciple of Viṣṇu, who was again a disciple of Nṛsiṃha, the nephew of Gaṇeśa, the reputed author of *Grahalāghava*. Although Kṛṣṇa nowhere mentions Jahangir's name as his patron, it is clear from Munīśvara's statement that he was one of the learned pandits who lived at the court of Jahangir.

(ii) *NABĀBAKHĀNACARITA* by Rudra Kavi

The *Nabābakhānacarita* is a panegyric of the emperor Jahangir and was written by Rudra Kavi in A.D. 1609 at the instigation of Maharaja Pratapa. In several colophons the name of Pratapa is mentioned by the author e.g. cf. श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीनबाबखानानुचरिते श्रीशामयूरादिपुरन्दरप्रतापशाहोद्योतिरुद्रकवीन्द्रविरचिते तृतीयोऽष्टासः ॥ etc.

The date of composition viz. Śaka 1531 is recorded in the following verse :—

शके क्षमाभित्तिथौ (१५३१) सौम्ये वैशाखे शुक्लपक्षतौ ।

चरितं खानखानस्य वर्णितं रुद्रसूरिणा ॥

1. Beni Prasad : *Jahangir*, p. 448.

2. A single Ms. of this work is described by Keith in the India Office Catalogue No. 7304.

The following verse contains eulogy of Jahangir:—

वीरश्रीजहंगीरसाहे मदनप्रौढप्रतापोदय-
क्षुभ्यद(द्व)क्षिणदिक्कुरंगनयनासंसर्गसक्तनि ।
क्षोणीमंडनखानखानधरणीपाले तदीयांबर-
व्याक्षोपायकरं वितन्वति तया सानंया (?) भूयते ॥

Rudra Kavi also wrote two other works viz. 1 *Kīrtisamullāsa*—a panegyric of Sultan Khuram, son of Jahangir and 2 *Dānasa-hacarita*,² a eulogy of Akbar's son named Dāniyal. The date of the composition of this work, as given by the author himself, is Śaka 1525 i.e. A.D. 1603. It appears, therefore, that the work was composed in the last days of Akbar.

From the colophons of the three works mentioned above it is clear that these works were composed at the instance of Maharaja Pratapa who was probably a feudatory prince.

3. SHAHJAHAN (1627–1655)

Shahjahan's reign marks the climax of the Moghul dynasty. During the space of thirty years Shahjahan did many activities of lasting importance. Art and literature never flourished so much as in the reign of Shahjahan. He patronized Persian and Sanskrit learning and got prepared many works in these two languages. He abolished the tax which was levied on the pilgrims at Benares and Prayaga, at the request of a well-known Sanskrit pandit named Kavindrācārya Sarasvati and conferred on him the title "Sarvavidyānidhāna". Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the celebrated author of *Rasagaṅgādhara*, *Bhāminī-vilāsa* and many other Sanskrit works, flourished in Shahjahan's reign. All these clearly show what a great regard Shahajahan had for Hindu pandits. The following are some of the Sanskrit works composed during his reign.

(i) SIDDHĀNTASĀRVABHAUMA by Munīśvara

Siddhāntasārvabhauma, also called *Siddhantatattvārtha* is a versified compendium of theoretical astronomy. It is a digest of the several siddhāntas on Indian astronomy. The contents of the work are: 1 measurement of true solar year, 2 duration

1. Ibid No. 7303.

2. Ibid No. 7089.

of years, 3 motions of planets, 4 measures of months and years and the mode of reckoning them, 5 modes of planetary orbits, 6 measures of bulk, 7 diameter and motions of the earth, 8 equatorial regions, 9 calculation of latitudes and nadir, 10 curved motions of planets, 11 nodes, 12 position of the earth, 13 the orbits of the planets, 14 arcs between the vernal equinoctical point and the equator etc.¹

The work was composed by Muniśvara, also called Viśvarūpa who was the son of Raṅganātha. From the introduction to his work it seems that he composed this work in 1627 i.e. just when Shahjahan ascended the throne. In the work Muniśvara alludes to Shahjahan as follows :—

श्रीसावर्भौम[ज]हँगीरसुनन्दनोऽयं
श्रीशाहजाहँ धरणीपुरुहूत एवं ।
निष्कष्टकां वसुमतीं प्रतिधाय तस्याः
संरक्षणार्थमथ सेह गतासनेऽस्मिन् ॥

The above verse definitely proves that Muniśvara enjoyed the patronage of emperor Shahjahan. In his work he gives the time, the Hijari era, and the horoscope of the exact time of Shahjahan's coronation.

Muniśvara was born in A. D. 1603. At the end of his *Gūdhārthaprakāśa*, Raṅganātha, Muniśvara's father, states that "Wednesday, *S'ambhutithi*, of the light fortnight of Caitra, witnessed both the completion of his work and the birth of his son Muniśvara."²

Besides the *Siddhāntasārvabhauma*, Muniśvara wrote the following works :—

1. *Niṣṣṭārthadūti*, a commentary on the *Lilāvati* of Bhāskarācārya, 2 *Marīcī*, an exhaustive commentary on the *Gaṇitādhyāya* and *Golādhyāya* of Bhāskar's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, and 3 *Pāṭisāra*.

(ii) *KĀVYAVṚTTI-PRABODHA* by Bhagavatisvāmin

The *Kāvyaṽrttiprabodha* is a treatise on the metres that are used in kavyas. Each metre is followed by an illustrative verse. The work was composed by one Bhagavatisvāmī who

1. Rajendralal Mitra : *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* vol. V, No. 1858.

2. I. O. Cat. Pt. V, p. 1019a. Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

was the son or Shahjahan's councillor Dvārikādāsa. The author appears to be a Jaina. He mentions the emperor Shahjahan in the following verse :—

प्रादुश्चक्रे कुशपुरिवशंश्चन्द्रभागाप्रतीर-
जन्मानन्तः स्ववरज(?)द्वारिकादाससूनुः ।
लोकाधीशे नरपतिपते(:) श्रीजहांगीरसूनुः
सम्प्रोद्भूतो निपुणभगवान् काव्यवृत्तप्रबोधम् ॥

(iii) SARVASIDDHĀNTARĀJA by Nityānanda

Sarvasiddhāntarāja is an astronomical work composed by Nityānanda in Samvat 1696 i.e. in A.D. 1640. The work is mainly divided into two parts viz. the Gaṇitādhyāya and Golādhyāya. The Gaṇitādhyāya contains the following nine chapters :—

(1) मीमांसा अधिकार, (2) मध्यमाधिकार, (3) स्पष्टा, (4) त्रिप्रश्न
(5) चन्द्रग्रहण, (6) सूर्यग्रहण, (7) शृंगौन्नति, (8) भग्रहयुति, (9) छायाधिकार,
and the Golādhyāya contains three chapters viz. 1 भुवनक्रेम, 2 गोलबन्ध, 3 यन्त्राधिकार.

Nityānanda was a resident of Indrapurī near Kurukṣetra. He belonged to the Gauḍa family and his gotra was Mudgala. He was the son of Devadatta, son of Nārāyaṇa, son of Lakṣmaṇa, son of Icchā.

Nityānand's another work on astronomy is the Siddhānta-sindhu wherein he refers to his patron Shahjahan and his ancestors upto Babar. A single Ms. of this work is available in Ulwar Mss. Library.¹ It was composed in Samvat 1685 i.e. A.D. 1629 at the request of Vasafkhan who was a Minister of Shahjahan. Nityānanda refers to both of his patrons in the following verses :—

यो राज्याह्वयमण्डपस्य सुदृढः स्तम्भः स्थितो निश्चलः
संसारार्णवधर्मपोततरणे यः कर्णधारः क्ष(कृ)ती ।
यः पृथ्वीपतिरत्नयोज्यकनकं भूपार्थशब्दोऽथवा
सोऽयं वासफखौ विभाति सकलान्वर्णाश्रमान्पालयन् ॥ २३ ॥
तस्य प्रेरणया नृपालमुकुटालंकारचूडामणे-
र्मांसाज्ञापितवान् सुतंत्रकरणे लोकोपकाराय यत् ।

1. *Ulwar Mss. Catalogue by Peterson, Extract No. 600.*
CC-0. Jangamwadi Math Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

श्रीमत्साहजहान्प्रकाशमलं सिद्धान्तसिन्धुं स्फुटं
नित्यानन्द इति प्रसिद्धगणकः कर्तुं समीहे ततः ॥ ४ ॥

(iv) VEDĀNGARĀYA

Vedāngarāya was a celebrated author who wrote several astronomical and religious treatises. He flourished during emperor Shahjahan's reign and wrote several works to please the emperor. One of his famous works is the *Pārasī-prakāśa* in which are given methods for converting Hindu into Muhamedan dates and *vice versa* and Arabic and Persian names of the days of the week, the months, the planets, the constellations etc.¹ He wrote the work to please the emperor Shahjahan and gain his favour. Cf. the following line :—

श्रीमच्छाहजहान्हेन्द्रपरमप्रीतिप्रसादास्ये ।

Vedāngarāya was the father of Nandikeśvara, the author of a celebrated astrological work called *Gaṇakamaṇḍana*. In his work Nandikeśvara states that his father's name was Mārajit, that he was conversant with the Vedas and Vedāngas, and got from the emperor of Delhi the little Vedāngarāya. Mārajit alias Vedāngarāya was the son of Tīgalabhaṭṭa who was the son of Ratnabhaṭṭa. Ratnabhaṭṭa lived at Śrīsthala in Gujrat.²

Besides being in the court of Shahjahan, Vedāngarāya seems to have enjoyed the patronage of a Gauḍa king named Giridharadāsa in whose honour he composed an astronomical work called *Giridharānanda*.³

4. AURANGZEB (1656-1707)

The decline of the Moghul empire began with the death of Aurangzeb who is practically supposed to be the last of the Moghul emperors. Owing to his bigotry he was not at all inclined towards the encouragement of Sanskrit learning. However, I have come across two Sanskrit works in which Aurangzeb is mentioned in a laudatory style. I give below the description of the works composed during his reign.

1. R. G. Bhandarkar : *Report for 1882-83*, p. 34.
2. *Ibid*, p. 35.
3. A rare Ms. (No. 884 of 1886-92) of this work exists in the Govt. Ass. Library at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

(i) MUHŪRTARATNA by Īśvaradāsa

Muhūrtaratna is a religio-astrological treatise which treats of auspicious moments fit for the performance of religious ceremonies. It is divided into twenty-seven chapters, each chapter prescribing certain moments as auspicious for performing particular acts. The last two chapters of the work contain the genealogy of emperor Aurangzeb and the author's own account respectively. From the allusion of the author to the emperor Aurangzeb it is clear that Īśvaradāsa composed his work under Aurangzeb.

Īśvaradāsa was the son of Keśavaśarmā who obtained the title *Jyotiśarāya* and also plenty of wealth from Jahangir on account of his proficiency in the science of astrology. The family hailed from Kālāñjara and were Kanauj Brahmans¹ belonging to Vatsa gotra. The name of the author's grand-father was Kanharaśarmā.

The date of composition and Emperor Aurangzeb's name are mentioned in the following verse :—

पञ्चाष्ट(बाणे)न्दुगते १५८५ शकाद्वे
विष्णुप्रबोधेऽहनि सूर्यवारे ।
संपूर्णमासीत्तु मुहूर्त्तरत्नं
प्रस्थे मघोनस्त्ववरंगराज्ये ॥

The date Śaka 1585 corresponds to A.D. 1663 when Aurangzeb was at the height of his power,

(ii) MUHŪRTAMĀLĀ by Raghunātha

Muhūrtamālā is another work on muhūrtas or auspicious moments composed in Aurangzeb's time. Like the other works on Muhūrtas the present work also deals with moments which are considered auspicious for performing religious ceremonies.

The author Raghunātha was the son of Nṛsimha who obtained the title *Jyotirvitsarasa* from Akbar when the latter conquered the fort of Āseri. Nṛsimha's family hailed from Dalbha-pura (= Dabhol) on the Western sea, but he settled at Benares.¹

1. For a detailed description of this work see my note published in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. III, pp. 83-85.

2. *A. S. B. Des. Catalogue* 1925, vol. III, preface p. x.

3. *Ibid.*, p. lxi.

Raghunātha belonged to the Śaṇḍilya gotra and was a Chitpavan Brahmin. He composed his work at Benares in Samvat 1717 i.e. A.D. 1660, when Aurangzeb had commenced his rule by defeating Dara Shah, Suja Shah and Murad Shah. Compare the following lines :—

जित्वा दाराशाहं सूजाशाहं मुरादसाहं च ।

अवरंगजेवशाहे शासत्यवनीं ममायमुद्योगः ॥

विक्रमार्कनृपराज्यसमाप्तु क्षमाभृदिन्दुकुभृदिन्दु १७१७ समाप्तु ।

आश्विनस्य दशमेऽह्नि समाप्ता मत्कृतिः कृतिमुदेऽस्तु समाप्ता ॥

As Aurangzeb's hostile attitude towards Hindus is well-known it is doubtful whether he patronized Sanskrit learning at all. I am inclined to believe that the two authors mentioned above were probably under the subjection of the Moghul emperor and hence they must have mentioned him only in a laudatory style.

MANUSCRIPTS OF COMMENTARIES ON THE KAUṬĀLIYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA

(P. K. GODE, M.A.)

In the recently published Catalogue¹ of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan I find the following entries regarding Mss. of the celebrated *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra* :—

“Polity—*Kauṭaliya-Arthaśāstra* :—(on palm-leaf) only a fragment containing the first Adhikaraṇa and the second incomplete with some portion of Yogghama’s commentary *Nīti-Nirṇaya*.”²

The Mss. of the text and commentary of the *Arthaśāstra* are described in the above catalogue as follows :—³

“ २९२ (१) कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र (अधि. १-२ अपूर्ण) प० ६३; १३” × २ $\frac{3}{4}$ ” *damaged (*५५-६३ पत्राणि विनष्टानि) End :—

शिरीषपुष्पकं गोमूत्रकं गोमेदकं शुद्धस्फटिकं etc.

(2) कौटलीय टीका (अधि. २ अपूर्ण) by योगधम. प. १८ End :—

इति मुग्धविलासांकयोगधमविरचितनीतिनीर्णयविधानायां कौटलीय-राजसिद्धांतटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचारे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ ”

The merit of the discovery, publication and translation of the *Arthaśāstra* goes to Dr. Shama Sastri⁴ of Mysore. Dr. Shama Sastri first used a Ms. of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* together with the fragment of a commentary by Bhaṭṭa Svāmin.⁵ In the

1. *Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, Compiled from the Notes of the late Mr. C. D. Dalal with Introduction, Indices and Appendices by L. B. Gandhi, Jain Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda, (in two vols.) Vol. I—Palm-leaf Mss. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1937.

2. Ibid. *Report on the Search for Mss.* p. 54.

3. Ibid, pp. 172-173—Mss. in Saṅghavi Pāḍā Bhandar at Pattan. This Collection belongs to the Laghupośālika branch of the Tapāgaccha. It contains many Sanskrit and Prākṛt Works both Jain and Brahmanical and an enormous bulk of works on Apabhraṃśa literature.

4. Vide p. 5 of Dr. Jolly’s Introduction to the Edition of the *Arthaśāstra* (Punjab Sans. Series No. IV) Lahore, 1923.

5. Vide p. vi of J. F. Fleet’s Introductory Note to the Second Edition of the *Arthaśāstra* by Dr. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1923.

second edition of the *Arthaśāstra* Dr. Shama Sastri utilised two more commentaries of the work called the *Nayacandrikā* of Mādhavayajvan¹ and the other a translation or rather paraphrase by an unknown author in a mixture of Tāmil and Malayālam languages. Dr. Shama Sastri states that both of these commentaries are incomplete as Bhaṭṭa Svāmi's commentary.²

M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri who has composed and published his own commentary³ on the *Arthaśāstra* deals in his Introduction with the necessity of adding a commentary to the text and also describes the fragments of ancient commentaries secured by him. He obtained Mss. of two commentaries from the Madras Government Oriental Library. One of these was a fragmentary copy of a learned Sanskrit Commentary called *Pratipadapañcikā* by Bhaṭṭasvāmin. The other contained a portion of a commentary known as *Nayacandrikā* by Mādhavayajvan. The source of these Mss. was apparently a palm-leaf Ms. belonging to the Kerala country. These fragments were "full of errors and gaps". Ganpati Śastri also made use of a palm-leaf MS. of an ancient Malayalam version of the *Arthaśāstra* on the line of Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary. This version was found in the Palace Library at Trivandrum. A similar copy of this version was found in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library. But both these copies were defective. "Since no ancient com-

1. Ibid, Preface to the Second Edition (10th July 1923) p. xxv.

2. *Arthaśāstra* (Second Edition, 1923) Preface p. xxv—Dr. Shama Sastri's estimate of the commentaries used by him is as follows:—"The first extends from the seventh chapter of the Seventh Book to the end of the third chapter of the Twelfth Book. It is neither a word-by-word commentary like Bhaṭṭasvāmi's nor a paraphrase like the Tāmil-Malayālam commentary. Mādhava Yajvan, its author, satisfies himself by supplying some connecting links between successive chapters and successive paragraphs in each chapter. The Tamil-Malayalam paraphrase is on the other hand very copious but omits to notice obscure passages here and there. It extends from the beginning to the end of the Seventh Book. Written as it is in a mixture of dialects it is not very easy to understand it. It seems to be quite recent and is not free from misinterpretation of a few words."

3. *Arthaśāstra* (Trivandrum Sans. Series No. LXXIX) 1923, English Introduction (dated 4th June 1923) pp. 2-3.

mentary in its publishable shape is available" states M. M. T. Ganapati Sastri, "I thought of writing one of my own".¹

In the foregoing paragraphs I have tried to record the available commentarial material regarding the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra* as known to and utilised by the two great scholars viz. Dr. Sham Sastri and M. M. Ganapati Sastri. In view of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory nature of the Mss. material of the extant commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra* every newly discovered fragment of the known commentaries or the discovery of an entirely new commentary on the *Arthaśāstra* must be looked upon as a gain to this important branch of scholarship viz., the improvement of the text of the *Arthaśāstra* and its final stabilising in a strictly critical manner. For this purpose the Pattan Ms. of Yogghama's commentary as described by Mr. Dalal should be examined by scholars interested in this branch of research. Though the Pattan Bhandars were inaccessible to Dr. Bühler and Peterson when they carried out their search for Mss. in Gujarat more than sixty years ago it is now possible for responsible Jain scholars trained on modern lines to get access to these Bhandars by persuading the authorities in charge of them to allow at least their co-religionists to make proper use of the valuable Mss. material locked up for centuries in these rich treasures of ancient learning.

It will thus be seen that the total number of commentaries so far brought to light, are four only, viz. :—

- (1) Bhaṭṭasvāmin : *Pratipadapañcikā*.
- (2) Mādhavayajvan : *Nayacandrikā*.
- (3) Yogghama : *Nītinirṇīti*.
- (4) Anonymous : *Tāmil-Malayālam version* on the line of Bhaṭṭa Svāmin's commentary.

We know nothing about the chronology of the above commentaries or the personal history of their authors.

1. About Ganapati Sastri's self-composed commentary, Dr. Sham Sastri remarks :—"It will be a great boon to the readers of the *Arthaśāstra* if Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Ganapati Sāstri, Curator of the Oriental Library in Trivandram publishes the long-advertised Sanskrit Commentary which he is said to have been writing with the aid of the three Commentaries." (P. XXV of Preface to the Second Edition, dated 10th July 1923)

The source of the Mss. of the commentaries of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and Mādhavayajvan was the Kerala country as we are informed by M. M. Ganapati Sastri (Preface, 1923). There is a Ms.¹ of a commentary on the *Setubandha*,² a Prākṛt poem ascribed to Pravarasena dealing with the destruction of Rāvaṇa by Rāma. This commentary is ascribed to a commentator called Mādhavayajvamiśra.³ Is it possible to identify this commentator Mādhavayajvan with his namesake, the author of the commentary *Nayacandrikā*⁴ on the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya? The Madras Ms. of the *Setubandha vyākhyā* was transcribed in 1918-19 from the original Ms. belonging to an owner of Nareri in Malabar District. The Ms. of the *Nayacandrikā* on which Jolly's edition of this commentary was based was transcribed in 1917-18 from the original in the possession of an owner, resident of Chelapuram, (Calicut).⁵ There is, therefore, some possibility of the two commentators of the same name "Mādhavayajvan" styled in the colophons of their respective works by identical titles viz. "*Vādikavi-Cūdāmaṇi*" and "*Mahopādhyāya*".⁶ Pt. Udayavīraśāstri is of opinion that Mādhavayajvan may have been a *duḥṣiṇātya* (i.e. Southerner).⁷ He also thinks that he is an ancient

1. *Triennial Cata. of Madras Mss.* (1916-1919) Vol. III, Part 1, 1932 R. No. 2772, pp. 3976-78.

2. Ed. in *Kāvya-mālā Series*,—the text as printed in this edition consists of 15 *āśvāsas*.

3. The colophon of the Madras Ms. reads as follows :—

“इति वैदिकचूडामणिमहोपाध्यायमाधवयज्वमिश्रविरचितायां सेतुनाम्नि
सेतुतात्पर्यटीकायां षोडश आश्वासः.”

The text of the *Setubandha* in the *Kāvya-mālā* edition has 15 *āśvāsas* only but in the Madras Ms. the 16th *āśvāsa* is also found though the 12th *āśvāsa* is missing.

Colophon of the 1st *āśvāsa* :—“वादिकविचूडामणिमहोपाध्याय etc.”

4. Vide edition of *Arthaśāstra* by J. Jolly and R. Schmidt (Punjab Sans. Series, Lahore, 1923, 1924) Vol. II—Notes with Comm. of Mādhavayajvan.

5. *Triennial Catalogue of Madras Mss.* Vol. III, Part I—Sanskrit B, 1922, p. 3320.

6. Vide Sanskrit Intro. (p. 6) of Jolly's Edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, Vol. II by Pt. Udayavīra Śāstri :—

“कदाचिदुभयोरप्यनयोर्व्याख्याग्रन्थयोर्निर्माता अयमेक एव माधवयज्वा स्यात्।”
7. Ibid, p. 3—“परं माधवयज्जेति नामविधया वयमनुमीमहे-कदाचिदयं
दक्षिणात्य एव स्मृतिजि.”

commentator born in the South about 500 years after the demolition of the Mauryan Empire¹ but the grounds put forward in support of this belief are not convincing.² Perhaps a comparison of the *Nayacandrikā* and the *Setubandhavyākhyā* referred to above may give us a few more facts bearing on the chronology of Mādhavayajvan. In the Madras Ms. of the *Setubandhavyākhyā* (extract) we find a definition of the figure विभावना³ quoted by its author as follows :—

“ यथोक्तम्—

प्रसिद्धहेतुव्यावृत्त्या यत्किञ्चित्कारणान्तरम् ।

यत्र स्वाभाविकत्वं वा विभाव्यं सा विभावना ”

This definition of विभावना is exactly identical with Daṇḍin's definition as quoted by Prof. Kane.⁴ It is clear, therefore, from this identification that Mādhavayajvan, the author of the *Setubandhavyākhyā* is later than Daṇḍin, the author of the *Kāvyaadarśa*. According to Dr. S. K. De⁵ Daṇḍin flourished “probably in the beginning of the first half of the 8th century.” According to Prof. Kane the date of Daṇḍin is “6th century.”⁶ Prof. Keith regards the date of Daṇḍin as “open to dispute” and states “if... we place the *Kāvyaadarśa* definitely before Bhāmaha (C. A.D. 700)

1. Ibid, p. 5—“मौर्ये राजनि दिवंगते सति तदनुसम्भवतः

पञ्चशतवर्षेष्वतीतेषु अयं दक्षिणेषु जनिं लेभे इति । ”

2. Ibid, p. 4—Cf. “एवञ्चास्य भरतवाक्यस्येव वाक्यान्तराण्यपि प्राचीनतमग्रन्थान्तरनिर्विष्टान्येव स्युरिति, तानि समुद्धरन् अयं माधवयज्वा कश्चन सुतान् प्राचीन एवाचार्य इति संभावयामः ”

This argument has no value historically as even a modern commentator can mention and quote from very ancient works.

3. Vide P. V. Kane : Edition of *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Bombay, 1923. Notes pp. 20, 235-237.

4. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Notes, p. 236.—“Daṇḍin's definition of विभावना is very clear. ‘प्रसिद्धहेतुव्यावृत्त्या यत्किञ्चित्कारणान्तरम् । यत्र स्वाभाविकत्वं वा विभाव्यं सा विभावना ॥’ (K. D. II, 199). ”

5. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 70.

6. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Index of Works, No. 274. p. CLXVII. Prof. Kane observes :—“The 6th century has been accepted by many scholars as the date of Daṇḍin. Vide Max Muller (*India ; what can it teach us ?* 1st edition p. 332, Weber (H. S. L. p. 232n) Prof. Macdonell (H. S. L. p. 434) and Col. Jacob (JRAS 1897, p. 284). ”

7. H. S. L. 1928, p. 296-97.

there is no reason to assert that he wrote much earlier," His date may be "anterior to the empire of Harṣavardhana and also anterior to the work of Subandhu and Bāṇa." In spite of the disputable character of Daṇḍin's exact date we shall not be wrong if we state that Mādhavayajvan, the author of the *Setubandhavyākhyā* is later than at least the 6th century and if his identity¹ with his namesake, the author of *Nayacandrikā* on the *Arthaśāstra* could be proved on valid evidence we would be in a position to put a definite limit to the date of *Nayacandrikā*. As, however, the Ms. of the *Setubandhavyākhyā* is not before me at present the question must await investigation at some future time.

As regards the commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin reference has already been made above to the Mss. of this commentary availed of by Dr. Sham Śāstri and T. Ganapati Sastri. The available fragments of this commentary have also been published by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*.²

1. With a view to decide the question of this identity I may mention here a Brahmin of the name माधव सोमयाजी, the father of Viddamayya to whom Cālukya Bhīma (II)—A.D. 934-945—granted a field at the village of Ākulamannaṇḍu (Vide *Epi. Indica*, Vol. V, 135). Mādhava was devoted to Janārdana (Viṣṇu). Viddamayya was a student of the *Kramapāṭha* and was eminent in religious learning. His sons and grandsons were youths eloquent at Committee Assemblies and were honoured by people. He engaged in holy performances, followed Manu's guidance and was not weary of repeating the Vedas and the syllable *om*. The father of Mādhava Somayāji was also a student of *Kramapāṭha* and belonged to *Gautama* lineage. Viddamayya's sons and grandsons are styled as "वारगोष्ठिषु वाग्मिनः" an expression which reminds us of the title 'वादिकविचूडामणि' applied to माधवयज्वन्. I am unable at present to establish any connection of this माधव सोमयाजी with माधवयज्वन् (later than 6th cen.) author of सेतुबंधव्याख्या or his namesake the author of नयचंद्रिका.

2. *Prātipadapañcika*, ed. by K. P. Jayaswal and A. Banerji Sastri J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XI, Part 1—March 1925—Pp. 1 to 24, June 1925—Pp. 25-54, Sept. and Dec. 1925—Pp. 55-92. Vol. XII Part 1—March 1926—Pp. 93-130, June 1926—Pp. 131-168, September 1926—Pp. 169-214 ("समासेयं जयसवाल-चन्द्रोपाध्याययोः संस्करणशोधिका पादटीका"). This edition has made use of the following publications :—(*Arthaśāstra* ed. by Shama Sastry,

The object of the present paper being to attract the attention of the scholars to the Pattan Bhandar Ms. of Gogghama's commentary on the *Arthaśāstra*, I have tried in the foregoing lines to indicate the importance of this yet unexploited Ms. of a rare commentary from North India on the *Arthaśāstra*. It is hoped that interested scholars will not fail to exploit this material by persuading the authorities of the Sanghavi Pādā Jain Bhandar to make this Ms. accessible to them for editing purposes so that we shall have before long in print the available fragments of Commentaries of (1) Bhaṭṭasvāmin, (2) Mādhavayajvan and (3) Gogghama. In the absence of any one commentary on the entire text of the *Arthaśāstra* the value of these fragments for the exposition of this important text of antiquity must be very great. It is still possible to discover other commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra*, because their existence is indicated by Mādhavayajvan himself in his occasional references to earlier commentators.¹

Mysore, 1909 (2) *Notes on the Adhyakṣa-Pracāra* Book II of the *Arthaśāstra*, Allahabad, 1914, (3) *Arthaśāstra* ed. by Jolly, Lahore, 1923 (Vol. I), and (4) *Arthaśāstra* ed. by Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1924.

1. Vide p. 6 of Udayavīra Śāstri's Sanskrit Introduction to the *Arthaśāstra*, Lahore, 1924—"माधवयज्वा स्वव्याख्यायां 'केचिदित्याहुः, अपरे तु इत्याहुः, केचिदेवं व्याख्याकर्तारस्तु इत्येवं रूपेणान्यानपि बहून् पूर्वोचार्यान् कौटलीयार्थशास्त्र-व्याख्यातृन् निर्दिशन् स्वप्राङ्निर्मितान् बहून् व्याख्याग्रन्थानयं ददर्शेति स्पष्टयत्येव"—These remarks were made in 1924 but they are borne out by the discovery of Gogghama's commentary mentioned in the Baroda Catalogue of Pattan Mss. published in 1938. It remains to be seen if Gogghama refers to any commentators on the *Arthaśāstra* by name.

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THE POONA ORIENTALIST

A quarterly journal devoted to Oriental studies

Vol. III]

JANUARY 1939

[No. 4

EDITORIAL

With the outgoing issue THE POONA ORIENTALIST completes its third volume or Three years. That it has rendered useful service to the cause of Indology, we are able to infer from the encouragement given to us by the Scholarly world. Our continuing the Journal is dependent upon the help given to us by contributors as well as subscribers. And we are glad to announce that we have been able to get this help unstintingly. During the course of the last one or two years several other learned periodicals have begun to appear from Poona. We are glad to notice that the subject of Indology is becoming very popular and attracting the attention of a larger number of people.

Among the contributors to the pages of this journal, we are proud to say, the readers will find the names of scholars of high eminence and international reputation. The choice of the subjects has also been varied and suiting different tastes. In short, the activities and usefulness of this journal are unique. By the Grace of God we hope to keep up the standard of its excellence and usefulness.

In the pages of this journal, the text of the Nyāyasūtras of Gautama has already run upto the 3rd *adhyāya*, 1st *āhnika* and 32nd *sūtra*. But the corresponding translation has reached the 2nd *adhyāya*, 1st *āhnika* and 49th *sūtra*. We realise the difficulty which the readers must be experiencing on account of this discrepancy.

We have already added 16 pages of a new but hitherto unpublished work entitled Kavīndracandrodaya (कवीन्द्रचन्द्रोदयः) in No. 3, Vol. III of *The Poona Orientalist* without any preliminary note about that work. In order to make our learned readers acquainted with the nature of this rare treasure-house, we have

added in this issue the first 10 pages containing the title and introduction which would explain the value of this work. The remaining 54 pages of this work would be added in the next issues of *The Poona Orientalist*.

In the fourth Vol. of this journal we propose to publish very original articles on hitherto untrodden subjects such as Sāmagāna, Pāṇini's Gaṇa pāṭha, Dhātupāṭha and Geography, Indian Mathematics etc. by learned savants who have devoted their thought and labours to these subjects for their life-time.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have now started the English Translation of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, along with the Bhāṣya of Sāṅkarācārya. The importance of this Upaniṣad for the students of the Advaita philosophy is quite well-known. But the difficulty is that of understanding the text and the Bhāṣya without a good translation. Fortunately, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, with great pains and trouble, has revised, nay re-written, at this advanced age, his old translation formerly printed in Madras. The scholarly world cannot adequately express its gratitude to the great scholar who is a veritable devotee at the shrine of Sarasvatī.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY
OF
BRĀHMANICAL ASCETICISM (SAMNYĀSA)

BY

Vidyāsudhākara PANDIT HAR DUTT SHARMA, M. A., Ph. D.
Professor of Sanskrit, Hindu College, Delhi



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TO THE SACRED AND LOVING MEMORY
OF

The late PROFESSOR DR. M. WINTERNITZ

One of the greatest Indologists that the modern times have known

This humble work is most respectfully dedicated

by

his affectionate pupil

Har Dutt Sharma

PREFACE

In the following pages I am presenting an abridged form of my thesis approved for the degree of Ph. D. by the German University (Deutsche Universität) of Prague in June 1930. For want of space the texts of the passages are not quoted but references only are given to them in the foot-notes. As all the editions are notified in the list of abbreviations, it will not be difficult to check these quotations. It was the desire of my late Guru, Professor Dr. M. Winternitz, to print it in Europe along with his long Introduction dealing with the other phases of Asceticism from the point of view of Buddhism and Jainism. Financial stringency in the German University and the ill health of Prof. Winternitz were responsible for the delay in printing. At long last in July 1936 he sent a typed copy of my thesis along with various suggestions for my approval and revision. On account of several unavoidable circumstances I could not pay any attention to it for a long time. But, in the meantime, as ill-luck would have it, my beloved Professor suddenly expired on the 9th of January, 1937. The exhaustive notes which the Professor had prepared could not be traced in his papers and they have been irretrievably lost. Then I approached my other teacher and friend Professor Dr. Otto Stein of the same University to take up the task which Prof. Winternitz intended to do. Prof. Stein very kindly and gladly accepted the proposal of writing an Introduction. But the political turmoil in Europe which developed into a crisis in Czechoslovakia in the last few months prevented him from doing anything. As there had been frequent enquiries from my friends about this work I decided to print it off without further delay. I am fully conscious that in its present form it labours under several disadvantages and there are various problems which need further elucidation, but I hope that the scholarly world would forgive all the shortcomings. If time permits I shall take up these problems at some future date.

As a mark of deep reverence and love for my Guru, the late Prof. Dr. M. Winternitz, I dedicate this volume respectfully to his sacred memory.

In the end I offer my most sincere thanks to Dr. N. G. Sardesai whose obligations on me are too many to be expressed.

Hindu College, Delhi.

January, 1939

Har Dutt Sharma.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ait. Br.	= Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Āp. Dh. S.	= Āpastambadharmasūtra.
Āp. Ś. S.	= Āpastambaśrautasūtra.
A. S. S.	= Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
A. V.	= Atharvaveda.
Baudh. Dh. S.	= Baudhāyanadharmasūtra (Hultsch's Edn.)
B. R.	= Böhtlingk and Roth : Sanskrit Wörterbuch. (Petersburg)
Bomb. S. S.	= Bombay Sanskrit Series.
Bṛh. Ā. U.	= Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Chānd. U.	= Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
E. R. E.	= Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
Gaut. Dh. S.	= Gautamadharmasūtra.
H. O. S.	= Harvard Oriental Series.
J. R. A. S.	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Mahāni. T.	= Mahānirvāṇatantra (Tāntrik Texts edtd. by Arthur Avalon) Madras, 1929.
Mbh.	= Mahābhārata (Calcutta Edn.)
Mu. U.	= Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad.
M. U.	= Minor Upaniṣads, Vol. I. Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads, (Edtd. by F. Otto Schrader, Madras, 1912).
Ār. U.	= Āruṇi Upaniṣad (M. U.)
Āś. U.	= Āśrama Upaniṣad „
B. U.	= Brahma Upaniṣad „
Bh. U.	= Bhikṣuka Upaniṣad „
B. S. U.	= Bṛhatsaṃnyāsa Upaniṣad „
Brh. U.	= Bṛhadavadhūta Upaniṣad „
J. U.	= Jābāla Upaniṣad „
K. Ś. U.	= Kaṭhaśruti Upaniṣad „
L. U.	= Laghvavadhūta Upaniṣad „
Mai. U.	= Maitreya Upaniṣad „

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K. Ś. U.	= Kaṭhaśruti Upaniṣad „
L. U.	= Laghvavadhūta Upaniṣad „
Mai. U.	= Maitreya Upaniṣad „

N. U.	= Nārada-parivrājaka Upaniṣad (M. U.)
P. H. U.	= Paramahansa Upaniṣad
P. B. U.	= Parabrahma Upaniṣad
P. P. U.	= Paramahansa-parivrājaka Upaniṣad
S. U.	= Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣad
Ś. U.	= Śātyāyaniya Upaniṣad
T. U.	= Turiyātītāvadhūta Upaniṣad
Y. U.	= Yājñavalkya Upaniṣad
S. Ṭ.	= Sanskrit Ṭippanī by Schrader
M. W.-	= Monier Williams : Sanskrit English Dictionary.
Pāṇ.	= Pāṇini : Aṣṭādhyāyī.
Pañc. Br.	= Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa.
P. G.	= Pāraskara-grhyasūtra.
R. V.	= R̥gveda Saṃhitā.
S. B. E.	= Sacred Books of the East.
T. Ā.	= Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
T. B.	= Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
T. S.	= Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
T. U.	= Taittirīya Upaniṣad.
Trivand. S. S.	= Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
Vaikh. Dh.	= Vaikhānasadharma-praśna. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, with W. Egger's emendations in 'Dass Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas', Göttingen, 1929.
Viṣṇu	= Viṣṇusmṛti.
Yāj.	= Yājñavalkyasṁṛti.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of Saṁnyāsa or Hindu asceticism is an interesting study not only from the point of view of Indology but also from that of Comparative Religion and Sociology.

Indian philosophers had already at an early period recognised the transitoriness of all worldly objects, and had come to the conclusion that worldly possessions like money, wife, children and others were not likely to give permanent happiness. On the contrary, misery and unhappiness were more to be met with in this world than happiness. Happiness lay in something else. It was a thing of inner life, and the earthly possessions were more of a hindrance to the realisation of this internal happiness than a help. So we read in an old Upaniṣad:¹

"The wise of old did not desire for progeny. For, they thought, 'What shall we do with children? to us the entire world is our own self'. So they gave up the desire for sons, for riches and for worlds, and wandered about begging."

The institution of Saṁnyāsa which arose out of this state of mind, the result of a mature and a deliberate thought, was often enough abused. The doctrine of renunciation of all comforts in exchange for the life of a beggar, is found current not only in Hinduism, but also in Buddhism and Jinism. But, early with its advent, many lazy and good-for-nothing people, who saw honour and praise bestowed upon these deniers of worldly comfort, turned it into a means of acquiring that of which the whole system of asceticism is a denial. The majority of the wandering Faquirs and the possessors of the so-called supernatural powers in India of today shows clearly to what degradation has this noble doctrine reached.

Scholars like Farquhar, Oman² and others have studied the institution of Saṁnyāsa in its present form, and the results of

1. Brh. A. U. IV. 4. 22.

2. J. N. Farquhar: *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, London, 1920, and his paper: "The Organisation of the Saṁnyāsins of Vedānta," J. R. A. S., 1925, p. 479 ff. J. C. Oman: *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, London.

their studies are embodied in their writings. But in its ancient form the problem has not been thoroughly examined. The similarity existing between the Buddhistic, the Jinistic and the Brāhmanic asceticism is so great, their rules and regulations of life so akin to each other, that a comparative study and the chronological position presents an interesting problem. Scholars like T. W. Rhys Davids, H. Jacobi and G. Bühler have tackled this question in the last century, and it has not lost its interest even for modern students. They have arrived at conclusions which are contradictory. It will be well to quote their opinions in their own words.

At one place¹ Rhys Davids says :

"Unable, therefore, whether they (brāhmaṇas) wanted or not, to stay the progress of newer ideas (of Buddhism), the priests strove to turn the incoming tide into channels favourable to their order. They formulated—though this was sometime after the rise of Buddhism—the famous theory of the Āśramas or Efforts, according to which no one could become either a Hermit or a Wanderer without having first passed many years as a student in the Brāhmin school and lived after that the life of a married householder as regulated in the brahmin law-books."

At another place² he remarks :

"We can, I think, go safely further, and say that it (the institution of Saṃnyāsa) must have been, in all probability, after Buddha, and even after the time when the Piṭakas were put together."

Jacobi says³ :

"We see thus that the germs of dissenting sects like those of the Buddhists and the Jainas were contained in the institute of the fourth Āśrama, and that latter was the model of the heretical sects ; therefore, Buddhism and Jainism must be regarded as religions developed out of Brāhmiṇism not by a sudden reformation but prepared by a religious movement going on for a long time."

1. Buddhist India, p. 249.

2. See Dialogues of Buddha (Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. II) Pp. 212-219.

3. S. B. E. 22, p. XXXII.

Bühler¹ also arrives at a similar conclusion :

"Wie die fünf grossen Gelübde sind auch die meisten speciellen Vorschriften über die Disciplin der Jaina-Asceten Copien und oft outrirte Copien der brahmanischen Regeln für Büsser. Die äusseren Abzeichen des Ordens sind denen der Samnyāsin sehr ähnlich. Das Wanderleben während der acht Monate und die Rast während der Regenzeit stimmen genau. In diesen und manchen anderen Punkten, z. B. in dem Gebrauche der Beichte, treffen sie auch mit den Buddhisten zusammen. Mit den Brahmanen allein ist ihnen aber die ascetische Selbstpeinigung gemeinsam, welche der Buddhismus verwirft, und besonders charakteristisch ist der Umstand, dass auch der alte Brahmanismus den Hungertod seinen Büssern als heilsam empfiehlt".

Jarl Charpentier² opines :

".....but it is a strange characteristic of these sects (Jaina and Bauddha), so far as we know of them, that they adopted in their ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had already been fixed by their Brāhman antagonists."

Later on, Schubring³ and Dikshitar⁴ also take it for granted that the Jinistic and the Buddhistic rules of asceticism are derived from Brāhmanism.

1. Sekte der Jainas (Die feierliche Sitzung d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, 1887.)

The translation of the passage is :—

Like the five great vows, most of the special rules for the discipline of the Jaina ascetics are copies, often exact copies, of the brahmanical rules for the penitent. The external marks of their Order are very much similar to that of Samnyāsins. The tour of eight months and the rest of four months during the rains, are the same in both. In these and many other points, e. g., confession, both these systems agree with the Buddhist system also. The Jainas and Brāhmaṇas both have in common the ascetic self-torture, which, however, is rejected by the Buddhists. And the circumstance that even the old Brahmanism recommends fasting unto death in the case of penitents, is specially remarkable.

2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 150.

3. See Jinismus in "Das Licht des Ostens," p. 120.

4. The Early History of Buddhism in India, published in the Journal of Bombay Historical Society, Vol. II, 1929, Pp. 51-74. (Reprint, Bombay, 1929).

But asceticism has not been studied thoroughly from the individual point of view of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism and Jinism. For, without the thorough study of each system separately, a judgment of the priority of one over the other cannot be accurate. Feeling this want, an attempt is made here to give the Brāhmaṇical points of view of the question, without venturing upon the judgment of the relation existing between it and Buddhism and Jinism. This account is based upon the study and examination of the Saṃhitās, Upaniṣads, Brāhmaṇas, Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis, specially the Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads published by Schrader in the first volume of the Minor Upaniṣads. I hope, this attempt will stimulate a similar study of Buddhistic and Jinistic asceticism, which will lead to an establishment of their comparative position.

The first question which presents itself for examination is the theory of the āśramas. The word āśrama has been explained as "efforts" by Rhys Davids,¹ and Keith² would have it in the sense of 'resting place'. But, I think, Prof. Winternitz³ is right when he says :

"Das Wort āśrama (von derselben Wurzel śram wie śramaṇa) bedeutete wahrscheinlich zuerst *die religiöse Bemühung* von śramaṇas, Asketen und Waldeinsiedlern, weshalb es auch die Bedeutung *Ort für religiöse Bemühungen, Einsiedelei* erhielt. Auch das Vedastudium beim Lehrer, das Brahmacharya, war ja mit

1. See n. 1, p. 8.

2. Macdonell and Keith : Vedic Index, I., p. 68.

3. "Zur Lehre von den Āśramas" published in Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens, Festgabe Jacobi zum 75. Geburtstag, Bonn 1926.

The translation of the passage is :—

The word āśrama (from the same root śram, as śramaṇa) denoted perhaps in the beginning *the religious exertion* on the part of śramaṇas, ascetics and forest-dwelling hermits, on account of which this word denotes also the meaning of *the place for religious exertion, a hermitage*. And even brahmacharya, (the period of) studying the Vedas with teacher, on account of being accompanied by different sorts of abstinences and mortifications, could be easily explained as āśrama. And because the brāhmaṇas named even the life of a householder as āśrama so, through this designation, they placed it (the householder's life) in one line with the life and all sorts of religious penances of ascetics.

allerlei Enthaltungen und Kasteiungen verbunden und konnte daher leicht als ein āśrama erklärt werden. Indem die Brahmanen auch das Leben des Hausvaters als āśrama bezeichneten, stellten sie es schon durch diese Bezeichnung in eine Linie mit dem Leben und den *religiösen Bemühungen* aller Arten von Asketen."

The question, as to the existence of any theory of the āśramas in the oldest texts has been very ably discussed by various scholars and recently by Prof. Winternitz,¹ N. N. Law,² and W. Eggers.³ We find traces of the existence "in the Aryan Society from very early times of the student (brahmacārin), the householder (gṛhastha) and the person who renounced the world (muni or yati) as is evidenced in the earliest Vedic works."⁴ But the establishment of the theory of āśramas does not seem to have taken place before the time of the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad wherein we find the term atyāśramin.⁵ In the oldest Upaniṣads there is evidence of only the first two or three āśramas, viz., that of a student, that of a householder, and that of a yati or a muni. According to the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad⁶ a man reaches the *summum bonum*, even in the stage of a householder. We read there that a man, having learnt the Vedas at the house of his preceptor, should establish himself in the stage of a householder and spend his whole life in repeating the sacred texts, employing his sons or disciples in dharma, controlling his senses and practising non-injury towards all the living beings, except when ordered otherwise by the scriptures. One who behaves like this for his whole life, reaches the world of the Brahman and is never reborn.

In the old Upaniṣads, we find no difference made between the stages of a vānaprastha and a saṁnyāsin. Perhaps N. N. Law is right when he accounts for this lack of distinction:

"As both vānaprastha and saṁnyāsa were founded upon common basis of the renunciation of the world, so both are most

1. Ibid, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, Bonn 1926.

2. N. N. Law, Studies in Indian History and Culture, Calcutta Oriental Series 18, chapter I.

3. Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhāṇasas, Göttingen, 1929.

4. Studies in Ind. Hist. and Culture, p. 3.

5. VI. 21.

6. VIII. 15. 1.

probably combined and referred to as one in the Upaniṣads and it is perhaps for this reason that terms like muni are applied to both."¹

But this fourth stage of Saṁnyāsa was not always looked upon with favour. For, we find very early the evidences which, although not directly opposed to Saṁnyāsa, yet prescribe the householder's life as the ideal life and to be followed till death. We read in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa :²

"*etad vai jarāmaryaṁ sattraṁ yad agnihotraṁ*," that is, one should offer sacrifice to fire as long as he lives. The Taittiriya-Upaniṣad³ also orders :

"*Prajātantaṁ mā vyavacchetsiḥ*", i.e. do not break the thread of progeny. The Iśāvāsya-Upaniṣad⁴ prescribes :

"*kurvaṇ eva iha karmāṇi jijiviṣet śataṁ samāḥ*", a man should desire to live in this world performing actions for his whole life (and not renouncing them). According to Haradatta,⁵ Āpastamba does not seem to approve of one's entering another stage of life and leaving the stage of a householder after once entering it.

We find a very interesting discussion on the importance or the blameworthiness of the Saṁnyāsa āśrama in the Mahābhārata.⁶ Yudhiṣṭhira, after the great battle, is disgusted with the world and wants to become an ascetic. He is dissuaded by his brothers and wife. The arguments of Bhīma are of special interest⁷ :

"It is taught (in the scriptures) that a man should enter Saṁnyāsa at the time of (the fall of some) calamity, or when a man is old or is harassed by his enemies."

"Therefore, wise men do not acknowledge renunciation. And men of acute vision consider it a transgression of the law."

1. Studies in Ind. Hist. and Culture, ch. I.

2. XIII. 4. 1. 1.

3. I. 11. 1.

4. 2.

5. See his comm. on Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 1.

6. XII, Ch. 10 and sq.

7. Ibid, Ch. 10, verses 293, 294, 296-298 and 300-301.

"(Samnyāsa) has been started by (men who are) devoid of fortune, (and) paupers and atheists, (and it is represented by them) as the teaching of the Vedas, (whileas, in reality, it is) a falsehood looking like truth."

"By resorting to tonsure, (and thus) resorting to the deceit of the law, it is possible for one, who supports his self with the self, to perish but not to live."

"Again it is possible (i.e. very easy) to live alone in the forest happily, without (taking the trouble of) supporting sons, grandsons, gods, sages, guests and manes."

"O king ! if a man could attain to perfection by Samnyāsa, then the mountains and the trees should very soon attain to perfection."

"They are seen always in renunciation, they have no troubles, they have no possessions and they are always chaste."

These verses suggest that very probably Samnyāsa was originally the doctrine of the dissenters from the orthodox ritualistic life of an ancient Ārya. This suggestion is supported by the arguments of Arjuna in the next chapter, where he relates a story, that in the days of yore some brāhmaṇas had entered Samnyāsa from Brahmacarya. Indra denounced the conduct of these brāhmaṇas and made them return to the Gṛhastha stage. The fact, that in these chapters of the Mahābhārata, Samnyāsa is referred to as *nāstikya*, and also the story of Indra and the brāhmaṇas, may have preserved a very ancient tradition when asceticism was looked upon with disfavour. In this connection, another fact may also be taken into account. It is the story of Indra's killing the Yatis which we find in the Atharvaveda.¹ This story, which is also found in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa² and in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa,³ is in direct contradiction to the

1. II. 5. 3. The text reads "*Yatīr na*". Whitney explains it as "like moving (streams)." H. O. S. VII, p. 44. Sāyaṇa explains: "*Yatīr na, Yatayo nāma niyamaśilā āsuryāḥ prajāḥ.....Yad vātra yatīśabdēna vedāntārthavivakṣitāḥ*" Cf. also "*Triśīrśāṇām tvāṣṭram ahanam*" *śrīmukhān Yatīn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchan*:" Kausītaki Up. 3, 1.

2. VII. 28.

3. XIII, 4, 17 and VIII, 1. 4. In the first passage Sāyaṇa explains the term *Yatīn* as "*Yajñavīrodhijñān*", in the second passage as "*vedavirudhaniyamopetān*"

passage of the Ṛgveda,¹ where Indra is called "*muninām sakha*", and also to the ākhyāyikā in the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa,² wherein Indra is said to have restored the Vaikhānasa ṛṣis to life who had been put to death by the asuras at a place called "*munimarāṇa*". Further on, as Law points out in his book,³ in the story of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa quoted above, we find that Indra was excommunicated for the misdeeds committed by him, one of these being the killing of the *Yatis*.

So, according to the Ṛgveda, Indra is the friend of the *Munis*; according to the Atharvaveda, he kills the *Yatis*; according to the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, he restores the *vaikhānasa* ṛṣis to life; and according to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, he is excommunicated by the gods and not allowed to drink the Soma for killing the *Yatis*.

Here, it would be interesting to take up the term *śramaṇa*. We find in the Buddhistic literature the term *samaṇa-brāhmaṇa*⁴ as a common term used for religious men. This term is also found in the Inscriptions of Aśoka.⁵ Megasthenes also mentions the "*sarmanes*" in his account.⁶

"As to the Sarmanes, the most highly honoured are called 'forest-dwellers' (i.e. *vānaprasthas*). They live in the forests on leaves and wild fruits and wear clothes made of the bark of trees, abstaining from cohabitation and wine."

This word *śramaṇa* occurs in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad,⁷ along with the word *tāpasa*. Śaṅkara explains *śramaṇa* as *parivraj*,

1. VIII. 17, 14.

2. XIV. 4. 7, see also Eggers: *Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas*, p. 13.

3. See above, n. 2, p. 14.

4. See *Dīghanikāya* I. 30. etc.

5. See *Corpus Insc. Ind.* Vol. L, Hultsch Edn. IV Rock-Edict of Girnar, III and IV Rock-Edicts of Shahbazgarhi, III and IV Rock-Edicts of Mansehra.

6. For full account and discussion of this term, see O. Stein: *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya*, Wien, 1922, p. 279 ff, Bevan: *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., Ch. XVI

7. *Camb. Hist. Ind.* I, p. 420.

8. IV. 3. 22.

and *tāpasa* as *vānaprastha*. We find this term in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* also. The passage is very important, so I quote it :
vātaraśanā ha vā ṛṣayaḥ śramaṇā ūrdhvamanthino babhūvuḥ.¹

"The *vātaraśana* sages (lit. wind-girt, i.e. naked) were *śramaṇas* and chaste. The word *ūrdhvamanthinaḥ* is explained by *Sāyaṇa* as *ūrdhvaretasaḥ*. So, here we find that the *Śramaṇas* were naked and chaste.

But this term *vātaraśanāḥ* occurs at one more place in the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*,² viz :

"He (*Prajāpati*) practised penance. He, after practising penance, shook his body. That what was his flesh, from it arose (the three kinds of) *ṛṣis*, *Aruṇas*, *Ketus* and *Vātaraśanas*. (Those) which (were his) nails (from them arose) *Vaikhānasas*, (and those) which (were his) hair (from them arose) the *Vālakhilyas*."

Further on, we find the term *vātaraśanāḥ* as an adjective for the *munis* in the *Ṛgveda*.³ The *munis* are mentioned here as naked (or ?) having *piśaṅga* (i.e. yellow) and *mala* (i.e. soiled)⁴ garments.

From the facts mentioned above, it is clear, that there existed *śramaṇas* during the time of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, and that they were naked and chaste. The term *vātaraśanāḥ* has been treated by the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* as a proper noun, but it seems, that it is based on the etymology of being girt by the wind. These naked sages, who sometimes clothed themselves in yellow or dirty garments, are to be met with in the *Ṛgveda* also.

I am tempted to put forward the suggestion that these *vātaraśanas* of the *Ṛgveda*, who by the time of the *Āraṇyakas* took the title of *śramaṇa*, were the earliest dissenters from the orthodox Vedic religion. They are the same as the *yatis* who are killed by *Indra*. And the fact of *Indra's* being punished for this, does not necessarily prove that the *yatis* were so

1. T. Ā. II. 7.

2. "Sa *tapo'tapyata*, sa *tapas* *taptvā śarīram adhūnata*, *tasya yan māṃsam āsīt tato'ruṇāḥ Ketavo vātaraśanā ṛṣaya udatiṣṭhan*, *ye nakhāḥ te vaikhānasāḥ*, *ye vālāḥ te vālakhilyāḥ*. I. 23.

3. X. 136. 2. But *Sāyaṇa* explains it as *vātaraśanasya putrāḥ*.

4. Macd.—Keith. *Vedic Index* II, 137.

much honoured and approved of by the orthodox section, that their killing was considered to be a crime. For, amongst the crimes of Indra, there is also his killing of Vṛtrāsura. Analogically the killing of the asura must also be a crime, and Vṛtra must also have been looked upon with respect by the sages. But the facts are to the contrary.

This śramaṇa is the atyāśramin of the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad.¹ I do not suggest that Saṃnyāsa as an āśrama rose after Buddhism. Most probably it was before the rise of Buddhism that the old three āśramas were expanded into four to find a place for these dissenters, who denied every sacrifice and the study of the Vedas, and later on, their conduct was given the shape of a regulated life, and still later (as will be shown in the following chapters) even the Vedic ritual was imposed upon them.

1. VI. 21.

CHAPTER I

Samnyāsa, the Time for it, and the People Qualified to Enter it.

The word Samnyāsa is derived from the root *as* (to throw), preceded by the prepositions *saṁ* and *ni*, by adding the suffix *ghāñ*¹ in the sense of an abstract noun. It, therefore, means resignation, renunciation or abandoning. *Monier Williams*² explains the word Samnyāsin :

"One who abandons or resigns worldly affairs, an ascetic, devotee, who has renounced all earthly concerns and devotes himself to meditation and the study of the Āraṇyakas or Upaniṣads, a Brāhman in the fourth Āśrama or stage of his life, a religious mendicant."

This renunciation is that of fire, as is evident from the Samnyāsopaniṣad, where it is enjoined that no man should return to the house-holder's life after renouncing fire.³ The Bhagavadgītā defines Samnyāsa as the renunciation of actions done with some purpose in view.⁴ But as all the actions done according to the Vedic ritual lead to some desired fruit, it comes to the renunciation of all the ritualistic actions.

This naturally leads to the question as to who should enter Samnyāsa. There is a very great difference of opinion on this point. Most of the Upaniṣads and the Dharmasūtras are of opinion that a man after having finished his student-career (brahmacarya) should enter a householders' life. After this, he should go to the forest and first lead the life of a forester (vānaprastha) and then he should enter the stage of a Samnyāsin.⁵ In the Kāṭhaśruti-Upaniṣad, in answer to the question as to how one becomes Samnyasta, we read : "One who protects his self by actions."⁶ This is explained by Nārāyaṇa in his Commentary : "One who makes himself untouched by sin by performing the obligatory and optional rites beginning from Brahmacarya."⁷

1. Pāp. III. 3. 19 : Bhāve.

2. M. W., p. 1148.

3. S. U., p. 20.

4. XVIII. 2.

5. J. U., p. 64.

6. K. Ś. U., p. 31.

7. S. T., p. 386.

Further on, the Kaṭhaśruti-Upaniṣad enjoins that a man in his student-life may read one, two or all the Vedas, then he should marry. Then he should beget sons and place them in proper sphere of life. And after having performed sacrifices according to his means, he should enter Saṁnyāsa, being permitted by his elders and relatives.¹ The Viṣṇu-Smṛti also holds that a man should enter Saṁnyāsa after ripening (i.e. having become disgusted with) the desires in the three āśramas.² In the Manu-Smṛti³ we read that a man should enter Saṁnyāsa after he has passed the third part of his life in the forest and renounced attachment to all objects. He should pass through all the three āśramas in their respective order, and having controlled his senses and getting tired of begging, he should go forth as an ascetic: thus, after death, he makes progress. He should attach his mind to salvation after having paid off the three debts, without doing which he would go to hell. He should attach himself to mokṣa, after he has learnt the Vedas in order, righteously begotten sons and performed sacrifices according to his means. If a twice-born desires for salvation without reading the Vedas, without begetting sons and without offering sacrifices, he goes to hell. In the Mahābhārata⁴ it is said that when a man becomes miserable on account of old age and when he suffers from illness and when only a fourth of his life is left, he should leave the Vānaprastha-stage and enter Saṁnyāsa. According to Āpastamba⁵ a man should enter Saṁnyāsa only after he has already fulfilled the duties of the student stage, and that he should remain chaste. Haradatta in his commentary Ujjvala has entered into a lengthy discussion on this sūtra, which may be summarised as follows:

The words *ata eva* in the text indicate that the ācārya does not approve of one's entering another stage of life and leaving the stage of a householder after entering it once. The sense is that when a man is married then for his entire life he should perform the sacrifice of fire. But this law will be contradicted

1. M. U., Pp. 37-38.

2. 96. 1. cf. Manu VI. 138, Yāj. III. 56.

3. VI. 33-37.

4. Mbh. XII, ch. 244. 8906, and also ch. 191.

5. Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 21. 8.

if a man is allowed to leave the householder's stage and enter Saṁnyāsa. Therefore, even when his passions are extinct, a householder should not give up his stage; for he can attain salvation in his own stage by performing the obligatory and optional actions and by renouncing the actions which are either prohibited or are actuated by desires. So says Yājñavalkya (III. 205) also: "Even in the stage of a householder one can attain salvation, if he earns money lawfully, if he is well-established in the knowledge of the reality (of the Universe), if he welcomes guests, performs śrāddhas and speaks the truth." But if it is asked, that what objection have we to the Renunciation (Saṁnyāsa) by a man who has not kindled fires (that is, who is not married), we reply that it contradicts the Vedic injunction that a Brāhmaṇa is born with three debts: to the ṛṣis he pays off by living in the stage of a student, to the gods by performing sacrifices and to the manes by begetting children. Manu (VI. 35) also agrees with it. But now an opponent may say to us:—In this case one cannot enter Saṁnyāsa even from the stage of a student. And if you say that you can ordain Saṁnyāsa according to the injunction of the Śruti (Jābāla-Upaniṣad) "*Yad (ahar) eva virajet tad (ahar) eva pravrajat*" (i.e. one should enter Saṁnyāsa the very day he is free from passions), then this injunction will apply to the case of that householder also whose passions are extinct. Compare Manu (VI. 38). It will include the following case also:—a householder who is old, whose wife is dead, and who is unable to marry again. We, therefore, think that the only necessary condition for entering Saṁnyāsa is freedom from passions. All the remaining stages of brahmacharya, gr̥hastha and vānaprastha are ordained for those who are not free from passions.

According to Baudhāyana¹ and the Vaikhānasadharma-praśna² the time for entering Saṁnyāsa is after a man is seventy years of age and when the worldly actions of a vānaprastha are over; when he has either no children or is a widower and when he meditates upon the problems of birth, death and old age and is desirous of Yoga. Or after having

1. Baud. Dh. S. II. 10. 3-6.

2. Vaikh. Dh. II. 6.

placed his children in the proper spheres of duties, having entrusted his wife to his son and having attached his mind to Paramēśvara, he should enter Saṁnyāsa. Yājñavalkya also agrees with the above.¹

The Bṛhatsaṁnyāsa-Upaniṣad² goes to a greater length and says that only that man is allowed to take up Saṁnyāsa who has undergone forty saṁskāras,³ is indifferent to everything, is of pure mind, has burnt hope, envy, jealousy and egoism, and is possessed of the four requisites.⁴

In the Nārada-parivṛāja-Upaniṣad⁵ we find a more detailed account of how one should enter Saṁnyāsa. He should first be invested with sacred thread by one born in high family and learn all the sciences, particularly the śākhā of his Veda, under a teacher whom he likes and who has already undergone the forty-four saṁskāras. For twelve years he should observe brahmacarya, for twenty-five years he should live as a gṛhastha, and twenty-five years he should spend in the vānaprastha stage. He should properly pass through all these stages of life in their respective order. He should well practise the fourfold brahmacarya, the sixfold gārhaṣṭhya and the fourfold vānaprastha stages,⁶ performing all the necessary duties prescribed for these. A Saṁnyāsin who, being endowed with the four requisites,⁷ and being above the world because of freedom from every expectation arising from the function of mind, speech and body, being above desires, and who is free from enmity, is peaceful and has his senses under control,—a Saṁnyāsin in the paramahansa stage, when he gives up his body by constantly meditating upon his own self, attains salvation.

1. Yāj. III. 57.

2. M. U. Pp. 249-50.

3. On the number of saṁskāras in different texts, see Hillebrandt: *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 41 (*Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie u. Altertumskunde*, III. 2).

4. The four means or requisites are (a) nityānityavastuviveka, (b) ihā-mutra phalabhogavirāga, (c) śamadamādisampat and (d) mumukṣutva. For explanation, see *Vedāntasāra*, (K. Sundaram Aiyar's edn. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1911) p. 23 ff.

5. M. U. Pp. 131-2.

6. For the different kinds of brahmacarya etc., see *Āś. U.* Pp. 95-100.

7. See note 4 above.

At the time of entering Saṁnyāsa, a man should take the permission of his parents, wife, sons, friends and relatives.¹ The Mahānirvāṇatantra² is very particular on this point and enjoins that nobody should enter Saṁnyāsa, leaving his old parents, devoted wife, his children and his relatives. One who does so, commits a great sin; he commits the sin of murdering his parents, his wife, and a Brāhmaṇa, who enters Saṁnyāsa without their permission. According to the Arthaśāstra also,³ a man should renounce the world, when he is free from passions and has taken the permission of religious men. And before entering into Saṁnyāsa, he should make provision for his wife and children, otherwise he is liable to punishment.

But the one necessary condition for entering Saṁnyāsa, as has already been pointed out, is vairāgya—indifference to the objects of the world. It is said in the Maitreya-Upaniṣad⁴ that neither the renunciation of actions nor the utterance of the praīṣa formula (*saṁnyastam mayā*) leads to Saṁnyāsa. What leads to Saṁnyāsa is the realisation of the Unity between the individual and the Universal Soul and not the performance of daily rites. He alone is fit for Saṁnyāsa who has given up all ideas about his body and to whom all 'worldly desires seem like eating vomitted food. A learned man should only then renounce when he becomes indifferent to all the objects of the world, otherwise he becomes an outcaste. One who renounces this world for the sake of money, food, clothes, or honour, falls from both the stages (worldly and spiritual) and can never attain salvation. The Nārada-parivrajaka-Upaniṣad⁵ also agrees with this when it says that a wise man should renounce when he has no attachments; but if he has attachment, he should remain in the householder's stage. If a twice-born renounces the world before he is free from attachments, he goes to hell.

This point of vairāgya or virakti is considered so important that in whatsoever a stage a man might be, he can renounce the world if he is free from attachments. In opposition to the above

1. K. Ś. U. p. 31, Ś. U. p. 327, cf. note 1, p. 18.

2. Mahāni. T. VIII. 17-19. For the character of this rather modern work, see, Winternitz: History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 592, n. 4.

3. II, I. 19. 36, 38 (Jolly's edn.)

4. M. U. pp. 116-117, 8-11.

5. M. U. p. 138.

view that a man should pass through the first three stages of life in their respective order, we find in other texts that a man can renounce the world whenever he likes. For instance, we read in the Jābāla Upaniṣad :¹

"He may go forth (as a Saṃnyāsin) even from the brahmacharya stage or from the gr̥hastha stage or from the vānaprastha stage. Again, whether he has taken vows or no vows, has bathed (after finishing his Veda-study) or not bathed, is entitled to sacrificial fire (i.e. married) or has no fire, he may enter Saṃnyāsa the very day he is free from attachments."

Baudhāyana² considers it to be the opinion of some that a man should renounce the world even immediately on the completion of his student career. The Āruṇi-Upaniṣad³ is of opinion that a wise man who understands the real meaning of the Veda, may, after or even before being invested with the sacred thread, renounce the following :—father, son, fire, sacred thread, actions, wife, and whatever else he possesses. The interesting thing to be noted here is that a man may become a Saṃnyāsin even before being invested with the sacred thread. The commentator Nārāyaṇa⁴ is at great pains to explain this fact. He says that if a man knows the meaning of the Vedas for some inexplicable reason, even without being invested with the sacred thread, (perhaps) due to innumerable good deeds done in previous births, then he may renounce the world even before Upanayana. As it is remembered that there were such people before like Bharata, Aitareyaka, Durvāsas, Vyāsa, Śuka, etc.

But there are people who, even though they are free from worldly desires, are not entitled to enter Saṃnyāsa. We read in the Nārada-parivṛāja-Upaniṣad⁵ that a blind man, a eunuch,

1. M. U. p. 64.

2. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 17. 2. cf. above (p. 3. f), the discussion on Āpastamba.

3. M. U. p. 9.

4. S. T. p. 374.

5. M. U. Pp. 136-137 cf. also, W. Eggers: *Das Dharmaśāstra der Vaikhāṇasas*, p. 16 sq. For the explanation why people bearing the marks of Vaiṣṇavism (cakra) and of Śaivism (liṅga) are not allowed to enter Saṃnyāsa, see, S. T. p. 430, where Schrader says: "*tayoś cakraliṅgayoś tyāgasya āmarāṇaṃ niṣiddhatvāt sarvatyāgarūpe saṃnyāse na adhikṛtau ityarthah.*"

and outcast, one who is deficient in any limb, a person attached to female society, a child, a dumb man, a pāṣaṇḍa (heretic), one who has a wheel-mark of Vaiṣṇavism or a phallus-mark of Śaivism, those who take fees for worshipping according to the Vaiṣṇava rites or the Śaiva rites, one who accepts fees for teaching the Vedas, a bald man and one who does not keep fire—those are not entitled to enter Samnyāsa, even when they possess vairāgya. And if they have taken Samnyāsa, then they are not entitled to be taught the Mahāvākyas (*tat tvam asi*, etc.). Of course, an exception can be made in the case of an ātura (i.e. a person on his deathbed¹).

A list of people not authorised to enter Samnyāsa is also found in the Bṛhatsamnyāsa-Upaniṣad:² The child of a person who is ārūḍhapatita (i.e. an apostate), one who has bad nails or black teeth, one suffering from phthisis and one destitute of some limb. The apostates from Samnyāsa, the persons who have committed a great sin (like brahmahatyā, surāpāna etc.), the Vṛātyas³ and the abhiśastas⁴ should not be allowed to take up Samnyāsa. He should not be allowed to enter Samnyāsa, who has not observed any vows, has not performed sacrifices, penance, charity, fire-offering, daily study of the Vedas, and who has fallen from truth and purity.

1. "Pṛāṇasya utkramaṇāsannakālas tvātnrasamjñitah," N. U. p. 137. But the word ātura occurs in the sense of a sick person in the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 23, 20, III. 6. 3.
2. M. U. Pp. 250-51. cf. also e.g. Gautama Dh. S. XV, 18, where a list of persons unfit for being witnesses is given.
3. Cf. Winternitz : Die Vṛātyas, München 1925 Zeitschrift for Buddhismus, Vol. VI. J. W. Hauer, Der Vṛātya, I. 1928. Here evidently in the sense of Sāvitrīpatita, see Viṣṇu Smṛti XXVII, 27 and Manu X, 20.
4. See Āp. Dh. S. I. 24, 6-9.

CHAPTER II

Different Kinds of Saṁnyāsins

We now come to the different kinds of Saṁnyāsa and the Saṁnyāsins. In Manu¹ we find only two terms—Yati and Vedasaṁnyāsika. In Baudhāyana² also we find the term Vedasaṁnyāsika. The commentator Govinda remarks that the duties here prescribed refer to the gr̥hastha, for there can be no renunciation of the Veda, as it is against the scriptures. We find the prohibition of the veda-saṁnyāsa in the Vasiṣṭha Smṛti³ where it is said that by renouncing the Veda one becomes a Śūdra. A term similar to Vedasaṁnyāsika is ghorasaṁnyāsika, which, according to the Āśramopaniṣad⁴ is a kind of gr̥hastha. He performs his duties with water drawn from a well and purified, sustains his daily life by gleaned corn, performs sacrifices lasting a hundred years (i.e. whole life) and prays for the realisation of the soul.

The Jābāla-Upaniṣad⁵ mentions parivrāj, ātura and paramahṁsa. A parivrāj has discoloured clothes, is shaved, has no possessions, is pure, does not observe enmity towards any one lives upon begging and tends to become one with Brahman. An ātura can renounce merely by thought or by speech. The paramahṁsas like Saṁvartaka, Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Durvāsas, Ṛbhu, Nidāgha, Jaḍabharata, Dattātreyā, Raivataka and others⁶ have no caste or creed signs, have no definite mode of life and though not mad behave like mad people. A paramahṁsa should meditate upon Self, throwing away his three staves, water-bowl, network bag,⁷ his bowl, strainer for purifying water, hair-tuft (śikhā) and the sacred thread into water, pronouncing the

1. VI. 86.

2. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18. 24. cf. *Bühler's* note on this Sūtra, S. B. E. XIV, p. 283.

3. X. 4.

4. M. U., Pp. 96-98.

5. M. U. Pp. 68-71.

6. Cf. Winternitz, H. I. L. I. 549, n. 1 and 561.

7. Śikya, cf. Marāṭhī:—*śinke*, Hindi-Chīnkā, see also Eggers: *Das Dharmaśūtra der Vaikhānasas*, III. 8., note 1, p. 88.

formula: *bhūḥ svāhā*. He is naked, free from the pairs of opposites of pain and pleasure etc., has no possessions, is well-accomplished in the path of Brahman, is of pure mind, begs passionately at the proper time with the bowl of his stomach only for keeping up his life and becoming indifferent to gain or loss, he resides in empty houses, temples, thickets of grass, near ant-hills,¹ under the trees, in the house of a potter, or in the room for the sacrificial fire, on the beach of a river, in mountain-caves, a hollow of a tree or a deserted plain. He makes no fixed abode, no efforts for anything, has no attachments, is always engaged in meditating upon the pure,² is devoted to the Self and is intent upon uprooting evil actions. One, who thus gives up his body by renunciation, is verily a paramahansa.

In the Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad³ we find that there are four kinds of bhikṣus who desire mokṣa. They are:—Kuṭicaka, Bahūdaka, Hamsa and Paramahamsa. To the Kuṭicaka class belong Gautama, Bharadvāja, Yājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭha and others. They eat eight morsels a day and desire only mokṣa through Yoga. The Bahūdakas, having three staves, a water-pot, a tuft of hair, a sacred thread and reddish-brown cloth, beg eight morsels of food (except honey and meat) at the house of a brahmarṣi and desire for mokṣa through Yoga. The Hamsas should not reside for more than one night in a village, for more than five nights in a town, and for more than seven nights in a field. They eat cow-dung and drink cow-urine and daily observe the Cāndrayāna-vow. They also desire for mokṣa through Yoga. The Paramahamsas like Saṃvartaka, Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Jaḍabharata, Dattātreya, Śuka, Vāmadeva, Hārītaka and others⁴ eat eight morsels a day and desire mokṣa through Yoga. They reside under the trees, in an empty house or at a burning-ground. They may or may not have clothes. Neither good (dharma) nor evil (adharma), neither gain nor loss exist for them. They have

1. Cf. *Valmīkāgranimagnamūrtiḥ*, etc. Śakuntalā, VII. 11.

2. *Śukladhyānaparāyaṇaḥ*, One engaged in meditation "on pure spirit" (M. W.), "meditation on the pure, on pure morality" (Böhtlingk). Cf. Hemacandra, *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* I, 252.

3. M. U., Pp. 233-236.

4. Compare this list with that of the J. U. above.

nothing to do with purity or impurity.¹ A clod of earth, a stone or gold are of the same value to them. They beg their food from every caste and realise their self everywhere.

The division of the Saṃnyāsins into four kinds is acceptable to the Hārīta-Smṛti also.² Although the Āśrama-Upaniṣad³ also recognises the four kinds alluded to above, and although their description is also similar (even verbally) to that given by the Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad (see above), yet there are some minor points which are peculiar to it and are, therefore, given here :

The Kuṭīcakas beg their meals in the houses of their sons. The Bahūdakas beg their meals in the houses of brāhmaṇas of good conduct and they carry shoes, a seat and have a loin-cloth (in addition to the things prescribed for them by the Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad). The Haṃsas carry one staff, have no tuft of hair, but have their sacred thread and have their net-work bag and water-pot in their hands and reside for five nights in sacred places (tīrthas). They observe kṛcchracāndrāyaṇa vows etc., lasting for one or two nights. The Paramahaṃsas have no staff, are shaved and have a loin-cloth and a patched garment. They are free from falsehood, bear every trouble, behave equally towards all beings and things and beg their meals from all the four castes as the occasion might require.

The Nārada-parivṛājaka-Upaniṣad gives two classifications of Saṃnyāsins. According to one classification,⁴ they are of six kinds : Kuṭīcaka, Bahūdaka, Haṃsa, Paramahaṃsa, Turīyātīta and Avadhūta. A Kuṭīcaka has a tuft of hair, sacred thread, staff, waterpot, a loin-cloth and śāṭī (a bigger loin-cloth); he waits upon his parents and preceptors, possesses nothing except a pot, a shovel, a śikya etc.; he eats by begging food at one place only, has a white vertical mark on his fore-head and carries three staves. A Bahūdaka has a tuft of hair, a cloth etc., has three

1. The Vaikh. Dh. is almost identical with this account. It does not, however, give the list of the paramahaṃsas, and instead of reading:—*Śuddhāśuddhadvaitavivarjitāḥ* (Bhī. U.) it reads:—*na teṣāṃ...śuddhyāśuddhī ityādi dvaitaṃ*.

2. X. 13-14., quoted by Mādhava in his Comm. on Parāśara (see p. 160), (Bombay, S. S.). Vol. 48.

3. M. U., Pp. 100-103.

4. M. U., Pp. 174-175.

marks on his fore-head and resembles the Kuṭīcaka in all other respects and eats eight morsels like a bee (begging from different houses and not one). A Hama has matted hair, has three vertical marks on his fore-head, eats food like a bee without making any previous arrangement for it and has a rag for his loins. A Paramahama has no tuft of hair or sacred thread, begs his meals from five houses only, has no other alms-bowl except his own hands, has one loin-cloth, one śāṭī and one bamboo staff or has a śāṭī only. He besmears himself with ashes and renounces everything else. A Turīyātīta has a cow-mouth, (i.e., eats with his mouth only without the help of his hands ?) and eats fruits only. If he eats corn, then he begs it from three houses only. He has no other belongings except his body, is naked and regards his body like a corpse. An Avadhūta has no restrictions, eats his meals like a big serpent from all the castes except those who are either abhiśastas¹ or outcastes. He is always engaged in meditating upon his own self.

In contradiction to the above rules about the Paramahama's wearing a śāṭī, a loin-cloth, and a bamboo-staff is the following passage in this very Upaniṣad² where it is said that the last three kinds of Samnyāsins have no girdle, no loin-cloth, no garments, no water-pot, no staff and they beg their meals from every caste and are stark naked.

Another classification of the Samnyāsins is introduced by a question of Nārada : ³

Then Nārada asked Brahman : Respected sir, you have just now said that Samnyāsa is the negation of all the actions (i.e., duties), and you again say that a Samnyāsin should observe the duties of his stage. How do you reconcile these contradictory statements ?

Brahman replied : A soul residing in body has four stages :— Jāgrat (wakeful), svapna (dream), suṣupti (deep sleep) and turīya (the fourth, i.e., emancipation). The human beings are subject to these stages and so they either perform actions or are devoted to knowledge and non-attachment.

1. See note 4, p. 23.

2. M. U., p. 175.

M. U., pp. 170-173.

Nārada again asked : If it is so, then of how many kinds is Saṁnyāsa, and what are the different duties connected with them ?

Brahman replied : Really speaking Saṁnyāsa is only one ; but on account of ignorance, inability and absence of actions, it divided itself into three kinds¹ and subsequently became of four kinds : vairāgya-saṁnyāsa, jñāna-saṁnyāsa, Jñānavairāgya-saṁnyāsa and karma-saṁnyāsa.

A vairāgya-saṁnyāsin is he who, on account of the absence of the wicked god of love in him, becomes free from desires for the objects of senses, and on account of good deeds done before, enters Saṁnyāsa..

He alone is a jñāna-saṁnyāsin, who, endowed with the four requisites² has renounced all the worldly objects on account of the knowledge of the śāstras and on account of hearing the transitory experiences of the better worlds.³ He renounces the entire mundane existence consisting of anger, jealousy, peevishness, egoism and pride. He renounces attachment towards his body in

1. The phrase :—*ajñānena aśaktivaśāt karmalopataś ca traividhyam etya* has been differently explained by Schrader in his *Ṭippaṇī* : *ajñānena jñānājñānimittena vidvadvividiṣaṁnyāsāviti dvau, aśaktivaśāt karmalopataśca aśaktinimittakakarmasankocāt ca tṛtīya āturasaṁnyāsa iti traividhyam*. That is—the term *ajñānena* means “on account of knowledge and ignorance”, and the two kinds of Saṁnyāsins arising out of them are *Vidvatsaṁnyāsin* and *Vividiṣaṁnyāsin* respectively. The third kind arises from the want of actions as a result of inability, and *ātura* belongs to this third class. S. T. p. 435.

Prof. Winternitz wrote in a letter to me : “The passage is far from clear, and Schrader’s commentary is not satisfactory. The meaning seems to be that there is only one saṁnyāsa, viz., vairāgya, but on account of ignorance (of this fact) or of incapability (to attain vairāgya at once), or by giving up works (after having gone through the first three āśramas), there are three more kinds of saṁnyāsa.”

2. See note 4, p. 20.

3. The text reads :—*puṇyalokānubhava-śravaṇāt*. I have corrected the translation of the word *puṇyaloka* from ‘holy worlds’ to ‘better worlds’ as suggested by Prof. Winternitz. He thinks that the whole phrase should be translated as : ‘On account of hearing about the experiences made in the better worlds.’ He adds : It may mean as Schrader suggests in his *ṭippaṇī*, ‘experiences made in the better worlds (as to the transitoriness even of these better worlds)’ ; but the text says nothing about the transitoriness ; in my opinion *puṇyaloka* means ‘other than human worlds’.

the shape of desire for wife, money and the worlds, and also the attachment towards learning and the better worlds. He considers that all the worldly objects are as worthless as vomitted food.

A jñānavairāgya-samnyāsin first practises everything (student-life, householder's life and a forester's life) in due order and then experiences every other thing. Then he realises his own self by knowledge and non-attachment and having no other thing with himself except his body, he enters Samnyāsa and goes about naked.

A karma-samnyāsin is he who, after having lived as a student, enters the stage of a householder, then that of a forester and finally, though he may not have acquired vairāgya, he enters Samnyāsa in the natural order of the four stages of life.

One who enters Samnyāsa from the brahmacharya stage only and then goes about naked is a vairāgya-samnyāsin. One who enters Samnyāsa on account of knowledge is a jñāna-samnyāsin; and he, who enters Samnyāsa with a desire to attain knowledge, is a karmasamnyāsin.

The karma-samnyāsa also is of two kinds:—nimitta-samnyāsa (due to some particular reason) and animitta-samnyāsa. The nimittasamnyāsa is the āturasamnyāsa, and the animitta-samnyāsa is the karma-samnyāsa (entered in the respective order of the āśramas). The nimitta-samnyāsa is that which is entered into at the time of death by one who, on account of illness, weakness etc., has become incapable of all actions.

If a person resigns in due order after having become firm, knowing that everything which is created is destructible, and regarding everything like body etc., as a thing to be given up,

*Hamsah śuciṣad vasur antarikṣasad hotā vediṣad atithir duroṇa-sat | Nṛṣad varasad ṛtasad vyomasad abjā gojā ṛtajā adriajā rtaṃ br̥hat.*¹

and having become convinced that everything else except Brahman is destructible, this kind of Samnyāsa is called an animitta-samnyāsa.

1. R. V. IV, 40, 5; Kāthaka Upaniṣad V. 2.

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If a person resigns in due order after having become firm, knowing that everything which is created is destructible, and regarding everything like body etc., as a thing to be given up,

*Haṃsah śuciṣad vasur antarikṣasad hotā vedīṣad atithir duroṇa-
sat | Nṛṣad varasad ṛtasad vyomasad abjā gojā ṛtajā adrijā
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1. R. V. IV, 40, 5; Kāthaka Upaniṣad V. 2.

CHAPTER III

The Appearance and the Outfit of a Saṃnyāsin

The external signs of a Saṃnyāsin, according to Manu,¹ are that he should have his hair, nails and whiskers clipped, should have a bowl for begging, staff and a water-pot. The pots should not be metallic but of bottle-gourd, wood, earth or split bamboo, and they should not be damaged. They are cleansed by water only (that is, earth etc. are not required for cleansing them), like the sacrificial pots. According to Yājñavalkya,² cow's hair may also be used for cleansing the pots. Baudhāyana³ ordains that an ascetic should go to the forest, having his head including even the tuft of hair shaved, should have a loin-cloth to cover himself, and his upper garments should be reddish brown.

According to Gautama⁴ he may have his head shaved entirely or with the tuft of hair left, and he should wear a cloth to cover his nakedness. This cloth, according to some, should be some cast-off cloth washed.

In the Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad⁵ it is mentioned that an ascetic should have hair in his arm-pits and lower parts and should have a strainer (pavitra) for protecting the living creatures. In the same Upaniṣad, in a verse-quotation are enumerated several other things like a kuṇḍikā (a water-pot), camasa (a cup), śikya (a net-work bag), three staves, shoes, a cloth for protection against winter, a loin-cloth, a strainer, a bathing-cloth and an upper garment.

According to the Āruṇi and the Kāṭhaśruti-Upaniṣads⁶ not only the hair along with śikhā are to be removed, but also the sacred thread is to be thrown away. The renunciation of the sacred thread is prescribed by other texts of the Upaniṣads also.⁷

1. VI. 52 sq. cf, also Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 17. 10, and Mbh. XII, Ch. 244, 8910, and Viṣṇu, Ch. 96, 7-8.

2. III. 60.

3. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 6. 11. 17-20.

4. Gaut. Dh. S. I. 3. 17-18, 21, Viṣṇu. Ch. 96, 13.

5. M. U., Pp. 20-21, cf. also Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 12 and 32,

6. M. U., Pp. 7-8 and 36.

7. Ār. U. p. 4, P. H. U. p. 46; J. U. p. 67, N. U. p. 139 P. B. U. p. 297.

The question, as to whether a Saṁnyāsin ought to throw away his sacred thread or not, is very interesting. The Āśrama-, Brādaparivrājaka—and Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣads prescribe the sacred thread for the kuṭīcakas and the bahūdakas.¹

In the Vaikhānasadharmapraśna² we have a passage about the sacred thread which Caland translates: "He now takes the cordle, the four sacred strings, or one single string, the hide of a black antelope and an upper garment in the manner as described formerly (at the Upanayana II. 5)".

In the commentary of Mādhava on the Parāśara Smṛti,³ we find an interesting discussion as to the desirability or otherwise of entering the paramahaṁsa stage where the sacred thread and all other rights of a twice-born are done away with. Mādhava quotes as pūrvapakṣa the opinions of Hārīta, Baudhāyana and Atri.⁴

All those (persons in the) four stages, who renounce their daily rites of morning and evening, even though they perform severe penances, fall from the brāhmaṇhood.

How can those brāhmaṇas be regarded as brāhmaṇas, who do not perform the daily rites of morning and evening?

The sacred thread is the means for acquiring mokṣa for all the twice-born. Those who renounce it by foolishness, go to hell.

The answer given to the arguments above is that all these texts prescribing the necessity of wearing the sacred thread

1. See Ch. II, above.

2. II. 7. Cf. Eggers, Das Dharmasūtra d. Vaikhānasas, note 9, II. 7. (7), p. 84: "Bei der Jünglingsweihe, auf die verwiesen wird, kommt natürlich nur eine Schnur in Betracht. vgl. II 2. (2), n. 6. p. 82", where he says:—"die vier Schnüre des vierten Āśrama (in dem von den Smṛtas u. a. keine Schnur getragen wird) und andererseits die eine Schnur des ersten und die zwei Schnüre des zweiten Āśrama (allgemein)."

3. Bombay. S. S., Vol. 48, Pp. 164-165.

4. Catvāro'pyāśramā hyete sandhyāvandanavarjitāḥ, Brāhmaṇyād eva hīyante Yadyapyugratapodharāḥ. (Hārīta. 14. 18). Anāgatām tu ye pūrvām anātītām tu paścimām, Sandhyām nopāsate viprāḥ katham te brāhmaṇāḥ smṛtāḥ. (Baudh. Dh. 3. II, 4, 7 5.)

Yajñopavītaṁ sarveṣāṁ dvijānāṁ muktisādhanaṁ, Parityajanti ye mohān narā nirayagāmināḥ. (Atri. 3).

can be applied to the cases of other ascetics except a paramahansa. Whereas the stage of paramahansa is directly prescribed, and so it cannot be objected to against.

Of course, this is begging the question.

The next important question is that of staff or *daṇḍa*. It is no wonder if Farquhar¹ is in a difficulty to find "the original distinction" between "*ekadaṇḍin*" and "*tridaṇḍin*". For, not only in the *Mahābhārata*, but even in the following works which have to be taken into consideration for deciding the question, there are contradictory injunctions prescribing one or three or none of the staves. In the *Manusmṛti*² no express mention is made of the number of staves. Only this much is said that he should have a pot and should be a *daṇḍin*, which may mean a bearer of one or three *daṇḍas*. But in the following passage, three staves are mentioned :

"He is said to possess three staves, who in his intellect preserves the three staves (i.e. control) of speech, mind and body. When a man deposits these three *daṇḍas* with all the living beings (i.e. when he observes the control of speech, mind and body towards all living beings), and when he has controlled passion and anger, then he attains success".³

In the *Vaikhānasa-dharmapraśna*,⁴ we find the prescription of three staves. *Baudhāyana* is not very particular about the number. According to him an ascetic may have one or three staves.⁵

According to the *Mahābhārata*, a *Samnyāsin* should be revered irrespective of his having one or three staves, being shaved or otherwise and even when he has only reddish-brown cloth.⁶

Mādhava in his commentary on *Parāśara*⁷ quotes (a) *Atri*, according to whom all the four kinds of *Samnyāsins* are to

1. J. R. A. S., 1925, p. 479 sq.

2. VI. 52.

3. *Manu*. XII 10-11, cf. also "*saptāṅgasyeha rājyasya viṣṭabdhasya tridaṇḍavat*", IX. 296.

4. III. 6. 9 and II. 6. 2.

5. *Baudh. Dh. S.* II. 10. 1.

6. *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, ch. 105, 8-9.

7. *Ācārakāṇḍa*, Vol. I, pt. II. (*Bomb. S. S.* 48).

possess three staves, and (b) Hārīta, according to whom if the water-strainer or the three staves are lost through carelessness, then an ascetic should wander with one staff of bamboo or palāśa-bilva, till he gets the three staves. Yājñavalkya also will have staves for an ascetic.¹

The Bhikṣuka and the Āśrama-Upaniṣads² and the Vaikhāṇasa-dharmapraśna³ prescribe three staves for the babūdakas.

In the Nārada-parivrajaka-Upaniṣad⁴ we find that a vividharmasannyāsin should have one staff measuring from head to foot, and it should be an undamaged, even, smooth and faultless (kākaprṣṭha)⁵ bamboo stick. At another place, this Upaniṣad⁶ prescribes the staff for kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṃsa and paramahaṃsa, and in a passage further denies it to paramahaṃsa.

The Paramahaṃsa-Upaniṣad divides the paramahaṃsas into two categories of higher and lower types. For the lower type it prescribes the staff, but prohibits it for the higher type.⁷

In the Turīyātītāvadhūta-Upaniṣad,⁸ we read that a turīyātīta passes through the stages of kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṃsa and paramahaṃsa in their respective order and then he deposits his staff, water-pot, girdle-thread, loin-cloth and the upper garment in water.

But in the Āruṇi-Upaniṣad⁹ even a kuṭicaka renounces his family, his pot, his water-strainer, his staves and the worlds.

According to the Jābāla-Upaniṣad,¹⁰ a paramahaṃsa ought to renounce the three staves, water-pot, net-work-bag, pot, water-strainer, tuft of hair and the sacred thread.

1. III. 58.

2. M. U. p. 234 and 101.

3. 1. 9. 3.

4. M. U. p. 169.

5. Kākaprṣṭha is, according to Schrader, a black mark, a fault in a bamboo-stick. S. T. p. 434.

6. See Ch. II., notes 4, p. 26 and 2, p. 27 and M. U. p. 141.

7. M. U. pp. 46-47.

8. M. U. p. 242.

9. M. U. p. 6.

10. M. U. p. 70.

The account in the Śāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣad, however, is very peculiar.¹ We read there:

"A man, having entered the last āśrama, carrying five mātṛās as far as possible, looking upon the Universe as the essence of Brahman and bearing the marks of Viṣṇu should wander over the earth.

Three staves, the sacred thread, a cloth to cover the loins, a network-bag and a water-strainer, these he should possess as long as he lives.

These five (things) are the mātṛās of a Yati, and they are said to be the mātṛās of Brahman. These he should not give up till death and even at the end they should be buried along with him.

The marks of Viṣṇu are of two kinds, manifest and unmanifest.² He undoubtedly falls (into hell) who renounces even one of them.

Three staves are the marks of Viṣṇu and are the means of salvation for the brāhmaṇas. They are the cessation of all the duties. This is the teaching of the Vedas.

Now, dear (pupil) ! the parivrājakas are of four kinds :—kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṃsa and paramahaṃsa. All these possess the marks of Viṣṇu, tuft of hair and the sacred thread. They are of pure mind, realise their soul as Brahman through their soul and are given to meditate upon the Pure and Conscious Form. They mutter (their prayers), observe yamas and niyamas, are of good conduct and are of good fame."

1. M. U. pp. 323-324.

2. Upon the two kinds of viṣṇuliṅgas, see S. T. p. 483.

CHAPTER IV

Daily Life of a Saṁnyāsin

For the sake of perfection a Saṁnyāsin should always remain alone and should not be accompanied by anyone. Being fully convinced that perfection (i.e. final emancipation) attends only a solitary man, such a man neither forsakes nor is forsaken. He should have no fire and no home, and if he goes to a village, he should do so to get food. He should be indifferent to everything and be a man of firm purpose, silent and have his mind concentrated.¹

The Saṁnyāsa—Paramahaṁsa—and the Nārada-parivṛāja-paniṣads,² the Dakṣasmṛti³ and the Vaikhānasa-dharma-praśna⁴ enjoin that a Saṁnyāsin should wander alone without any fixed abode. As long as he is alone he is a bhikṣu: two make a pair, three a village and more a town. A town or village or a pair should not be formed, for by doing so a Yati falls from his duties. By contact and proximity, the Saṁnyāsins will certainly talk on politics or alms or will indulge in affection, back-biting and envy.

During the rains an ascetic should have a fixed abode, and for the remaining eight months he should wander alone.⁵ Or he might wander for two months only.⁶ He should have no board (collection) and should enter the village for begging only. He should not live the second night in a village out of (rainy) season.⁷

In the Vaikhānasa-dharmapraśna⁸ we read that an ascetic should be indifferent to respect or insult, should renounce dis-

1. Manu VI. 42-43, cf. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18. 22, and Mbh. Śāntiparvan, Ch. 242, 8832.

2. M. U. Pp. 21, 51, 141 and 145.

3. Quoted by Mādhava in Parāśara, (Bombay S. S., Vol. 48) p. 180.

4. III. 6.

5. Gaut. Dh. S. I. 3. 12, Baudh. Dh. S. II. 6. 11. 20. on Bauddhāyana, Bühler remarks: "This rule shows that the Vasso of the Bauddhas is also derived from a Brahmanical source."

6. M. U. p. 8.

7. Gaut. Dh. S. I. 3., 10, 13 and 20, cf. also Viṣṇu, Ch. 96, 12.

8. III. 6. 6-8.

cussion, anger, greed, error or falsehood. He should not reside at one place for more than one day, except during the four months of rain. The four months of rainy season should be spent by him at one place only.

As regards food, Manu¹ says that he should beg it once in a day. He should not be attached to the variety or the details of food. If a Yati is attached to begging, then he becomes attached even to the objects of senses. He should go to beg in a house where there is no smoke, where the pestal has been laid aside (that is, when the beating of paddy with the pestal has ceased), where there is no more fire, where people have already finished their meals and where the dishes have already been removed. He should feel no dejection if he gets no alms, nor should he be pleased when he gets them. He should beg only so much as would suffice for keeping his life and should have no attachment to household possessions or utensils. He should totally avoid the alms which are specially praised to him, for even the emancipated Yati is bound down by such gifts. He should control his senses by means of eating little food and standing and sitting in solitude. He should abandon all desire for sweet food.

Baudhāyana² says that an ascetic should ask for alms from Brāhmaṇas, both, such as live in the houses (śālīnas) and such as lead a wandering life (yāyāvaras),³ after the vaiśvadeva offering. In begging he should always address with the word *bhavat*. He should wait for the alms only so long as the time necessary for milking a cow. Then he should place the alms on pure ground, wash his hands and feet and announce the first morsel to the sun with the mantras "*Ud u tyam*" etc.,⁴ and "*Citram*" etc.⁵ Then he should wash and sip some water and announce it to the Brahman with the mantra "*Brahma jajñānam*" etc.⁶ It is said that he (the ascetic) represents the kindling etc., of the sacred fires. His prāṇa is the Gārhapatya fire, his apāna

1. VI. 55-59, cf. Mbh. XII Ch. 242, 8831 and Ch. 245, 8920, Viṣṇu, Ch. 96, 2-6; Vasiṣṭha X, 7-9; Gaut. Dh. S. I. 3. 13-15.

2. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18, 4-15 and Vaikh Dh. III. 7, 1-9.

3. Āp. Ś. S. V. 3. 22 and XI. 17. 1.

4. R V. I. 50. 1.

5. R. V. I. 115. 1.

6. T. Ā. X. 1. 10.

Anvāhāryapacana, his vyāna the Āhavanīya, his udāna the Abhya, and his samāna is the Āvasathya. All these fires reside in the body. Therefore he offers sacrifice in his self alone.¹ This is the sacrifice to the Self. "Having compassionately shared the food with the Beings (bhūtas), the ascetic should sprinkle the remainder with water and eat it like medicine (i.e., without relishing the taste)." After eating he should sip water and worship the sun with the mantra "*Ud :vayaṃ tamasaspari*" etc.² Here Baudhāyana quotes verses which say :

"An ascetic should eat only that food which is neither begged nor desired, but which he receives spontaneously and which is sufficient only just to keep up his life.

"A muni should eat eight morsels of food, a forester sixteen, a householder thirty-two, but a student has no limit.

"He might either beg food from all castes or have one meal from the twice-born or not. He should take only grains of corn, oil-cake, barley-gruel, sour-milk and milk. There are eight things which do not break the vow of an ascetic : roots, ghee milk, sacrificial food, desire of a brāhmaṇa, teacher's words and medicine".³

Yājñavalkya⁴ says that a man having only the realisation of soul as the object of pleasure, should enter Saṁnyāsa and should resort to begging. He should be careful at the time of begging and should beg in the evening without drawing the attention of the people to himself and when there are no beggars about in the village. He should not be greedy, but should beg food only to keep up his life.

According to the Saṁnyāsa Upaniṣad,⁵ an ascetic may live upon air or water or prescribed corn or ripe fruits. But if he lives upon alms, then he should not himself give charity.⁶ This fact is emphasized in the Yatidharmasamgraha of Viśveśvara,⁷ where, according to Kratu, an ascetic who collects his alms like a bee and

1. Here the Commentator remarks that the word *eva* in the text serves to remove the objection: "That food which is not offered in fire and the foremost part of which is not offered, should not be eaten."—Āp. Dh. S. II. 15. 13.

2. T. S. IV. 1, 7, 4.

3. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18, 19.

4. III. 58-59.

5. M. U. p. 18.

6. M. U. p. 21.

7. A. S. S., Vol 60, p. 110.

then offers them to brāhmaṇas, goes to hell ; and the brāhmaṇa who eats those alms, must perform the Cāndrāyaṇa penance ; and according to the Bahvṛcapariśiṣṭa, an ascetic who offers food in charity, mars by his action the following four : the giver, the food, his own self and the person to whom he gives the food.

According to the Kāṭhaśruti Upaniṣad,¹ an ascetic should beg his meals from all four castes. He should eat using his hands as a bowl. He should eat his food like medicine² and should eat whatever he gets to keep up his life, so that his belly may not protrude, but on the other hand he should be lean and thin. On this Schrader remarks in his tippanī³ that according to the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, as people protect their wound with oil etc., with this very idea an ascetic, only to keep up his life, should protect his body which is like a wound and which emits pus through nine openings.⁴

According to the Nārada-parivṛājaka Upaniṣad,⁵ a kuṭīcaka should beg at one particular place ; a bahūdaka should beg from different places, like a bee collecting honey from different flowers, but not just what he desires ; a haṃsa should beg eight morsels from eight houses ; a paramahansa should beg from five houses, using his hands as a bowl ; a turīyātīta should eat fruits like a cow ; and an avadhūta should behave like a python, eating anything and everything from all the castes.

According to the Vaiṣṇāsadharmaśāstra,⁶ an ascetic should tie the reddish brown cloth, water-strainer etc., to his three staves and should carry them on his neck, holding them with his left hand, and in his right hand he should have his begging bowl. He should beg once a day from the houses of the pure brāhmaṇas after the Vaiśvadeva sacrifice. He should walk neither quickly nor slowly. He should not go to the house of anyone except at the time of begging. For begging, he should not go for more than two miles.⁷

1. M. U. pp. 32-33.

2. Cf. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18, 10, quoted under note 137.

3. S. T. p. 388.

4. See Milindapaṇṇa, III. 6. (S. B. E. XXXV, p. 115).

5. M. U. p. 176-177.

6. Vaiṣṇ. Dh. III. 6. 9 and 11.

7. Ibid., III. 7, 3-5.

CHAPTER V

Behaviour of a Saṁnyāsin.

Now we come to the question of an ascetic's behaviour and mental and moral condition.

Manu¹ lays down that an ascetic should have an indifferent mind and should not hoard anything. He should keep silence and should be concentrated. He should behave equally towards all. He should not desire for either death or life, but should wait for his death as a servant waits for his wages. He should walk looking carefully at the ground, should drink water purified through the strainer, should speak truth and should act with pure heart. He should patiently bear the provoking speech and should not insult anybody, and residing in this body should not bear enmity towards anyone. He should not show his anger to an angry person, and even though censured should speak well of the insulter. He should not utter an untrue speech.² He should delight in the contemplation of the Supreme Spirit, should be indifferent and free from sensual desires. He should wander alone desirous of attaining the bliss. He becomes immortal by control of senses, destruction of attachment or aversion and non-injury to the living beings. In order to purify himself of the sin of unconsciously killing the living beings either by day or by night, a yati should take a bath and should perform six prāṇāyāmas. People attain the stage of

1. Manu VI. 43-49, 60, 69, 75; Cf. also Viṣṇu, Ch. 96, 9, 14-23; Vyāraṅgasuttaṁ I. 7. 8. 4; Arthaśāstra (Ind. ed. Shama-Sāstri) p. 8, 11.

2. In the text we have: *saptadvārāvākīrṇāṃ ca na vācam anṛtāṃ vadet*. The meaning of *saptadvārāvākīrṇāṃ* is not clear. The seven doors, according to Medhātithi are: (1) dharmārtha, (2) dharmakāma, (3) arthakāma, (4) kāmārtha, (5) kāmādharmā, (6) arthādharmā and (7) dharmārthakāma; or the seven life-breaths in the head. According to Bullūka they are the five senses, mind and ego. According to others, says Bullūka, they are the seven worlds.

Jha remarks: "This verse is quoted in Aparārka (p. 954) which, reading *na vācam samudīrayet* (for *na vācam anṛtāṃ vadet*), explains this much misunderstood second line as—He should not utter words vitiated by (1) desire, (2) anger, (3) greed, (4) delusion, (5) arrogance, (6) jealousy and (7) vanity." It is quoted also in Parāśaramādhava (Ācāra p. 569).

salvation by non-injury, control of senses, the Vedic rites and practising of severe austerities. He should not think ill of that man who cut his arm, nor should he think well of the other man who besmears it with sandal.

Gautama¹ opines that a bhikṣu should abandon all desires for sweet food and control his speech, eyes and actions. He should not appropriate the parts of plants and trees, except such as have become detached spontaneously. He should not destroy seeds, should behave evenly towards all irrespective of injury or favour and should not indulge in an undertaking.

Baudhāyana² says that the vows to be observed by an ascetic are : non-injury, truth, absence of stealing, giving up of sexual intercourse and liberality. There are five secondary vows also : absence of anger, service of the teacher, absence of negligence, purity of the body and purity of food.

It is declared in the Veda, "On that (occasion) he shall rigidly keep silence ; pressing the teeth together he may converse, without opening his mouth, as much as is necessary with teachers deeply versed in the three Vedas (and) with ascetics possessing a great knowledge of the scriptures, not with women nor when he would break his vow."

(Let him keep) only one of (the rules which enjoin) standing (in the day-time), rigid silence, and sitting (at night) with crossed legs ; let him not keep all three together. It is declared in the Veda, "And he who has gone there may eat, in times of distress, a small quantity of the food prescribed by his vow after (having partaken of other dishes), provided he does not break his vow."³ He should perform his evening devotions by reciting the verses called Vāruṇis and his morning devotions by reciting the verses called Maitris.⁴ He should utter speech only at the private recitation of the Veda.

An ascetic should also give up desire, anger, greed, infatuation, hypocrisy, pride, falsehood and such other things.⁵

1. Gaut. Dh. S. I. 3. 15, 17, 19, 22-24.

2. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 18, 2-3, 16-18, 21-22.

3. Bühler's translation, S. B. E. XIV, p. 282, 16-18.

4. "The Maitris occur in Taitt. Saṃhitā III, 4, 11. 5, and the Vāruṇis follow them immediately." Bühler, S. B. E. XIV, p. 283, n. 21.

5. Ār. U., p. 8.

According to the Paramahansa-Upaniṣad,¹ an ascetic should have no garments ; he should not bow down to anyone ; he should not pray to the gods or to the manes, nor should he offer them sacrifice. He should neither invite nor dismiss the gods and should have nothing to do with mantras, meditation or worshipping. In his actions he has neither a goal nor a non-goal; neither anything separate from him nor non-separate ; he has neither the distinction of day or night nor any thing except his own self. He should have no fixed abode. He should not accept gold, nor, not even look at it. If it were argued that mere looking at gold cannot be an obstacle in the path of an ascetic, then we say, it is. If a bhikṣu looks at gold with desire, he incurs the sin of killing brāhmaṇa ; if he touches it with desire, he becomes untouchable ; if he accepts it with desire, he destroys his own self. Therefore, he should check himself so that he may not look, touch or accept gold with desire. He is neither sorry in pain nor desirous of pleasure. He abandons all attachments and is indifferent to all good or bad things. He neither hates nor loves anything. All his senses stop their function. He becomes steadfast in knowledge and his self resides for ever in the Supreme Self.

According to the Nārada-parivṛāja-Upaniṣad² an ascetic certainly attains salvation, when he behaves like (a) ajihma (b) paṇḍaka, (c) paṅgu, (d) andha, (e) badhira and (f) mugdha.

(a) One who even at the time of eating has no attachment towards the food, whether it is sweet or otherwise, and who speaks little and true and for the good of others, he is called ajihma.

(b) One who remains unaffected by a woman, whether she is born to-day or is sixteen years old or hundred years old, he is called paṇḍaka.

(c) One whose only walk is for begging the alms or attending the calls of nature and who does not walk for more than a rojana, he is called paṅgu.

1. M. U., Pp. 50-54.

2. M. U., Pp. 146-147. These verses, with minor differences in the readings, are quoted by Mādhava in his Commentary on Parāśara, as from Medhātithi. (Bom. S. S.) Vol. 48, Pp. 185-187.

(d) One whose eyes do not observe more than four yugas of ground in front, whether walking or standing, he is called andha.

(e) One who, in spite of hearing words which are either beneficial or injurious, pleasant or sorrowful, does not seem to have listened to them, he is called badhira.

(f) One who remains unaffected in the midst of the objects of senses, in spite of his potentiality to enjoy them, and who always behaves like a man in sleep, he is called mugdha.

In another passage¹ this Upaniṣad gives a detailed account of the daily life and behaviour of an ascetic. A kuṭīcaka is to take his bath thrice a day, a bahūdaka twice and a haṃsa once. A paramahaṃsa should take a mental bath, a turīyātīta is to bathe in the ashes and an avadhūta should have an aerial bath.

A kuṭīcaka should have a perpendicular mark on his forehead, a bahūdaka three marks, a haṃsa three perpendicular marks; a paramahaṃsa should besmear ashes, a turīyātīta should have a tilakapuṇḍra (?) and an avadhūta nothing.

A kuṭīcaka should shave once in a season, a bahūdaka once in two seasons, a haṃsa and a paramahaṃsa do not shave. The latter, however, may (if he likes ?) get himself shaved once in half a year. Turīyātīta and avadhūta have nothing to do with the shave.

A kuṭīcaka begs his alms from one place, a bahūdaka from several places. A haṃsa and a paramahaṃsa use their hands as vessels; a turīyātīta has a cow-mouth and an avadhūta behaves like a python.

A kuṭīcaka is allowed two śāṭīs, a bahūdaka one, and a haṃsa only a piece of cloth. A paramahaṃsa may be naked or have a loin-cloth. Turīyātīta and avadhūta should be naked. But deer-skin is allowed to haṃsa and paramahaṃsa only.

Kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka are allowed the worship of gods; haṃsa and paramahaṃsa mental devotion. Turīyātīta and avadhūta should meditate upon the identity between the self and the Supreme Soul.

1. M. U., Pp. 203-206. A table for comparison is given in the appendix.

The muttering of mantras is prescribed for kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka, meditation for haṃsa and paramahaṃsa, whereas nothing is prescribed for turīyātīta and avadhūta.

Paramahaṃsa, turīyātīta and avadhūta are entitled to be taught the mahāvākyas (*tat tvam asi* etc.), whereas the remaining are not entitled.

Kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka are entitled to mānuṣapraṇava, haṃsa and paramahaṃsa to āntarapraṇava and turīyātīta and avadhūta to brahmapraṇava.¹

Kuṭīcaka and bahūdaka are entitled to the hearing (of the Upaniṣads), haṃsa and paramahaṃsa to deliberation and turīyātīta and avadhūta to meditation.

All are enjoined to seek the Self.

The Vaikhānasadharmapraśna² also lays down several rules for the ascetics. An ascetic should daily satisfy (tarpayet) his own self with the syllable Om after his bath. He should salute the self with the same syllable. After having performed at least six prāṇāyāmas and after having repeated the Sāvitrī for at least one hundred times, an ascetic should say his daily prayers. He should sip water purified by the water-strainer. He should wear reddish-brown cloth, should renounce everything and should not indulge in sexual intercourse and stealing. While walking, he should carefully observe the ground and avoid hurting the living beings.

According to Manu,³ the following things are prohibited for a Saṃnyāsin. He should not try to get alms by the interpretation of portents and omens, nor by astrology and palmistry,⁴ instruction or discourse. He should not (for begging) go to a dwelling full of hermits, brāhmaṇas, birds, dogs, or other ascetics.

1. For the different kinds of of praṇavas, see M. U. Pp. 206-209.

2. Vaikh. Dh. III. 6. 1-5, 10.

3. VI. 50-51.

4. See Bühler's note on āṅgavidyā (S. B. E. XXV. 208, note on v. 50). Bühler remarks on this verse: "This verse, which occurs also in Vas. X, 21, is historically important, as it shows that in ancient as in modern times, ascetics followed worldly pursuits and were the teachers or advisers of the people."

According to the Nārada-parivṛāja-Upaniṣad,¹ an ascetic should avoid the following six things:—seeing actors etc., gambling, meeting his friend, food which requires mastication (bhakṣya), food which requires no mastication (bhojya), and looking at a woman in her courses. He should not even think of the following six things: attachment, aversion, pride, deceit, enmity and infatuation. The following six are grievous offence, for an ascetic: a bed, a white cloth, talk about women, lustfulness, sleeping during the day and travelling. A meditator on soul should carefully avoid long travel.

He should not either read or teach the ritual, nor should he listen to anything else except the Vedānta. He should not recite anything else except the syllable Om, and should not read even logic or grammar. He should not teach (i.e. utter) many words, should not exhaust his speech too much, should mostly converse with the gestures of his hands etc., should not employ any other language in conversation,² and should not talk to śūdras, women, outcastes or women in their courses.³ An ascetic should not worship the gods, frequent the festivals or go to a pilgrimage.⁴

He should not go across a river by means of his hands, should not ascend a tree or a carriage, and should not indulge in buying, selling or exchange. He should not be a hypocrite or a liar.⁵

1. M. U. p. 148. These three verses are quoted by Mādhava on Parāśara-smṛti (Vol. I, Pt. II, Bomb. S. S. 48), as from Medhātithi.

2. "Except Sanskrit", Schrader. S. T. p. 435.

3. The text reads:—*na śūdrastrīpatitodakyaśaṃbhāṣaṇam*. It may also mean: He should not speak with the śūdra-women, the outcaste-women and the women in their courses. But in this case, it may be inferred that he is allowed to speak with other women. Whereas in the first explanation, either "women" or "women in their courses" is redundant.

4. M. U. p. 176.

5. M. U. p. 177.

CHAPTER VI

The Initiation of a Saṁnyāsin

According to Manu¹ a brāhmaṇa should go forth from his house, i.e. enter Saṁnyāsa, after having offered an oblation to prajāpati in which he should bestow all his wealth upon the priests as the fees for the performance of sacrifice, and then reposit the fires in his own self.

According to the Mahābhārata,² before entering Saṁnyāsa he should perform a sacrifice lasting one day,³ and should offer all his wealth as the fees to the priests. He should sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit,⁴ should rejoice in the Supreme Spirit, play with the Supreme Spirit, and should depend upon the Supreme Spirit. After he has repositd the fires in his own self and given up all possessions, he should go on for ever performing the daily sacrifices⁵ and the small offerings.⁶ But then from the ordinary sacrifice of the sacrificers, the offering to the Self proceeds, then he should well worship the three fires in his own self, till he attains to the emancipation of his own self. As an offering to the prāṇas,⁷ he should eat five or six morsels of food without finding fault with it.⁸

1. VI. 38; cf. also Yāj. III. 56; Viṣṇu 96, 1.

2. Mbh. XII. 244, 8906 sq.

3. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, prājāpatya or traidhātavi sacrifice.

4. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, he should perform his funeral rites even during his life-time.

5. It is not quite certain what *sādyaskān yajñān* exactly means. But I have translated it as "daily sacrifices" in the sense of *pañcamahāyajñas* which agrees with Nīlakaṇṭha, who explains it as *brahmayajña* etc.

6. *iṣṭi*, see B. R. s. v. 2 *iṣṭi*, but Nīlakaṇṭha takes it to mean sacrifices which take a long time, like darśa, pūrṇamāsa, mitravinda etc.

7. The reading *prāṇebhyo yajusaḥ* does not admit of any construction, but the general sense seems to be clear enough.

8. This difficult verse is thus explained by Nīlakaṇṭha: This verse describes the sacrifice within the self. The three fires, according to the *śaivānaravidyā* are:—heart (i.e. the gārhapatya), mind (i.e. the anvāhārya-*prāṇa*) and the mouth (i.e. the āhavanīya). He should offer sacrifice, according to the prāṇāgnihotra rites, to these fires in his own body till he dies. So says the Śruti also:—*tad yad bhaktaṁ prathamam āgacchet tad haviṣam, sa yam prathamam āhutiṁ jñhuyāt tāṁ juhuyat prāṇāya svāhā*, "all that food which comes before is for sacrifice. And the first oblation which a man offers, should be offered with the formula *prāṇāya svāhā*".

According to Baudhāyana,¹ "After having caused the hair of his head, his beard, the hair on his body, and his nails to be cut, he prepares sticks, a rope, a cloth for straining water, a water-vessel and an alms-bowl.² Taking these (implements, let him go) to the extremity of the boundary (of the village), or to the house where the sacred fires are kept, partake of a three-fold (mixture of) clarified butter, milk, (and) sour milk, and afterwards fast ; or (he may partake of) water.

"(Saying), '*Om Bhūh*, I enter the *Sāvitrī*, *tat savitur vareṇyam*; *Om, Bhuvah*, I enter the *Sāvitrī*, *dhiyo yo naḥ praeodayāt*'; (he shall recite the *Sāvitrī*) foot by foot, half-verse by half-verse, (and finish by repeating) the whole or parts (of the verse).³ It is declared in the Veda, 'Entering order after order, (man) becomes (one with) Brahman'.

"Now they quote also (the following verse): 'He who has passed from order to order, has offered burnt oblations and kept his organs in subjection, becomes afterwards, tired with (giving) alms and (making) offerings, an ascetic.'⁴ Such an ascetic (becomes one with) the infinite (Brahman)."

"Before the sun sets, he heaps fuel on the *Gārhapatya* fire, brings the *Anvāhāryapacana* fire (to the spot),⁵ takes the

1. II. 10. 17, 10-30. Bühler's translation, S. B. E. XIV. p. 274 ff. Cf. also Vaikh. Dh. II. 6, 1-3; II. 7, 1-7, where the procedure is quite the same as in Baudhāyana. See also Baudh. *Grhyaśeṣasūtra*, IV. 16, Pp. 325-326 (Mysore Edition).

2. The comm. adds:—*pādukā* (wooden sandals), deer-skin, umbrella, thread, shoes, needle, garment of leaves, three staves and water-pot. Cf. also Yāj. III. 58-60.

3. Bühler: "This part of the ceremony is called *Sāvitrīpraveśana*, 'entering the *Sāvitrī*'. According to the *Dharmasindhu*, fol. 84 a, 1. 8, the last Mantra is: '*Om, Bhūh, Bhuvah, Svah*, I enter the *Sāvitrī*, who may impel our thoughts'."

According to the comm. this mantra is called *Prāśanamāntra*, 'the mantra for eating' the things enumerated in the 12th and the 13th *sūtra*. But it is clearly a mistake.

4. *Manu* VI. 34.

5. Bühler: "*Anvāhāryapacana* is another name of the so-called *Dakṣiṇāgni*, in which the sacrificial viands are cooked. The cleansing of the butter (*utpavana*) is performed by taking hold of the ends of blades of *Kuśa* grass and dipping the bent middle part into the melted butter and then drawing it upwards. A full burnt oblation (*pūrṇāhuti*) consists of a whole spoonful. As four spoonfuls are to be taken out, it follows that four oblations are to be offered."

...ming Āhavanīya fire out (of the Gārhapatya), melts butter on the Gārhapatya fire, cleanses it (with kuśa grass), takes four times (portions of it) in the sacrificial spoon (called Sruc), and offers the Āhavanīya on which sacred fuel has been heaped, (four times) a full oblation, (saying), 'Om, Svāhā!' It is declared in the Veda that this (offering is) the Brahmānvādhāna (putting fuel on the sacred fires for the sake of the Universal Soul).

"Now in the evening, after the Agnihotra has been offered, he scatters grass to the north of the Gārhapatya fire, places the sacrificial vessels in pairs, the upper part turned downwards, on it, strews Darbha grass to the south of the Āhavanīya fire on the seat destined for the Brahman priest, covers it with the skin of a black antelope and remains awake during that night. A Brāhmaṇa who, knowing this, dies after fasting during the night of Brahman¹ and repositing within himself the sacred fires, conquers all guilt, even (that of) killing a Brāhmaṇa.

"Then he rises in the muhūrta sacred to Brahman, and offers the early Agnihotra just at the (appointed) time. Next, after covering the (part of the altar called) Pṛṣṭhya and bringing water, he prepares (an offering) to (Agni) Vaiśvānara (which is cooked) in twelve potsherds. That (well-) known Iṣṭi is the last (which he performs).

"Afterwards he throws the sacrificial vessels, which are neither made of earth nor of stone, into the Āhavanīya fire. (And) throwing the two Araṇis² into [the Gārhapatya fire (with the words), 'May ye be of one mind with us', he reposit the sacred fires in himself (reciting the sacred text), 'O Fire, that body of thine, which is fit for the sacrifice', he inhales the smell of (the smoke of) each fire thrice three times.

"Then, standing within the sacrificial enclosure, (he says) thrice in a low voice and thrice aloud, 'Om, Bhūḥ, Bhuvah, Svāh', I have entered the order of ascetics, I have entered the order of ascetics. It is declared of ascetics, I have entered the order of ascetics. It is declared in the Veda, 'The gods are trebly true'.³

1. Bühler: "The night during which the ascetic keeps watch near the fires is called 'the night of Brahman'."
2. Bühler: "The Araṇis are the two pieces of wood used for producing fire by friction, Taittirīya Saṃhitā, I, 3, 7, 1-2."
3. T. Ā. II, 18, 6.

"(Finally) he pours out as much water as will fill his joined hands, (saying), 'I promise not to injure any living being.'¹ Now they quote also (the following verse): 'An ascetic who roams about after having given a promise of safety to all living beings, is not threatened with danger by any creature'. "²

In the Jābāla Upaniṣad³ we read that some people are in favour of offering sacrifice to Prajāpati. But an ascetic should not perform that, rather, he should offer an offering to the fire. Because fire is prāṇa and, therefore, he really offers an offering to prāṇa. Or he may offer a traidhātavi⁴ offering. Sattva, rajas and tamas are the three dhātus. He should smell (the smoke of the) fire with the mantra:—'O Fire, this is your proper origin, born from which you shone. Knowing that, ascend and increase our wealth.'

It is the prāṇa which is the origin of fire. This is also said in the mantra: 'Go to prāṇa, Svāhā.'⁵

Having described the rules of entering Saṁnyāsa in the case of a man who keeps the sacred fires, the Upaniṣad further lays down the procedure for one who does not keep the fires.

"Having (got the fire) brought from (the house of a śrotriya in) a village, he should smell (the smoke of) the fire as before. If he does not find the fire, then he should offer (the offering) in water. Waters are (the representatives of) all the gods. Having offered (the offering) with the mantra, 'I offer to all the gods, Svāhā,' (and) taking out the health-giving oblation (mixed)

1. Bühler: "All gifts must be confirmed by a libation of water, which in other cases is poured into the hand of the recipient. The ceremony proves more clearly even than the numerous other passages of the Smṛtis, in which ascetics are exhorted to abstain from injuring living beings, that the so-called ahimsā doctrine is not of Buddhistic, but of Brahmanical origin."

2. Cf. Vasiṣṭha X, 1-2 and Mbh., XII, 244, 8911.

3. M. U. Pp. 64-67.

4. M. W. s. v. traidhātavi; cf. Baudh. Dh. S. III, 1, 12:—*traidhātaviyena iṣṭvā prasthāsyate vaiśvānaryā vā*. Bühler's note on this is:—"The meaning is that on the evening before his departure from the old home he is to offer the Traidhātaviya-homa. According to the Śrauta-sūtras (see Petersb. Dict. s. v. traidhātavi) the latter offering always occurs at the end of a great sacrifice. Hence it is appropriate for a person who wishes to begin a new mode of life."

5. R. V. III. 29. 10., R. V. reads āsīdāthā in place of ārohāthā.

with ghee, he should eat it. He should regard the mantra of salvation (i.e. Om) as the three Vedas (themselves). That is Brahman, it should be meditated upon.

"If he is an ātura, then he should renounce (the world) with mind or speech (that is, without performing the fore-going actual)."¹

According to the Saṁnyāsa Upaniṣad,² if a man who preserves sacred fires dies, then his funeral ceremony ought to be performed according to mantras. But if he does not die before entering Saṁnyāsa and desires to enter the last stage of life he goes to a forest, carrying the necessary materials for offering a sacrifice to the manes.³ On the amāvāsyā day he should kindle fires early in the morning and perform the śrāddha and the arpaṇa ceremony of the manes. Then he should perform the brāhma sacrifice, which is laid down in the following śruti :

"(The Brahman), whose penance is knowledge, is all-knowing and all-understanding.⁴ The celestial offering offered to him tends to bring about immortality to the sacrificer."⁵ After this, he should recite the following initiatory verse :

"May Brahman, that rose above heaven, above both this and the other world entirely, he who is bringing forth every thing, the deity of a good heart, bestow all blessings."⁶

Then he should offer the oblation, uttering the following consecrating text : "The Brahman that was first born of old purastāt : in the east?) Vena hath unclosed from the well-shining edge (sīmatas : horizon?) he unclosed the fundamental nearest shapes (viṣṭhā) of it, the womb (yoni) of the existent and the non-existent."⁷

1. M. U. Pp. 68-69.

2. M. U. p. 15 ff.

3. Schrader conjectures that perhaps the original text reads:—*eṣa pṛthmedhakāmo vidhivat saṁbhārān* instead of *etān pṛthmedhikān oṣadhisam-*
bhārān. M. U. p. 345.

4. Mn. U. I. 1. 9.

5. Cf. Schrader's discussion of the reading 'Kalpate', M. U. p. 345.

6. "Nārāyaṇa is of opinion that here the Brahman is praised by means of the abhijit constellation, whose supervising deity the Brahman is. And so he explains this verse in the sense of the mantra : *Yasmin brahma bhujayajay sarvaṁ etat*, etc., of the Taittiriya Śākhā, III. 1. 2. 5. S. T. p. 378.

7. A. V., IV. 1, 1. Whitney's translation.

Then he should throw into the fire the principal offerings of the Brāhma sacrifice with the following mantras :

"To Brahman, to Atharvan, to Prajāpati, to Anumati, to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt."

After this he should throw the two araṇis in the fire with the following mantras :

"O sacrifice, go to the sacrifice ; go to the lord of sacrifice ; go to (thine) own source (yoni) : hail !

"This is thy sacrifice, O lord of sacrifice, accompanied with song-utterance, of excellent heroism : Hail !"¹

Then he should throw the oblations of ghee in the fire, reciting these four anuvākas :

"Unto a friend would I turn with friendship..... Know me as such, O firmaments (rodasī)."²

With the foregoing mantras he should wait upon the āhavanīya fire also. After this he should repose both the fires in himself reciting the mantra :

"I seize in me Agni at first, together with dominion, splendour, strength, in me I put progeny, in me life-time, hail !—in me Agni."³

Then he should keep vows and should be free from laziness.

The Vaikhānasa-dharmapraśna⁴ lays down the Vedic mantras which an ascetic ought to recite at the time of accepting the staff and so on. He should recite the following three mantras at the time of accepting the three staves :

Devasya tvā etc.⁵

Yo me daṇḍah etc.⁶

Sakkā me gopāya etc.⁷

1. A. V., VII. 97 (102), 5-6. Whitney's translation.

2. These four anuvākas constitute the entire XVIII Book of the Atharvaveda, containing 88 verses For full translation see H. O. S. VIII, Pp. 813-894.

3. A. V. VII. 82 (87), 2. Whitney's translation.

4. II. 8. 1-7.

5. A. V. XIX, 51, 2.

6. P. G. II. 2. 12.

7. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 17. 32.

He should take the net-work bag with the mantra :

*Yad asya pāre rajasaḥ etc.*¹

He should accept the water-strainer with the mantra :

*Yena devāḥ pavitreṇa etc.*²

And he should accept the water-pot and a pot for holding earth with the mantra :

*Yena devā jyotiṣā etc.*³

After taking the bath he should purify himself by reciting the 'Aghamarṣaṇa' hymn.⁴ Then he should sip water, perform sixteen prāṇāyāmas, repeat the Gāyatrī a hundred or a thousand times, and along with this recitation he should accept the begging bowl made of bottle-gourd, wood or earth. Then he should make libations of water for the gods into the water, uttering, "I refresh you", accompanied by the utterances of the seven mystical syllables (vyāhṛtis, viz : bhuḥ, bhuvāḥ, svaḥ, mahaḥ, janāḥ, tapas and satya) preceded by the syllable Om. Along with the utterance of the word svadhā, accompanied by the first four vyāhṛtis, he should refresh the manes. Then he should wait upon the sun with the mantra :

*Ud vayaṃ tamasaḥ etc.*⁵

Having poured a libation of water, he should give a promise of safety to all the living beings. If he is devoted to the meditation of self, he should eat alms, should observe vows and penances, should control his senses and should see the Supreme Self by means of meditation.

The Āruṇi Upaniṣad⁶ also prescribes the three-fold utterance of the formula, "I have renounced", and the declaration of giving promise of safety to all the living beings. It adds that an ascetic should take a long bamboo-staff uttering the mantra :

"As a friend protect me, you, who are the energy and friend of Indra. You are the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vṛtra (i.e. Indra), be my happiness (and) remove any sin that I may have."⁷

He should then take a loin-cloth and nothing else.

1. T. S. IV. 2. 5. 2.

2. T. B. I. 4. 8. 6.

3. A. V. XI. 1. 37.

4. R. V. X. 190.

5. R. V. I. 50. 10.

6. M. U. Pp. 9-10.

7. See note 7, p. 50

In the Kāṭhaśruti Upaniṣad, we have three passages about the initiation.

The first passage¹ is curious in prescribing a ceremony quite different from that prescribed elsewhere. It enjoins that an ascetic should choose all his priests as before and should offer a sacrifice to Agni-Vaiśvānara. He should give away all his property. The priests, having repositied the limbs of the sacrificer in all the vessels of sacrifice, should reposit all his vital airs (that is, the apāna, the prāṇa, the vyāna, the udāna and the samāna) in all the fires—āhavanīya, gārhapatya, anvāhāryapacana, sabhya and āvasathya.²

The second passage³ lays down that an ascetic should cut off his hair along with the tuft, and throw away his sacred thread and then coming out of the house, should address his son, looking at him, with these words :

"Thou art Brahman, thou art sacrifice, the call vaṣaṭ, the call Om, svāhā, svadhā, thou art dhātṛ, vidhātṛ, tvaṣṭṛ, and thou art the main-stay."

The son also should reply to him repeating: "I am Brahman" and so on.

The third passage⁴ ordains that an intending ascetic, after being allowed to enter Saṃnyāsa by his teachers and relatives,

1. K. Ś. U. Pp. 31-32.

2. On this passage, Schrader remarks :—"When people keeping sacred fires (āhitāgnis) die, then the vessels with which they used to perform the sacrifices are thrown in their limbs. And when they enter Saṃnyāsa, they themselves (i.e. their body) being the fires according to Baudhāyana, all the five fires are repositied in themselves, according to Śaunaka (as quoted by Viśveśvara in his Yatidharmasaṃgraha). But in this Upaniṣad, on the contrary, the limbs are repositied in the sacrificial vessels and the five vital airs are repositied in the fires. The commentator Nārāyaṇa explains it, that this repositing of the limbs and the vital airs in the vessels and the fires is for establishing the bodyless condition (videhatva) of an ascetic. The sense, according to Nārāyaṇa, is, that after the death of a sacrificer, the different sacrificial vessels are placed on the different limbs of his corpse on the funeral pyre; as for example, the dish (sthālī) is placed on his right hand, the two sacrificial spoons (srucis) on his nose, and so on. At the time of entering Saṃnyāsa, the limbs must be repositied in these vessels." S. T., p. 387.

3. K. Ś. U. Pp. 36-37.

4. K. Ś. U. Pp. 37-39.

should go to the forest and there perform the agnihotra with milk for twelve nights, himself also subsisting on milk. After this period, he should offer sacrificial offerings in twelve potsherds to Agni Vaiśvānara, to Prajāpati his portion and to Viṣṇu in three potsherds. He should then throw the wooden pots prepared for Agni into the fire. The earthen pots he should throw in water and the metal pots he should offer to his teacher. Then he should address the following mantra to the gārhapatya, akṣiṇa and āhavanīya fires in turn :

"Do not go away leaving me, I did not go away leaving you."

Here, some people prescribe that he should then "drink" a handful of ashes taking it from that place where the two arāṇis have been burnt. Then he should cut his hair along with the ṛt and removing the sacred thread should throw it into water, reciting the mantra : "Bhūḥ svāhā."

The Nārada-parivrajaka Upaniṣad, while laying down the rules of initiation, distinguishes four cases : (1) Ātura, (2) Āhitāgni when he is not at home, (3) Vidvatsaṃnyāsin and (4) Vividiṣa-saṃnyāsin.

(1) Even in the case of an Āturasaṃnyāsin,¹ a wise man should repeat all the mantras. As to the pronouncement of the prāṇa formula, there is no difference in the case of an Āturasaṃnyāsin or a Kramasaṃnyāsin. The only difference is, that in the case of an Āturasaṃnyāsin, all the necessary and the ordained duties of the ritual are cut short. Therefore, in his case also the mantras must be repeated.

(2) An Āhitāgni,² if he becomes virakta (free from worldly attachments) when he is not at home but in another country, then, before entering the Saṃnyāsa, he must perform the prajāpatya sacrifice, even though it may be in water. Or he may repeat the necessary mantras in his mind, or, he should repeat the

1. M. U. Pp. 137-138. But compare Mādhava in his commentary on Nārada, Bomb. S. S. VII. I. part 2, p. 149—Tatra Mahābhārataṃ

Utpanne saṅkaṭe ghore coravyāghrādīsaṅkaṭe,

Bhaya-bhītasya saṃnyāsam Aṅgira munir abravīt

Āturāṇāṃ ca saṃnyāse na vidhir naiva ca kriya,

Praṇa—(praṇa) mātraṃ samuccārya saṃnyāsaṃ tatra kārayet.

2. M. U. p. 138.

mantras in water according to the Vedic injunctions or, he should perform the entire ritual. For, otherwise, he will go to hell.

(3) A Vidvatsaṃnyāsin,¹ whether he is on the sick-bed or has passed through the three previous stages of life in their due order, should perform the Kṛcchraprāyaścitta and then perform the eight śrāddha ceremonies of gods, sages, celestials, men, beings, father, mother and his own self. He should first invoke all the gods named Satyvasu.² In the śrāddha for the gods, he should invoke Brahman, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; in the śrāddha for the sages, he should invoke the celestials, the kṣatriya and the mortal sages; in the śrāddha for the celestials, he should invoke Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra and Sanatsujāta; in the śrāddha for Beings, he should invoke the five elements (earth, water, etc.), the eleven senses and the fourfold beings (viviparous, born of egg, born of sweat and sprouting); in the śrāddha for the fathers, he should invoke the father, the grandfather and the great grandfather; in the śrāddha for the mothers, he should invoke the mother, the grand-mother and the great grandmother; in the śrāddha for the self, he should invoke the Vasus, the Rudras and the Ādityas; in the śrāddha for men, he should invoke his own self, the father and the grandfather. If the father is alive, then, leaving him out, he should invoke his own self, the grandfather and the great grandfather. He should offer worship to two brāhmaṇas for each person whose śrāddha he performs. He should perform these eight śrāddhas in one day or eight days according to the mantras of the śākhā of the Veda he studies and feed and worship the brāhmaṇas according to the ritual prescribed for the śrāddha of the manes. Having finished the offering of rice-balls etc. to the manes and having dismissed the brāhmaṇas after offering them the sacrificial fees and

1. M. U. Pp. 162-168. It is curious to observe that the passage begins with—*ātura vā krame vāpi turīyāśramavikārārthaṃ*, and there is no mention of the Vidvatsaṃnyāsin in the beginning. But, that the entire ritual refers to a Vidvatsaṃnyāsin, is evident from the following sentence at the end of the whole ritual: *pūrvavat vidvatsaṃnyāsī cet*. Therefore I explain the passage:—a Vidvatsaṃnyāsin, whether he is an ātura or a krama—Saṃnyāsin, etc.

2. That is, the Viśvedevās.

leaf, he should shave his head keeping back seven locks of hair for the completion of the remaining ritual. For it is said: "For the successful completion of the remaining ritual, a śākhya, having kept back seven or eight locks of hair, should keep his hair, whiskers and nails."

He should not shave his armpits or lower parts. Then he should take his bath, finish his evening prayers, repeat the Gayatrī for one thousand times, recite the sacred texts, kindle an independent fire, withdraw in himself his own śākhā of the śākhya, and having thrown oblations with ghee into the fire according to the mantras of his own śākhā, should eat the groats (saktu) of rice, with reference to his self, mind and the Universal Soul. He should then sip water, and having carefully kindled the fire, he should take his seat on a deer-skin to the north of the fire. He should listen to the Purāṇas the whole night, and in the last quarter of the night, should take a bath. He should, then, cook the sacrificial food on that fire and throw sixteen oblations into it, accompanied by the recitation of the Puruṣasūkta. He should, then, perform a virajā-homa,¹ and after sipping water, he should give the priest a cow, a golden vessel and a piece of cloth accompanied by his fees. After performing the brahmodvāsana (removing the Brahman) ceremony, he should reposit the fire in himself, reciting the following mantras :

"May gods fill me (with life), may Indra and Bṛhaspati (fill me with life), and may Agni fill me (i.e. grant me) with (long) life and strength and make me long-lived."²

"O Agni ! Come with that body of yours which is sacrificial and ascend myself with it yourself, granting us many riches which are desired for by men.

"Becoming a sacrifice, come to the sacrifice, which is your own birth-place, o Jātavedas ! born of earth ! Come with your residence (house)."³

Having meditated upon the fire, he should remove it after circumambulating and saluting it. Then he should say his morning

1. The homa of one who is free from all passions.

2. A. V. VII. 33. 1 ; T. Ā. II. 18. 1.

3. Āp. Ś. S. VI. 28. 11 ; T. B. II. 5. 8. 8.

prayers and worship the sun, repeating the Gāyatrī one thousand times. Then he should enter water reaching up to his navel and there, after offering water to the gods presiding over eight quarters, he should give up the Sāvitrī and reposit it in the seven mystical syllables (Bhūh, Bhuvaḥ, etc.).

He should then recite the following mantras :—

"I am he who has cut¹ the tree (of saṃsāra). (My) fame is like the back of a mountain. I am highly pure like the good immortality in Vājin (the sun). (May I acquire) the riches along with energy. (May I become) of good intellect and besprinkled with immortality. This is the recitation of the Vedas by Triśaṅku."²

"He who is the bull of the songs (chandas), and assumes all forms, and who above the songs, has arisen from the immortal, may that Indra please me (by granting) intelligence. O god ! may I become the holder of immortality."³

"(May) my body (become) very active, my tongue the sweetest, may I hear much with my ears. You are the treasure-house of the Brahman, covered with intelligence. Protect my hearing."⁴

He should then think that he is above the desire for his wife, riches and other worlds. He should then utter the following mantras in his mind as well as by his speech, in low, middle and high tones :—"Om Bhūḥ, I have renounced ; Om Bhuvaḥ, I have renounced ; Om Suvāḥ, I have renounced ; Om Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Suvāḥ, I have renounced."⁵

He should then sip water reciting the mantra :—

"To all living beings flows from me every kind of absence from danger, Svāhā."

He should then break his sacred thread, reciting the following verses :—

1. The word in the text is "*rerivā*" which occurs only here. Śaṅkara explains it as *preraṇitā antaryāmyātmanā*. Śaṅkarānanda gives the sense of "cutting" also, which, in my opinion, suits the context.

2. T. U. I. 10. 1.

3. T. U. I. 4. 1.

4. T. U. I. 4. 2.

5. Here are four formulas of Praiṣa, whereas, elsewhere we find only three.

"The sacred thread is the highest purifying thing which was formerly born with Prajāpati. Grant (me) the best (and) pure (long) life. The sacred thread may be strength and energy (to me)."¹

"The sacred thread may not reside (elsewhere) outside. You (O sacred thread) for ever entering inside the centre (of my heart),² grant (me) the highest purifying thing, fame, strength, knowledge, non-attachment and intelligence."

And now, taking the fragments of the sacred thread in his hands full of water, he should make an oblation of them in water saying: "Om, go to the ocean, Svāhā."

Then he should thrice repeat "Om Bhūḥ, I have renounced, Om Bhuvah, I have renounced, Om Suvah, I have renounced," and muttering these mantras thrice over that water, he should drink that water, and afterwards sip water. He should then throw in water his cloth and girdle also, uttering, "Om Bhūḥ Svāhā".

He should then think that he is free from all actions. He should become naked, and searching after his true nature, should walk off towards the north with his arm raised up. This is how a Vidvatsamnyāsin ought to be initiated.

(4) A Vividīṣāsamnyāsin³ should proceed towards a highway.

"There the brāhmaṇas like his teacher etc. should advise him:—'Wait, wait, O illustrious one! Take a staff, a cloth and a waterpot. Come near the preceptor to learn the syllable Om and the mahāvākyas.' He should then take a staff, a girdle, a loin-cloth, a śāṭī and a waterpot. (The staff ought to be) equal to his height from foot to head, should have no faults, should be even, smooth, free from black marks, possessed of good marks, and of bamboo. (This he should take) after sipping water and reciting, 'Thou art my friend,' etc.⁴ Then he should take the waterpot, pronouncing Om and reciting the verse: 'Life of the world! basis of life! always advise me like a mother. O thou who art

1. P. G. II. 2. 10.

2. The idea is that the sacred thread, by being broken, should not reside elsewhere, but inside the heart of a Samnyāsin.

3. N. U. p. 169 ff.

4. See note 7, p. 51.

excellent to all !' He should then take the girdle, reciting, 'The suspender of the loin-cloth, the girdle Om,' the loin-cloth, reciting, 'The covering of private parts, the loin-cloth, Om,' and the cloth, reciting 'The protector against cold, wind and heat, the sole protector of the body, the cloth, Om.' After sipping water and being consecrated with the Yogapaṭṭa,¹ and after thinking, 'I have attained my object,' he should perform the duties pertaining to his stage of life."

At the time of entering Saṁnyāsa, neither should his relations nor he himself shed tears. For, if he shed tears, the result will be the destruction of his progeny and the knowledge.²

1. A cloth thrown around the knees and the back by a devotee at the time of meditation.

2. S. U. p. 19; K. Ś. U. p. 37.

CHAPTER VII

Female Ascetics

The next very important question is :with regard to female ascetics. We find in no Dharmaśāstra any mention of female ascetics, except a reference to the word pravrajitā in three of the texts.¹ Now, it is very difficult to say what this word pravrajitā means, for this word is differently explained by the commentators of Manu. According to Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, it stands for bhikṣukī. Kullūka and Rāghavānanda explain the term by : *buddhābhir brahmacāriṇibhiḥ*. Rāmacandra explains it as *buddhavṛttibrahmacāriṇyaḥ*.

How far the commentators are justified in explaining it as Buddhistic female ascetic, is difficult to say. Still, two things are in favour of them. Firstly, nowhere in the rules of initiation, any female ascetic is mentioned. Rather even in the rules of daily life an ascetic is warned against indulging in talk about females. Nowhere do we find any warning against indulging in talk about males. Secondly, as is evident from what has already been said, the real idea underlying Saṃnyāsa or renunciation has been the renunciation of the household-fire. This household-fire is kindled by a man and so its renunciation is also possible only by a man. A woman does not at all come into question.

But there is one instance which is difficult to explain. It is the story of Sulabhā in the Mahābhārata.² She had a

1. Viṣṇu XXXVI, 7; Manu VIII, 363; Nārada XII, 74. Bühler remarks on the passage of (Manu S. B. E. XXV, 317):—" 'Female ascetics', i.e. 'Rakṣakas (?)', Śīlamitrās (?), and so forth' (Medh.), or 'Buddhist nuns' (Gov., Kull., Rāgh.). Nār. says 'female mendicants'. It deserves to be noted that according to a passage attributed by Govinda and Nār. to Baudhāyana, but not found in our text, 'some' permitted even orthodox females to become ascetics. Female ascetics were probably in ancient India as common as they are now, and were considered equally disreputable." See Yājñ. II, 23; and see also the Gaṇapāṭha Śramaṇādi to Pāṇini 2, 1, 70, where śramaṇā, pravrajitā, tāpaśī, respectively Kumāraśramaṇā, etc. are taught. Also Vārttika to Pāṇini 3, 2, 14, where Patañjali says: *Śaṅkarā nāma parivrajikā Śaṅkarā Śakunikā tacchilā ca tasyām ubhayam prāpnoti*. Women are mentioned as being capable of Yoga and of learning in the Mahābhārata: Mbh. XII, 241, 34; 250, 23; 284, 203.

2. XII. 322.

conversation with the king Janaka on mokṣadharma. She carried three staves. Janaka mistook her to be a brāhmaṇī in the Saṁnyāsa stage. But she replied she was a kṣattriya girl, born in the family of the royal sage Pradhāna, and, because she could not find a suitable husband, she learnt the mokṣadharma and was observing the vows of a muni. The very mistake of Janaka, that she might be a brāhmaṇī, proves the existence of the brāhmaṇa female ascetics. That she was really a kṣattriyā, proves the existence of kṣattriya female ascetics.

On the other hand, we find in the Arthaśāstra¹ that a man, who makes a woman enter Saṁnyāsa, should be punished.

1. II. 19. 37 (Jolly's edn.) *striyaṁ ca pravrajayataḥ*.

In the Rāmāyaṇa we find the terms bhikṣuṇī (II. 29. 13), tāpasī (VII. 45-50) and śramaṇī (III. 73-74). S. C. Sarkar is at pains to explain these terms as standing for the lady-students residing at a hermitage. One has to stretch one's imagination too far to accept his meanings. See his "Educational Ideas And Institutions in Ancient India, the 1925-1926 Readership Lectures, Patna, 1928," especially pages 62 ff, 74 ff. and 85 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

The Ascetics and the Śrāddha

The question as to whether an ascetic should be invited to the śrāddha feast, is answered differently by the different law-books. Idenberg¹ remarks :—

“The dinners offered in connection with these śrāddha sacrifices to Brāhmaṇas and also—though of this, of course, no notice is taken in Vedic texts—to śramaṇas stood in the first line among the exhibitions of liberality of lay people towards priests and monks. Thus we find among the stock phrases that constantly re-occur in the Pāli-Piṭakas, the mention of Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who have eaten the ‘food given to them out of faith’ (*saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā*)—wherein the ‘food given out of faith’ (*saddhādeyya*), either chiefly or exclusively means the śrāddha dinners, which are so called because the sacrificer gives them ‘full of faith’ (*śraddhāsamanvita*, Manu III, 275) to the Brāhmaṇas and through them to the manes.”

According to the Vasiṣṭhasmṛti,² an ascetic, who rejects meat at sacrifices or funeral meals, lives in hell for as many years as the animal has hair. This, of course, clearly shows that an ascetic was invited to the śrāddha feast. In the Manu-smṛti,³ however, we read that if a brāhmaṇa or a bhikṣuka comes to beg for meals at the time of the śrāddha feast, the sacrificer, with the permission of the brāhmaṇas (who have been invited to the feast) should feed him according to his means. The word bhikṣuka is explained by Medhātithi as *bhikṣārthinam brāhmaṇam*—i.e. “a brāhmaṇa who comes to beg”. Kullūka and Rāghavāṇanda explain the term to mean a saṃnyāsin. One thing, however, is clear that an ascetic here is not an invited guest, but one who comes to beg by chance. That Manu does not look favourably upon his invitation to the śrāddha, is clear from the fact that the sacrificer has to take the permission of the brāhmaṇa guests present before he gives anything to the ascetic.

1. Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra, S. B. E. XXIX, 106, n. 1.

2. XI. 34.

3. III. 243.

Apart from the śrāddha, it is the express duty of a householder to give alms to an ascetic. The Viṣṇusmṛti¹ lays down that a householder should give alms to an ascetic, even if he comes after the meal-time. For a brahmacārin, a yati and a bhikṣu depend for their food upon the stage of a householder. Manu² and Yājñavalkya³ also lay this down as a duty of the householder. We read a similar injunction even in the Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra :—⁴

“They should give their due share to the mendicants (bhikṣukān) and the guests.”

But as regards the śrāddha feast, the Viṣṇusmṛti⁵ lays down that a man, who entertains an ascetic at this time, should be fined one hundred paṇas.

Mādhava, in his commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti,⁶ quotes four lines, ascribing them to Yama (which, of course, are not found in any printed edition of Yamasamhitā), according to which the following persons are forbidden in the śrāddha-feast :—

“A back-biter, a false witness, one suffering from protracted illness, one who does not observe the rules of his āśrama, an apostate from Saṃnyāsa and a false ascetic.

One born of an ascetic and apostate are both brahmacaṇḍālas, so has Yama, the son of Vivasvat, said.”

1. LIX, 14; 18; 27.

2. III. 94.

3. I. 108.

4. II. 9. 12.

5. V. 115. See also Yājñavalkya II. 235.

6. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 350 (Bomb. S. S. 48).

CHAPTER IX

The Position of an Ascetic in Law

We now come to the position of an ascetic in law. An ascetic, having nothing to do with worldly matters, is not to be called as a witness. The *Viṣṇusmṛti*¹ mentions ascetics in the long list of persons unfit to be witnesses. The *Mitākṣarā*² also quotes Nārada, enumerating the people unfit for being witnesses. They are :—

“A śrotriya, an anchorite, an old man, and other persons like ascetics, they are unfit for being witnesses according to the injunction of the law, and no cause of it is given.”

Another list of the unfit witnesses, quoted in this commentary and ascribed to Śaṅkha, is :—

“The people, who quarrel with their father, who reside with the teacher, who are parivrājakas or vānaprasthas or nirgranthas, are non-witnesses.”

But there are cases where anyone can be called as a witness. Yājñavalkya³ says that in the cases of rape, theft, force and violence, everybody can be called as a witness. So, if an ascetic is involved as a witness in such a case, then he gets the concession of being exempted from an ordeal.⁴

An ascetic, however, has a seat in the king's assembly. Gautama says :—

“They declare that an assembly should consist of at least ten members who are—four learned men in the four Vedas, three men belonging to the first three stages and three men who know the different (branches of) law.”⁵

The stages or āśramas are enumerated by Gautama⁶ in this order—brahmacārin, gṛhastha, bhikṣu and vaikhānasa.

1. VIII. 2.

2. Comm. on Yājñavalkya II. 68-69. The *Nāradiyamanusamhitā* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 97) I. 158, also mentions pravrajita as an unfit witness.

3. II. 72.

4. Nārada I. 256.

5. XVIII. 49. (III. 10. 47, acc. to A. S. S. edn.)

6. III. 2.

Therefore, it clearly indicates that an ascetic is meant.

Manu¹ also uses the phrase :—"trayas' ca āśramaṇaḥ pūroe."

The commentators differ in explaining it. Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Kullūka, Rāghavānanda, Nandana and Govinda explain it to mean :—brahmacārin, gṛhastha and vānaprastha. Medhātithi says that according to some it means a brahmacārin, a gṛhastha and an ascetic, for an ascetic is not forbidden to enter a village and also because Gautama enumerates the āśramas in this order.

An ascetic is free from toll. The Viṣṇusmṛti² says that a man who collects the ferry-toll from a brahmacārin, a vānaprastha, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a person going to visit the sacred places, shall be fined ten paṇas.

Āpastamba³ also says : "And ascetics, who are intent on fulfilling the sacred law (are free from taxes), and those to whom the acquisition of property is forbidden."⁴

The conduct of a wife whose husband has entered Saṃnyāsa should be chaste according to Gautama.⁵ That is, even if she is childless she should not submit to niyoga for bringing forth a child. But Nārada⁶ is very radical in his opinions and prescribes re-marriage in the case of a woman whose husband has either disappeared, or is dead, or has entered Saṃnyāsa, or is impotent, or is an outcaste. This verse, of course, is considered to be an interpolation by the orthodox section of the brāhmaṇas who are against re-marriage.

The debts contracted by a man before entering the Saṃnyāsa are payable by his sons and grandsons.⁷

1. XII. 111.

2. V. 132.

3. II. 10. 26. 14 and 17. Bühler's note on the 14th Sūtra is :

"Why does he say—*intent on fulfilling the holy law*? Those shall not be free from taxes who perform austerities in order to make their magic charms efficacious—Haradatta." Probably, however, Āpastamba means to exclude all heretical hermits, of whom India has had plenty at all times.

4. Bühler's translation.

5. XVIII. 16.

6. XII. 97 (Jolly); Nāradiyamanusamhitā (Trivand. S. S. 97). XII. 99.

7. Viṣṇu VI. 27.

If amongst several brothers, any one dies childless or enters the Saṃnyāsa, then his property is to be divided amongst his remaining brothers.¹ But the property of an ascetic, after he has entered the order, goes to his worthy disciple.² A very interesting discussion is given in the Mitākṣarā on this line :

“ Well, when according to the precept of Vasiṣṭha,³ people in the other stages of life (except that of a householder) have no connection with the property, there can be no question as to its division.....And according to Gautama's rule,⁴ ‘ A bhikṣu has no store,’ there can be no possibility of the private earnings of an ascetic. We reply :—Even an ascetic has belongings in the shape of clothes, books, etc., according to the following verse :—‘He should carry cloth for his loins or for covering himself (completely). He should take different requisites for Yoga, and shoes.’ ”

As to the property used by a stranger, Gautama⁵ lays down that after ten years of use, it belongs to the user. But this rule does not apply to an ascetic. Haradatta, commenting upon it, says, that the mere use of a house or a garden etc., does not entitle an ascetic to become its owner. For the real owner may have allowed the use of his property, even for a long period and without reclaiming it, in order to acquire merit. And as the ascetic cannot possess any property, the reference in this sūtra is naturally to some unoccupied property which has yet an owner.

This position of an apostate from Saṃnyāsa is not a convenient one. The Viṣṇusmṛti⁶ ordains that he should be a slave of the King. Nārada⁷ also, while enumerating fifteen kinds of royal slaves, names an apostate from Saṃnyāsa as one of them. Govinda, in his commentary on Baudhāyana,⁸ quotes an authority according to which the children of an apostate should be made

1. Nārada XIII. 25.

2. Yājñavalkya II. 137; see also Arthaśāstra (I ed. Mysore 1909) p. 191, II. 7-8.

3. XVII. 52.

4. III. 11.

5. XII. 37 and 38.

6. V. 132.

7. V. 27.

8. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 10. 2.

to reside with the Caṇḍālas. According to Saṃvarta, quoted here by Govinda, an apostate should practise kṛcchra continuously for six months. Yājñavalkya¹ is also of the opinion that an apostate from Saṃnyāsa is the king's slave as long as he lives. The commentary Mitākṣarā, however, remarks that it holds good if an apostate does not undergo some prāyaścitta. Nārada,² on the other hand, is so strict that he does not at all believe in either the liberation from slavery or purification of an apostate from Saṃnyāsa. According to a quotation ascribed to Kātyāyana by Mādhava in his Commentary on the Parāśarasmṛti,³ an apostate, if he is a brāhmaṇa, should be exiled, but if he is either a kṣattriya or a vaiśya, then he should serve as a slave of the king. Further on, according to another authority ascribed to Nārada here, an apostate should be exiled, as soon as possible, by the king, after having him marked with the mark of a dog's foot. But according to another authority, quoted by Mādhava and ascribed to Pitāmaha⁴ at one place and to Kātyāyana⁵ at another place, an apostate should be either put to death or a double punishment (?) should be imposed upon him.

1. II. 183.

2. V. 35.

3. Vol III. pt. II, Pp. 344-5. (Bomb. S. S.)

4. Parāśara, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 212. (Bomb. S. S.)

5. Ibid, Vol. III. Pt. II, p. 582.

CHAPTER X

The Death and the Last Rites of an Ascetic

Now, we come to the last question, that of a Saṃnyāsin's death and his funeral rites.

In the Mahābhārata,¹ already a vānaprastha is advised to end his life by five methods: fasting, drowning in an ocean, crushing his feet with a stone, entering the fire, or fighting. A vānaprastha, ending his life by fasting, goes to heaven; one who drowns himself, enters the region of Varuṇa; to one who crushes his feet by a stone, the region of the Guhyakas is awarded; one entering the fire has his place in the region of Brahman; and one who ends his life by fighting enters the heaven of Śakra.

Also Manu² is in favour of a vānaprastha's putting an end to his life. "He should walk straight toward the north-east till his body falls (and in the meantime) eating (i.e. subsisting on) water and wind only." Yājñavalkya³ also agrees with Manu. This religious suicide,⁴ either by means of starvation ('Hungertod') or by any other means is to be found not only among the brāhmaṇas but also among the Jainas and the Bauddhas.⁵

This practice of the religious suicide is also prescribed for an ascetic.

We read in the Āpastambadharmasūtra,⁶ that an ascetic will then live on water, then on air and then on ether. Of course, living on ether, as Haradatta rightly explains, means dying by fasting.

The Jābāla Upaniṣad⁷ says: "This is the way (prescribed) for an ascetic :—an heroic death, fasting, entering into water,

1. XI. 142.

2. VI. 31.

3. III. 55.

4. Cf. Keith: The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upaniṣads II. 589 (H. O. S. 32) and E. R. E. XII, 34 (a).

5. Cf. G. Bühler, Die indische Sekte der Jainas (Die feierliche Sitzung der k. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, 1887), Pp. 12, 37 (note 10).

6. II. 9. 22, 4 and II. 9. 23, 2; cf. also Vasiṣṭha XXIX. 4; Eggers: Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhāṇasas, Pp. 32-33.

7. M. U. p. 68. See also Winternitz—History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 240.

entering into fire, or the mahāprasthāna (i.e. walking straight till he dies)."

The Kāṭhaśruti Upaniṣad¹ also not only prescribes the above-named five alternatives, but adds a sixth one, namely :—"Or he may go to the vṛddhāśrama". The term vṛddhāśrama has been explained by *Schrader*² as the abode of wise men. But I think it stands for remaining in the Saṃnyāsāśrama until he dies by old age.

Both these Upaniṣads prescribe two courses for one who is initiated as an ascetic. If he is willing to end his life then and there just after the initiation, then, of course, he has so many as five alternatives to choose from. But, if, on the other hand, he does not intend committing this religious suicide, then he may lead the full life of an ascetic.³ The difference in the view-point of the Mahābhārata, Manu and Yājñavalkya on the one hand, and that of Āpastamba and the Upaniṣads on the other hand, is but technical. While the former prescribe the suicide after the vānaprastha stage, the latter after his initiation as an ascetic. This throws light on the point that formerly there was no marked distinction between the last two stages.

The body of an ascetic after his death was buried, as is done even to-day. This is evident also from the passage in the Śāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣad⁴ where it is laid down as a strict rule that an ascetic should never part with his five mātṛās during his lifetime, and even after his death these mātṛās should be buried with him.

But in the Vaikhānasadharmapraśna,⁵ we find both burial and cremation. If he is an anāhitāgni (i.e. if he has kept no fires before entering the Saṃnyāsa), then his dead body should be

1. M. U., p. 39.

2. S. T., p. 391; cf. Winternitz: Zur Lehre von den Āśramas, p. 218, n. 1.

3. See S. T. on both these passages.

4. M. U. p. 323; see also note 1, p. 24.

5. III. 8 (X. 8 acc. to Caland). Also see Vaikh. Dh. V. 8 (Caland), which is much similar to it. We find a similar ritual about the burial and cremation in the Bodhāyanagr̥hyasūtra (Mysore Govt. publication, 21) IV. 17, Pp. 326-328.

covered with grass by his son or others. Then his body should be carried by a Yantra (some conveyance) or by brāhmaṇas to the bank of a river flowing into an ocean or to any other holy place, and there a grave should be dug so deep that the body is not touched by the jackals etc. After the body has been washed, accompanied by the recitation of the Gāyatrī, it should be placed in the grave in the sitting or the lying posture, and the Gāyatrī should be repeated all the while. The three staves should be placed in his right hand reciting the vaiṣṇava mantras, and along with the recitation of the mantra "*Yad asya pāre rajasah*,"¹ his network-bag and the water-strainer should be placed in his left hand. His begging-bowl should be placed on his stomach, with the Gāyatrī being recited and his reddish-brown cloth, the pot for keeping the clay and the water-pot should be placed on his private parts, accompanied by the recitation of the mantra:— "*Bhūmir bhūmim*" etc.² Then the grave should be covered. If the body is touched by jackals etc., then the performer of the burial commits sin.

If the ascetic was an āhitāgni³ and had entered the Saṁnyāsa by repositing the fires in himself, then his dead body should be washed along with the recitation of the Gāyatrī, and should be carried as before and placed on a sacred ground. Then his fire should be repositing in the ordinary fire with the mantra "*Upāvaroha*" etc.⁴ Then clarified butter and milk should be poured in his mouth with the mantra "*Pavitraṁ te*" etc.⁵ His three staves and other things should be placed as prescribed above. Then his body should be burnt according to the ritual of the Brahmamedha or the Piṭṛmedha, by the recitation of the āhitāgni mantras.

In both cases named above, there is no period of impurity for the relatives (as in other cases), no offering of water (to the dead Saṁnyāsin) and no performance of the ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha. Only the Nārāyaṇabali⁶ is to be offered.

All those who carry the dead body of an ascetic, or bury it after digging the grave, or cremate it, or offer the Nārāyaṇabali, get the fruit of performing a horse-sacrifice.

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1. Baudh. Dh. S. II. 17. 33 ; T. S. IV. 2. 5. 2.
 2. Baudh. Dh. S. I. 4. 6. 7 ; Śadvimśa Br. I. 6-20.
 3. Cf. n. 2, p. 52.
 4. T. B. II. 5. 8. 8.
 5. R. V. IX. 83. 1.
 6. Vaikh. Dh. III. 9.

CHAPTER XI

Conclusion

The facts which have been mentioned in the Introduction and the preceding chapters may also throw some light on the chronology of the sources on which our investigation of the Saṃnyāsa problem is based.

We have seen that the institution of Saṃnyāsa developed from the simple renunciation of the worldly desires to the most complicated system of rules and regulations for even such minute things as bathing, painting the forehead, worshipping and so on.

Our oldest sources are, of course, the Saṃhitās where we find the munis,¹ who are either naked or dressed in dirty garments. The Yatis² also have been mentioned, though they are said to have been killed by Indra.

Next follow the Brāhmaṇas,³ where we find the story of the Yatis repeated and a mention of the Vaikhānasas.⁴

In the oldest Upaniṣads we find the mention of tapas⁵ and the parivrājakas⁶ who wander away, leaving all their worldly possessions. On the whole these Upaniṣads attach so much importance to the Vedic rites, that the stage of the householder is still considered as the proper thing.⁷

The Dharmasūtras also are more in favour of the stage of the householder and admit asceticism only in connection with the āśrama theory. The Dharmasūtras, the Smṛtis and the Epics may be divided into two classes. Those of the one class do not require a man to pass through the stages of a student, a house-

1. R. V. VIII. 17. 14, X. 136; A. V. VII. 74. 1.

2. A. V. II. 5. 3.

3. Ait. Br. VII. 28; Pañc. Br. VIII. I. 4; XIII. 4. 17.

4. Pañc. Br. XIV. 4. 7.

5. Chānd. U. V. 10. 1; Śaṅkara explains that it refers to the parivrājakas.

6. Bṛh. Ā. U. IV. 4. 22; T. Ā. II. 7.

7. Chānd. U. VIII. 15. 1.

holder and a forest-dweller in their due order, but allow entering into the fourth stage even from that of a brahmacārin. To this class belong the older Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. The others require the transition from one stage to the other to be strictly observed. To this class belong Manu, Viṣṇu, the Mahābhārata and the Vaiḥānāsadharmapraśna.

The position of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti is between these two. It does not favour the entrance into the fourth stage directly from the brahmacarya, but has no objection to the case of a man desiring to enter from the stage of a householder or a forest-dweller.

Coming now to the Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads, we find a great confusion. The oldest of them is the Jābāla Upaniṣad, for we find the mention of only one class of ascetics viz., the paramahaṃsa.

In the Āruṇi Upaniṣad, two kinds of Saṃnyasins are distinguished, viz., the kuṭicakā and the paramahaṃsa. The Saṃnyāsa and Kāṭhaśruti Upaniṣads do not mention any particular kinds, so also the Brahma and the Maitreya Upaniṣads. The Paramahaṃsa Upaniṣad, however, mentions two kinds of paramahaṃsas.

Those, which mention four or five different kinds of ascetics, may be considered as belonging to a later period.

The Āśrama and the Bhikṣuka Upaniṣads mention the kuṭicaka, bahūdaka, haṃsa and paramahaṃsa. The Turīyātītāradhūta Upaniṣad mentions the turīyātīta as the additional fifth. The Nārada-parivṛājaka and the Bṛhatsaṃnyāsa Upaniṣads mention several divisions, and give as well a very detailed ritual about the minutest activities of a Saṃnyāsin. They have all the appearance of still later works.

The Śātyāyaniya and the remaining Upaniṣads are the latest. For, the former is only a sectarian Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣad, whereas, the others either only copy from the older Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads or are rather treatises on the Vedānta than anything else.

APPENDIX TO NOTE 1, p. 42

Kinds of Ascetics	Bath	Painting the forehead	Shaving	Food	Clothing	Worship	Muttering of the mantras	Teachings	Different kinds of Prāṇavas	Śravaṇa, Manana or Nididhyāsana
Kuṇḍīka	3 times a day	A vertical line drawn upwards	Every Season	From one place	2 śāṭis	of gods	allowed to mutter the mantras	no special prescription	māṇasa	Śravaṇa
Bahūdaka	2 times a day	Three lines	One in two seasons	From several places like a bee	1 śāṭī	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Haṁsa	once a day	Three vertical lines going upwards	None	Within the pot of hands	1 piece of cloth or a deer-skin	mental	allowed to meditate	do.	āntara	manana
Parama-haṁsa	mental bath	Ash-Painting	None or once in the ayana	Within the pot of hands	naked or a loin-cloth or a deer-skin	do.	do.	The Mahāvākya	do.	do.
Turiyātīta	bath in ashes	Tilakapundra	None	Like a cow	naked	Realisation of the unity of the individual with the Universal Soul	no mantras or meditation	do.	Brahma	Nididhyāsana
Avadhūta	air-bath	Nothing	None	Like a python	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.

Note:—All should try to realise their own self.

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